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GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING



New Portrait of the American Commander, Who Was Showered With Honors and Given Full Rank of General on His Return Home.

(C. Paul Thompson.)

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM



King of the Belgians, Who Led His Forces in the Field Throughout the War, and Who is an Honored Guest of the United States.

(© Harris and Ewing)

QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS



Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, Who, With King Albert and Crown Prince Leopold, Is Making Her First Visit to the United States.

CARDINAL MERCIER



Archbishop of Malines and Primate of Belgium, Famous for His War-time Utterances, Who is Visiting the United States.

VISCOUNT GREY OF FALLODON



New British Ambassador to the United States, Succeeding Sir Cecil Spring-Rice.

(Photo P. S. Rogers.)

OFFICERS LATELY IN THE PUBLIC EYE



MAJ. GEN. J. W. McANDREW
President Army War College

(© Harris and Ewing.)



MAJ. GEN. E. F. McGLACHLIN
Commander 1st Division

(U. S. Official Photo.)



REAR ADM'L A. C. GLEAVES
New Commander Asiatic Squadron

(© Harris and Ewing.)



REAR ADM'L T. WASHINGTON
Chief U. S. Bureau of Navigation

(© Harris and Ewing.)

AMERICAN CEMETERY ON THE EDGE OF BELLEAU WOOD IN FRANCE



"God's Acre" Near Château-Thierry, Where, Row Upon Row, White Crosses Mark the Graves of Gallant Americans.
In the Insert Are Seen the Snow-covered Graves of American Soldiers Near Archangel in Russia.

(© International Film and American Red Cross.)

PRESIDENT WILSON SIGNING THE TREATY AT VERSAILLES



The President, Seated Before the Treaty and Facing William Martin of the French Foreign Office, Is in the Act of Placing the First Allied Signature to the Historic Document, June 28, 1919.

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU IN THE ACT OF SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY



The French Premier Signed the German Treaty While Standing. Behind Him Are Seen Messrs Pichon, Klotz, and Tardieu, Other French Delegates, Awaiting Their Turn.

GENERAL PERSHING RECEIVING HONORS IN THE GUILDHALL, LONDON



London Having Given General Pershing a Gold Mounted Sword and the Freedom of the City, (July 18, 1919,) He Is Making an Address of Thanks. Seated at the Extreme Right Is Sir Douglas Haig; Next Are Winston Churchill, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and (Next but One) Ambassador Davis.

(Photo Underwood and Underwood)

VICTORY
PARADE IN
LONDON

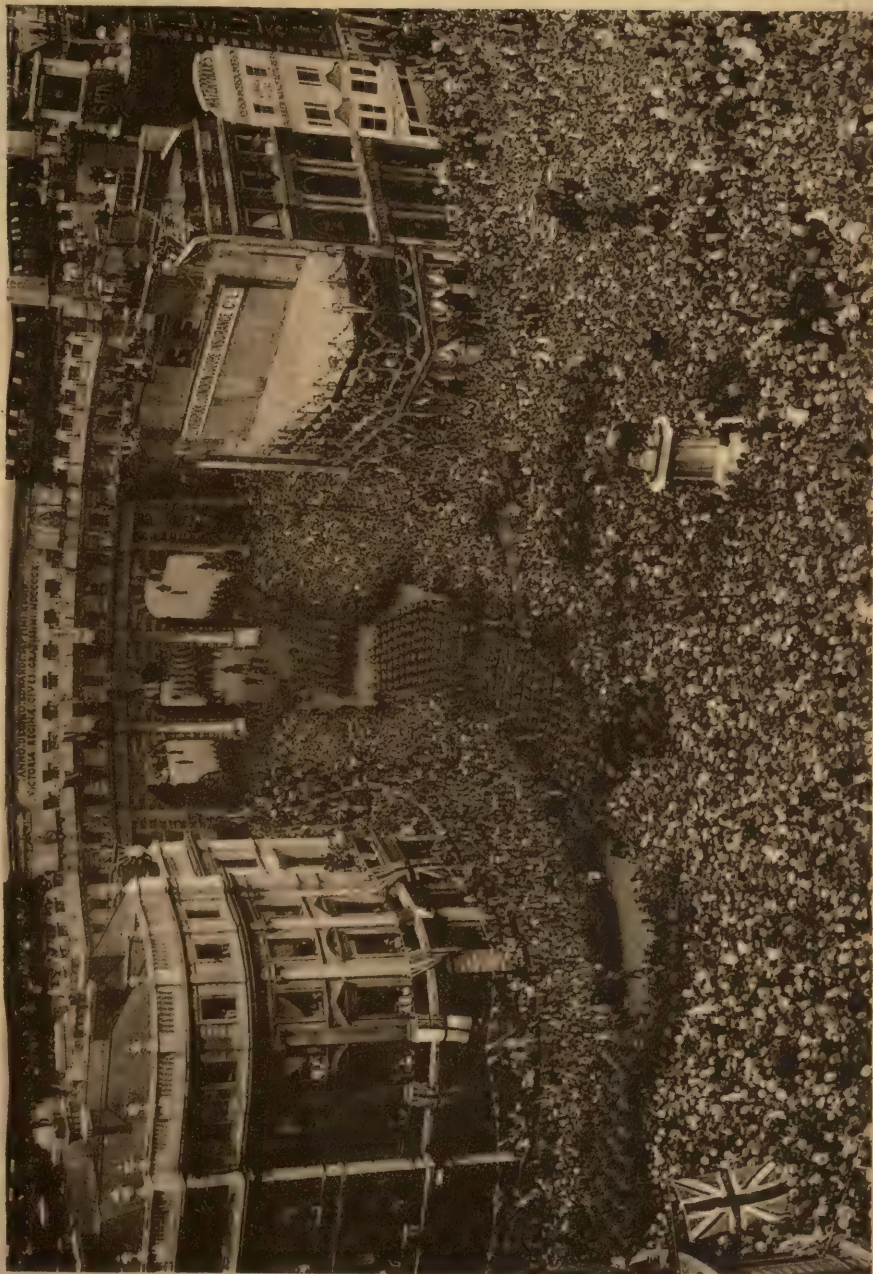
American
Troops
Passing the
Admiralty
Arch in

London,
July 19, 1919,
Cheered by
an

Unnumbered
Throng of
Englishmen,
on the
Occasion of
the Great
British
Military
Pageant

Celebrating
the Successful
Termination
of the War.

(© Press Illus-
trating Service.)



CANADIAN PAGEANT IN HONOR OF THE PRINCE OF WALES



When the Prince of Wales First Set Foot on Canadian Soil at St. John, Aug. 12, 1919, He Was Greeted by a "Pageant of the Provinces" Made Up of Girls Chosen for Their Beauty From the Chief Political Divisions of Canada, While the Children Sang "God Bless the Prince of Wales."

(Times Wide World Photos.)

BATTLESHIP
TEXAS
PASSING
THROUGH THE
PANAMA
CANAL

The Great
United States
Warship,
Towed by an
Electric

Locomotive
on Either Side, Is
Seen in the
Middle Chamber
of the

Gatun Locks,
July 25, 1919.

(Times Wide World
Photos.)



VILLA BYRON, NEAR GENEVA, PRESENT SEAT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS



This Villa, Overlooking the Beautiful Lake of Geneva, Switzerland, Is the Temporary Home of the League of Nations, Pending the Choice of a Permanent Site. Much of the Earlier Work of Sir Eric Drummond's Staff Was Done in Sunderland House, London.

(Times Wide World Photos.)

GENERAL PERSHING ON PATROL BOAT NEARING THE BATTERY, NEW YORK



On the Main Deck, Left to Right: Police Commissioner Enright, General March, Commissioner Leach, General Pershing, Secretary and Mrs. Baker. Above is the General's Son, Warren Pershing, With His Father's Commission in His Hand.

(© American Photo Service.)

VIEW OF THE HISTORIC PERSHING PARADE, NEW YORK, SEPT. 10, 1919.



First Division Heroes Back From the War, Swinging Down Fifth Avenue, 25,000 Strong, Amid a Great City's Plaudits.

(© Underwood & Underwood)

GEN. PERSHING'S HOMECOMING

His Landing in New York, With a Parade of the 1st Division, the Occasion of a National Welcome

AFTER an absence of two years and about one hundred days General John Joseph Pershing returned to America on Sept. 8, 1919, victorious and renowned, to receive two days later one of the greatest receptions at the hands of his fellow-citizens that any American had ever received in the military or civil history of the United States. The whole city of New York turned out to see him riding at the head of his heroic troops of the 1st Division down the whole length of Fifth Avenue, amid scenes of unexampled popular enthusiasm.

General Pershing had sailed home on the former German steamship *Leviathan*, which reached American waters on Sept. 7. A multitude of various craft met him in New York Bay, and amid the din of whistle and artillery salutes he received the first earnest of his welcome home. Military officers, Congressmen, and prominent citizens boarded the *Leviathan* bearing greetings. An airplane circled over the big transport and dropped a welcoming letter from Mayor Hylan, in which was described the desire of the citizens "to express in true American fashion the great love and admiration which they felt for the man through whose instrumentality the magnificent achievements of our armies had been made possible."

As the transport swung into the North River those on board could see for the first time the great crowds along the riverfront hours before the General's landing was expected. When at last the *Leviathan* was docked at army transport Pier 4 in Hoboken, formerly one of the Hamburg-American piers, only the newspaper men and photographers were allowed to board her; these raced aboard the moment the gangplank was laid, and assailed the General in a throng. The returning soldier good-naturedly accompanied the photographers to an upper

deck and allowed them to take pictures of himself and his staff. To the newspaper correspondents he said: "This welcome is overwhelming. I accept it only in the name of those brave boys of ours who went over there and fought and made our glorious victory possible." Amid loud acclamation of the waiting throngs upon the dock the General then went ashore.

This debarkation and the simple ceremonies on the upper deck of the pier were among the most impressive part of the General's homecoming. The pier was festooned gayly with the national colors. The Port of Embarkation Band, reinforced with bands from the 1st Division itself, played inspiring music from a boat moored near by. The General passed through hundreds of welfare workers, while guards of picked soldiers with fixed bayonets stood at attention. The pier house was crowded to its full capacity; a vast din arose from the escorting craft, from factory whistles, from the cheering throats of thousands outside.

WELCOMED BY SECRETARY BAKER

To a flourish of trumpets, a ruffle of drums, and sharp commands from the military, General Pershing stepped again upon American soil. Informal greetings with relatives and friends followed. General Pershing was then led to a space on the upper deck of the pier, which had been elaborately decorated. Here were chairs and a dais, upon which Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, and General Pershing took seats. Amid applause Secretary Baker said:

General Pershing: About two and a half years ago, by the President's direction, I had the honor of designating you to lead the armies of the United States in France. Today you return, your mission accomplished, with victory written on the banners of the greatest army the nation has ever had, and with the priceless foundations of liberty and freedom saved for us

and for the world as the result of our participation in the world war.

The task intrusted to you required all the imagination, all the energy, and all the genius of a great commander. From the first you had the complete confidence of the President and the Secretary of War. This confidence remained unshaken to the end.

From the beginning you had all support the people of the United States could give. You and your great army embodied for them their country and their country's cause. They worked with devotion and self-sacrifice to sustain and supply you with troops and equipment. Their hearts were overseas with you and their prayers for your welfare and that of your men were constant. Doubtless the confidence and affection of your fellow-citizens were an inspiration to you in the hours of preparation and in the hours of battle, as the superb exploits of the army under your command were in turn an inspiration to our national effort.

The great victories are now won. Your magnificent army has returned. The soldiers who once marched through the thickets of the Argonne are citizens again, filled with high memories of great deeds, and carrying into life the inspiration which membership in that great company and sacrifice for that great cause engendered. Your return closes the history of the American Expeditionary Forces. The President had hoped to be here personally to speak on behalf of the nation a word of welcome. In his enforced absence he has directed me to speak it.

I bid you welcome, gratefully, on behalf of the country you have served and on behalf of the people whose sons you have led. The confidence with which we sent you away you have sacredly kept. Wherever there is a soldier or a friend of a soldier, wherever there is a lover of liberty, wherever there is a heart which rejoices at the deliverance of mankind from its hour of peril, you and your great army are remembered and loved. You return not only to American soil, but to the heart of the country.

GREETING FROM THE PRESIDENT

In the absence of Vice President Marshall, Secretary Baker read the following message of greeting from President Wilson:

My dear General Pershing: I am distressed that I cannot greet you in person. It would give me the greatest pleasure to grasp your hand and say to you what is in my heart and in the hearts of all true Americans as we hail your return to the home land you have served so gallantly. Notwithstanding my physical absence, may I not, as your Commander in Chief and as spokesman of our fellow-

countrymen, bid you an affectionate and enthusiastic welcome—a welcome warmed with the ardor of genuine affection and deep admiration? You have served the country with fine devotion and admirable efficiency, in a war forever memorable as the world's triumphant protest against injustice and as its vindication of liberty, the liberty of peoples and of nations.

We are proud of you and of the men you commanded. No finer armies ever set their indomitable strength and unconquerable spirit against the forces of wrong. Their glory is the glory of the nation, and it is with a thrill of profound pride that we greet you as their leader and commander. You have just come from the sea and from the care of the men of the navy, who made the achievements of our arms on land possible, and who so gallantly assisted to clear the seas of their lurking peril. Our hearts go out to them, too. It is delightful to see you home again, well and fit for the fatigues you must endure before we are done with our welcome. I will not speak now of our associates on the other side of the sea. It will be delightful on many occasions to speak their praise. I speak now only of our personal joy that you are home again and that we have the opportunity to make you feel the warmth of our affectionate welcome.

DEEPLY MOVED BY TRIBUTES

During Secretary Baker's greeting and the reading of the President's message, General Pershing was visibly affected. As he heard the President's words "You have served the country with fine devotion and admirable efficiency," tears came into his eyes. He seemed much more moved by these tributes than when the War Secretary handed him a moment later the commission signed by President Wilson upon Congressional authority, conferring upon him the full rank of General.

A committee representing New York City and headed by William G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, then stepped upon the platform and extended its greeting. A message from Missouri, the General's home State, was read by a special delegate, and representatives of the Senate and House delivered short addresses. Replying to all these greetings, General Pershing said:

Fellow soldiers and friends: If this is to be continued, I believe that before many days are passed I shall wish perhaps that the war had continued. To say I am happy to be back on American

soil would merely be to waste words. I am overwhelmed with emotion when I think what this greeting means.

Mr. Secretary, you have been extremely complimentary in your references to my part in the war. The part of which you speak is only one, because of the united effort of the nation. The army depended on the morale of the people, and the morale of the American people was never shaken. The American people faced its task with a courage and enthusiasm it would be difficult to describe.

I trust that those we left behind will receive the attention of a grateful people and that those graves we left over there will be decorated and kept clean and eternal in the minds of the people at home so that those places where they are buried will be a place to go and learn patriotism anew.

I wish to thank the President for his confidence in me since he elected me Chief of the Army, and I thank you, Mr. Secretary, for your confidence in me. This has made my task easier.

AMID MANHATTAN THRONGS

From the Hoboken dock, General Pershing and his staff, accompanied by the welcoming officials, were taken by water to the Battery. From there all the way to the City Hall great throngs in the buildings and on the streets cheered the General's passing. Battery Park and Bowling Green were packed. The air was white with scraps of paper thrown from the windows of tall buildings. Women waved, men cheered and doffed their hats, while cries of "Pershing!" came from every side. Flags fluttered. Two airplanes manoeuvred above and swooped low over the heads of the crowd.

AT THE CITY HALL

When the General's automobile reached the City Hall the Governor and the Mayor stood waiting on the steps. City and State officials shook General Pershing's hand, while the crowd sent up a great cheer, and the military men and their escorts disappeared within. Two by two they ascended to the Aldermanic Chamber, where Mayor Hylan, on behalf of the city, formally became host to General Pershing and his staff during their stay in New York. The Mayor read an address welcoming the General and other officers of the American Expeditionary

Forces, reciting their chief victories and continuing:

Our schools will teach Young America of our unselfish participation in the world war and our armies' magnificent achievements. They will be told how the horizon of the world was darkened when the long night set in of awful carnage which drenched Europe in an ocean of blood and threatened civilization with extinction. They will be told how war-ridden and despairing Europe turned appealing eyes to our shores for aid and how American loyalty sprang into instant life and from Alaska to the West Indies came shouts of devotion and pledges of help. Our schools will tell our children how America repaid to France the sacred debt for the aid of Lafayette in our early struggles for independence, and how the flags of the Allies were entwined in a common cause for the relief of the downtrodden and oppressed of all lands and for the preservation of liberty and civilization. They will tell of the peerless American soldier—the soldier whose heart beat joyously with the spirit of freedom, who tugged impatiently at the leash to engage in fierce encounter, and who fought with unsurpassed courage in the trenches, in the forests, and on the open plains, knowing no fear and appalled by no danger, only counting the hardships of the war as blessed opportunities for the manifestation of America's benevolence and humanity.

They will tell how one American General, with wonderful power over men, by personal and moral courage, clearness of judgment, vigor of action, and genius as great as the exigencies of war ever summoned, led the armies of America to triumphant victory.

When these deeds are recounted the hearts of our children will beat with quicker pulse, and in the innermost recesses of their souls they will pledge holy allegiance and devotion to our noble country, which today, in addition to its unparalleled prosperity and dominant position in the Old and New Worlds, possesses that peerless embodiment of military genius, preserved through all the vicissitudes of the greatest war in history, General John J. Pershing.

GENERAL PERSHING'S RESPONSE

In answer to the Mayor's greeting, General Pershing said in part:

The personal compliments that you have paid to me, Sir, are far greater than my humble services deserve. To receive at your hand the freedom of this great metropolis, which we all claim as ours and which we love so well, is in itself a peculiar distinction. The circumstances that prompt this action have their foundation on foreign battlefields, where Amer-

ican manhood gloriously fought for the principles of right and justice.

Today our minds are filled with the thrilling incidents of these fields. Eager to serve the cause, filled with confidence in their own superiority, our young American Army passed out through your gates on their way to their mission across the seas. Your enthusiasm for them and the warm hospitality you gave them and your godspeed as they sailed away added new courage for their task.

When they returned home the victorious welcome of your people has spoken louder than words the gratitude of the nation for duty well done. * * *

New York City's attitude has been accepted everywhere, at home and abroad, as that of the whole people, and your acts have always encouraged the Allies and have always disheartened Germany. Out of your patriotism, your support, and your confidence in our success there has grown up between the people of this city and our citizen army a mutual affection that makes for better citizenship, an affection that will grow with time and become a lasting souvenir in the hearts of all those that learn to know and to love you.

General Pershing's second day in New York was crowded with new events embodying the efforts of all, young and old, to voice personally the city's official hospitality. Cheering crowds followed him wherever he went; he received thousands of telegrams inviting him to attend all kinds of functions and to visit scores of other cities of the Union. The chief event of the day was a reception given him on the Sheep Meadow in Central Park, to which great numbers of people thronged, and where 50,000 school children, waving a small forest of American flags, raised cheers in childish voices as Pershing called them "the future defenders of our country." Other activities were apportioned between visits on relatives, a reception by the Elks, of which organization General Pershing is a member, and a visit to the theatre, where he met with a rousing reception.

THE PARADE

The culminating feature of the General's visit to New York was the great parade down Fifth Avenue on Sept. 10, at the head of which he rode on horseback. It was the population's first opportunity to greet General Pershing and the men of the 1st Division personally and to show them that it remembered

the part they played in the smashing drives at Toul, at Cantigny, at Soissons, at St. Mihiel, and at the Meuse and Argonne. It was likewise the first appearance in New York of "Pershing's Own," that regiment of stalwart veterans picked from the first six regular army divisions in France, which paraded as Pershing's escort in Paris and London. Altogether more than 25,000 fighting men were in line.

By a special proclamation the Mayor had declared the day a national holiday, and the whole population was out to witness the passing of the marching hosts. All along Fifth Avenue from 107th Street to Washington Square they stood, many deep, kept in place by 7,000 policemen; hotels and private buildings filled specially constructed stands with closely packed spectators; every window was crowded, and the surging throngs early occupied every point of vantage. From all these points, as well as from the reviewing stand and the seats that flanked it from Eighty-fifth to Seventy-fourth Street, the cheers swelled into wild outbursts of greetings, shoutings of Pershing's name, the ringing of bells, the rattle of raucous "crickets," a formidable body of sound undertoned by the pealing of church bells and supplemented visually by great showers of confetti, long, trailing paper streamers, and clouds of paper snow. A group of army airplanes from Mineola flew up and down above the long, white avenue, echoing to the rythmical tread of the soldiers, who wore upon their heads the flat trench helmets of the fighting force in France, and whose closely aligned bayonets gleamed like silver rain.

The whole route was gay and colorful with flags and bunting. Most colorful, most picturesque of all, was the way Pershing, the members of his staff, officers and men of lesser rank, all the long line of marchers, were pelted with flowers. At times Pershing rode over stretches of asphalt carpeted with laurel. At others roses and simpler flowers rained about him. Again some enthusiast, high above him, would toss a single blossom, perhaps to fall almost at his feet, perhaps to drop far behind him.

Even where the crowds were least dense, Pershing was kept at almost continual salute by the tributes volleyed at him from both sides of the avenue. Both when he reached the stands and when he was below Fifty-ninth Street, from which points the crowds increased, it was impossible for him to acknowledge a tithe of the applause.

AT THE REVIEWING STAND

From the stands built by the Mayor's Committee of Welcome to Distinguished Guests, stretching for five blocks on either side of the main entrance to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the official reviewing stand was built, Pershing was hailed with the most impressive amount of noise. There sat many thousands of relatives of men in the 1st Division, eager to show their affection for the commander.

In the official stand itself Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff of the Army; military and diplomatic representatives of allied nations, Governor Alfred E. Smith, Mayor John F. Hylan, and other well-known men beamed and saluted, and women smiled and waved and blew kisses as the General passed.

Nowhere did the pageant catch the popular fancy more fully than it did before St. Patrick's Cathedral, where the General dismounted to receive a bouquet of American Beauties from a Knights of Columbus war worker, a pretty girl whom he rewarded with a kiss while the crowd cheered. Then he crossed the avenue to shake hands and chat a moment with Cardinal Mercier of Belgium, who stood with local church dignitaries in a stand in front of the Cathedral.

Perhaps the most solemn incident of the parade was the passage of its leading figure and the little cavalcade behind him through the Victory Arch, at Twenty-third Street, at salute in memory of the dead. The General's colors were dipped, and the band which followed not far behind passed through with muffled drums.

Arrived at Washington Square, General Pershing and his staff wheeled into Washington Square North, watched for

a moment the passage of the picked escort regiment, and then, dismounting, hurried in automobiles to the Waldorf, where, for the most part unknown to the passing troops, they viewed, rather than reviewed, the parade.

In the evening General Pershing and his staff were honor guests at a great dinner given to them by the City of New York, at which Rodman Wanamaker, Chairman of the Mayor's Committee, presided. Speeches were made by Secretary Baker, Mayor Hylan, and the General, who expressed keen appreciation of the city's hospitality.

Just before going to the dinner General Pershing left his hotel and hurried to Central Park, where a great throng had assembled on the Mall to attend a concert in his honor given by the New York Symphony Orchestra. His welcome there equaled those which had characterized his every appearance.

AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

On the eve of his departure for Philadelphia and Washington, General Pershing addressed about 10,000 former service men and women, members of the American Legion, in Madison Square Garden. The message that he sought to impress upon the assembled Legion members was to cherish and foster the lessons of patriotism that have been brought home to the American people in the last two years. A special tribute was paid by him to the part played by devoted American women, including "the mothers and sisters, who," he said, "by their prayers and their love from this side gave us encouragement."

The General's last day in the city was taken up by many visits, including a motor trip to Oyster Bay to greet the members of the Roosevelt family.

General Pershing left New York on Sept. 11, at 8 o'clock in the morning. Notwithstanding the early hour, he was attended by great throngs of men, women, and children all the way to the Pennsylvania Station. The din of good-byes was incessant until the train disappeared into the railway tunnel on its way to Philadelphia.

On the following day General Pershing

rode in an automobile over several miles of Philadelphia's chief thoroughfares. Multitudes lined the streets and crowded the grand stands. At Independence Hall he reverently saluted the Liberty Bell and delivered an address, in which he said:

It fills me with deep emotion to be on this sacred spot. It seems, however, especially fitting at the conclusion of the war, which was fought for the same principles declared by the signers of the Declaration of Independence, * * * for here is the Cradle of Liberty, here is where we come to drink from its fountain, to imbibe anew the lessons of patriotism.

IN WASHINGTON

The same day the General arrived in Washington. Thousands cheered his name, bugles saluted him, children tossed flowers beneath his feet, soldiers stood rigid at salute as he passed before them, and the Vice President of the United States thanked him in the name of the nation for the distinguished services he had rendered. Crowds thronged the station, cavalry horses pawed and curvetted in the station plaza, the red and white guidons snapping in the wind-swept air. Airplane motors roared and droned overhead. The familiar tall and well-knit figure descended from the last car, and was greeted warmly by Secretary Baker and General March. Escorted through cheering crowds, he proceeded to the President's Room, where Vice President Marshall stepped forward and in the name of the President and the nation paid General Pershing this tribute:

You are not only welcome to the capital city of your own Republic, but you are welcome back to the land of your nativity. Your Commander in Chief bids me in his behalf, and in behalf of the American people, to greet you.

It is a glad duty to be inadequately performed, for human expression has not yet found the way to voice in language the deeper and finer sentiments of our natures. Perhaps you can gain some slight conception of the real joy with which we hail your homecoming when I tell you that you occupy the most unique position ever guaranteed to a man in arms in all the world's history.

Unnumbered and unremembered conquerors have returned from foreign lands bearing, chained to their chariot wheels, the writhing human evidence of conquest

and supremacy over alien people. To you it has been vouchsafed to lead the greatest expeditionary force of all time through perils at sea, perils of land, and perils of air, to the ultimate accomplishment of your country's purpose and your heart's desire. You come rather in meekness and humility of spirit, saying to the great American people that as the Nazarene died to make men holy so their sons have died to make men free. You, their surviving commander, come back to us with no evidence of loot and conquest, but with the triumphs of the soul and spirit of liberty and law, to assure us that the cause in which they have died was a sacred cause.

In the name of my countrymen and my President, I salute you. Hail the patriot, farewell to the conqueror, and yet again, hail.

THE GENERAL'S REPLY

It was evident that General Pershing was deeply moved. His face was stern and set and he looked straight forward into the Vice President's eyes while Mr. Marshall spoke. Once the muscles of his face twitched and he choked behind his firm lips. When he replied to the Vice President, he removed his cap, and held it upon his arm.

"My friends," he said, "this is indeed a welcome that fills me with emotion impossible to express." Turning directly to the Vice President, he said:

I thank you, Sir, for what you have said as representing the President, whose constant confidence in me has been a strength that gave me courage to do in the best way all I thought my country would have me do.

I want to thank the American people. And I want to praise especially the American women who have watched and prayed that we might return in victory and to whom we owe more perhaps than any one else.

I want to thank the President, the Congress, and the Secretary of War for their splendid support.

Then the General and his staff walked to where the automobiles for the party were waiting. General Pershing was taken to the Shoreham Hotel in Vice President Marshall's open touring car, a contrast to the gleaming, new, olive drab army limousines into which his staff climbed. Led by motor cycle policemen, the cavalry clattered away, the General's car following and the staff coming behind. In the rear was a long train

of cars containing members of the Citizens' Committee. Along the whole route, which led up Pennsylvania Avenue, up Fifteenth Street, and to the hotel, there were cheering crowds.

LAST OF THE WAR PARADES

A great parade, which was reviewed from the White House, and in which General Pershing shared honors with the 1st Division and the composite regiment known as "Pershing's Own," took place on Sept. 17. It was the last public appearance of the American Expeditionary Force as a fighting organization. The procession traversed the same route over which the Grand Army under Grant and Sherman had passed in its final march before being mustered out fifty-four years before. The event of 1919, like that of 1865, was an inspiring sight and a landmark in American history.

The procession moved from the Peace Monument, at the foot of Capitol Hill, up Pennsylvania Avenue to Fifteenth Street, and through two blocks of that main highway to where Pennsylvania Avenue begins again. At this point a great arch had been erected, an arch of triumph, and through this the troops marched into that portion of the avenue that passes the Treasury Department, the White House, and the great granite structures of the State, War, and Navy Departments. At Seventeenth Street, just beyond the White House, General Pershing left the line and walked to the White House stand, accompanied by the officers of his staff, to join the Vice President and the others of the reviewing party.

Grouped around the General and the Vice President in the reviewing stand were public officials, diplomats, and soldiers. On one side were Newton D. Baker, the Secretary of War; General Peyton C. March, Chief of the General Staff, and Rear Admiral Jones of the navy. On the other side were William Phillips, Acting Secretary of State; Carter Glass, Secretary of the Treasury; A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Acting Secretary of the Navy. Near them were M. Jusserand, the French Ambassador, and

his wife, and diplomatic representatives of the allied nations. Groups of British and French officers in uniform were seated near.

One section of the long stand, which covered most of the space between the two main entrances to the White House grounds, was filled with Senators and Representatives and members of their families, and a host of Government officials and others of prominence. Behind General Pershing were the members of his staff and high ranking officers who had served with the American armies in Europe during the world conflict.

THE THANKS OF CONGRESS

General Pershing was formally received and thanked by Congress at a joint session on Sept. 18. It was the twenty-sixth time that Congress had bestowed the thanks of the nation upon a soldier.

When the General and his staff appeared in the House members of Congress and their guests on the floor and the filled galleries hailed him with long applause. There was handclapping and shrill cheering. The General and his staff marched to the well of the Chamber, and before he seated himself he turned and bowed to the audience. He appeared to be slightly nervous and his nervousness increased as the proceedings progressed and the praise began to flow from the spokesmen of Senate and House. But he smiled frequently and laughed when the speakers injected a touch of humor into their remarks.

Senator Cummins, as President pro tempore of the Senate, acting in the absence of Vice President Marshall, told the General what the nation thought of him and the soldiers and the war. Then Speaker Gillett of the House added his appreciation. In doing so he brought a broad smile to the General's face when he said that it was thought proper that a "few homely words should be said by the representatives of the people." Then ex-Speaker Clark of Missouri formally told the Commander of the Expeditionary Forces of Congress's action in extending its thanks, and presented

General Pershing to the assemblage as "Exhibit A, showing forth to the world what sort of men Missouri grows when in her most prodigal of moods."

GENERAL PERSHING'S SPEECH

In reply the General delivered the first set speech he had made since his arrival. After acknowledging with emotion the honors bestowed upon himself and the men who had fought under him, he continued:

The might of America lay not only in her numbers and in her wealth, but also in the spirit of her people and their determination to succeed at whatever cost. While every man who went to France courageously did his part, behind him were millions of others eager to follow, all supported by a loyal people who deprived themselves to sustain our armies and succor our allies. Whether billeted in French, Belgian, or Italian villages or in the camps of England, our young men have left behind them a standard of frankness, of integrity, of gentleness, and of helpfulness which will give the other nations of the world a firmer belief in the sincerity of our motives.

The benefits flowing from the experience of our soldiers will be broadly felt. They have returned in the full vigor of manhood, strong and clean. In the community of effort men from all walks of life have learned to know and to appreciate each other. Through their patriotism, discipline, and association they have become virile, confident, and broad-minded. Rich in the consciousness of honorable public service, they will bring into the life of our country a deeper love for our institutions and a more intelligent devotion to the duties of citizenship.

To you, gentlemen of the Congress, we owe the existence and maintenance of our armies in the field. With a clear conception of the magnitude of the struggle, you adopted the draft as the surest means of utilizing our man power. You promptly enacted wise laws to develop and apply our resources to the best effect. You appropriated the fabulous sums required for military purposes. Many of your members visited the armies in the field and cheered us by their interest and sympathy. You made possible the organization and operation by which victory was achieved.

Throughout the war the President reposed in me his full confidence, and his unflinching support simplified my task. The Secretary of War made repeated visits to the front, and I am deeply grateful for his wise counsel. Under him the various staffs, bureaus, and departments, with all their personnel, are

deserving of especial acknowledgment for the ability with which their problems were met. The officers and soldiers who served at home are entitled to their full share in the victory. There existed a unity of purpose between our Government in all its branches and the command of the troops in the field that materially hastened the end.

TRIBUTE TO NAVY

Our navy performed a brilliant part in transporting troops and supplies and in maintaining our sea communications. The army was convoyed overseas with the maximum of safety and comfort and with incredibly small loss. In this arduous service the generous assistance of the seamen of Great Britain deserves our lasting appreciation.

A special tribute is due to those benevolent men and women who ministered to the needs of our soldiers at home and abroad. The welfare societies maintained by a generous public gave us invaluable aid. In our hospitals the surgeons and nurses, both permanent and temporary, served with a skill and fidelity that will ever be worthy of our grateful remembrance.

Business and professional men abandoned their private interests and gave their service to the country. Devoted men, women, and even children, often in obscure positions, zealously labored to increase the output of ships, munitions, war material, and food supplies, while the press and the pulpit stimulated patriotic enthusiasm.

Our admiration goes out to our war-worn allies, whose tenacity, after three years of conflict, made possible the effectiveness of our effort. Through their loyal support and hearty co-operation a general spirit of comradeship sprang up among us, which should firmly unite the peoples as it did their armies.

The cheerfulness and fortitude of our wounded were an inspiration and a stimulus to their comrades. Those who are disabled should become the affectionate charge of our people, whose care they have so richly earned. Let us, in sympathy, remember the widows and the mothers who today mourn the loss of their husbands and sons.

Our hearts are filled with reverence and love for our triumphant dead. Buried in hallowed ground which their courage redeemed, their graves are sacred shrines that the nation will not fail to honor.

The glorious record made in the fight for our treasured ideals will be a precious heritage to posterity. It has welded together our people and given them a deeper sense of nationality. The solidity of the republic and its institutions in the test of a world war should fill with pride every man and woman living under its flag. The great achievements, the high ideals,

the sacrifices of our army and our people belong to no party and to no creed. They are the republic's legacy, to be sacredly guarded and carefully transmitted to future generations.

After an informal reception in the Speaker's office General Pershing went to the House press gallery, where he was received by the correspondents. After being told by Gus J. Karger, Chairman of the Standing Committee of Correspondents, that he was in the hands of his friends, he said:

It is very gratifying to be in the hands of one's friends and to know that one may speak out of the fullness of one's heart. But having with a great deal of embarrassment and perturbation just said a few words to the joint session, I am sure you would not expect me to say anything further.

I am, of course, very much touched by the honor that the American people, through their representatives, have bestowed upon me, but I feel that I am only the instrument through which they

have expressed their satisfaction of what our armies have done, and in no way is it to be accepted as personal.

It is a great pleasure to meet the real representatives of all of the American people, and I am glad also to know that they are my friends.

It was officially announced later in Washington that General Pershing would retain the title and duties of Commander in Chief, American Expeditionary Forces, for the time being, and that headquarters would be established for him in the old Land Office Building, famous as the centre of the draft machinery during the war. All the records of the overseas forces were to be concentrated there, and General Pershing, with a small staff made up of the officers associated with him in France, would be ready to answer any call of Congress for information. The possibility of a vacation had been waived by General Pershing himself.

The Senate and the Peace Treaty

Debate Over Amendments and Reservations—Reports of Foreign Relations Committee

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 20, 1919]

THE debate in the United States Senate on the ratification of the German Peace Treaty, which had begun in an informal way on July 14, reached its first definite phase on Sept. 10, when the Committee on Foreign Relations reported the treaty to the Senate with thirty-eight amendments and four reservations, recommended by a majority of the committee. The report was signed by nine Senators, including all the Republican members of the committee except Senator McCumber of North Dakota. On Sept. 11 the dissenting Democratic minority submitted its report, signed by six Democratic Senators. Senator Shields, a Democratic member of the committee, did not sign the minority report.

Both reports were the outcome of two months of more or less bitter debate, with the lines of cleavage mainly be-

tween the Democratic Administration supporters and the Republican opposition members, who were in the majority. During that preliminary period the treaty was the theme of almost daily speeches on one side or the other, speeches marked by increasing acrimony, and culminating in an address by Senator Knox of Pennsylvania on Aug. 29, in which he counseled the utter rejection of the Peace Treaty, declaring that it was "not a treaty, but a truce," and would mean "centuries of blood-letting."

THE MAJORITY REPORT

The majority report of the Foreign Relations Committee was as follows:

The treaty of peace with Germany was laid before the Senate by the President on July 10, 1919. Three days were consumed in printing the treaty, which was in two languages and filled 537 quarto pages. The treaty, therefore, was not in the possession of the

committee for action until July 14, 1919. The report upon the treaty was ordered by the committee on Sept. 4. Deducting Sundays and a holiday, the treaty has been before the Committee on Foreign Relations for forty-five days. The committee met on thirty-seven of those working days, sitting whenever possible both in the morning and afternoon. The eight working days upon which the committee did not sit were lost owing to unavoidable delays in securing the presence of witnesses summoned by the committee. In view of the fact that six months were consumed by the Peace Conference in making the treaty, in addition to a month of work by the various delegations before the assembling of the conference, the period of six weeks consumed by the committee in considering it does not seem excessive.

These facts are mentioned because there has been more or less clamor about delay in the committee. This demand for speed in the consideration of the most important subject which ever came before the Senate of the United States, involving as it does fundamental changes in the character of our Government and the future of our country for an unlimited period, was largely the work of the Administration and its newspaper organs and was so far wholly artificial. Artificial also was the demand for haste disseminated by certain great banking firms which had a direct pecuniary interest in securing an early opportunity to reap the harvest which they expected from the adjustment of the financial obligations of the countries which had been engaged in the war.

The third element in the agitation for haste was furnished by the unthinking outcry of many excellent people who desired early action and who, for the most part, had never read the treaty or never got beyond the words "League of Nations," which they believed to mean the establishment of eternal peace. To yield helplessly to this clamor was impossible to those to whom was intrusted the performance of a solemn public duty.

COMMITTEE HAMPERED

The responsibility of the Senate in regard to this treaty is equal to that of the Executive, who, although aided by a force of 1,300 assistants, expert and otherwise, consumed six months in making it, and the Senate and its Committee on Foreign Relations cannot dispose of this momentous document with the light-hearted indifference desired by those who were pressing for hasty and thoughtless action upon it. The committee was also hampered by the impossibility of securing the full information to which it was entitled from those who had conducted the negotiations. The committee was compelled to get such imperfect information as it secured from press reports, by summoning before it some of the accessible experts who had helped to frame the complicated financial clauses, and certain outside witnesses.

As an illustration in a small way of the difficulties in securing information, it may be stated that no provision had been made to supply the Senate with the maps accompanying the treaty, and it was necessary to send to Paris to procure them. The only documents of the many asked for by the committee which were furnished by the Executive were the American plan for the League of Nations, submitted to the commission on the League covenant, and the composite draft made by experts of that commission.

The treaties with Poland and with France, as well as the Rhine protocol, all integral parts of the treaty with Germany, were obtained by the Senate prior to their transmission by the President from the documents laid before the House of Commons and the Chamber of Deputies early in July by the Prime Ministers of England and France. The records of the Peace Conference and of the conferences of the representatives of the five great powers were asked for by the committee and refused by the Executive. The committee had before them the Secretary of State, who was one of the American delegates, and a signer of the treaty, and they also had the privilege of a meeting with the President at the White House, which they had themselves requested. The testimony of the Secretary of State and the conversation of the committee with the President, published in the record of the committee hearings, have been laid before the country by the press, and it is not necessary to say anything further in regard to them because the people themselves know how much information in regard to the treaty was received by the committee upon those two occasions.

The character of the clamor for speedy action is well illustrated by the fact that it was directed solely against the Senate of the United States and its Committee on Foreign Relations. The treaty provides that it shall go into force when ratified by Germany and by three of the principal allied and associated powers, which are the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan. Great Britain very naturally ratified at once, but no one of the other four has yet acted. Persons afflicted with inquiring minds have wondered not a little that the distressed mourners over delays in the Senate have not also aimed their criticism at the like shortcomings on the part of France, Italy, and Japan, an act of even-handed justice in fault-finding which they have hitherto failed to perform.

TRADE WITH GERMANY

Perhaps it is well also to note and to consider for a moment one of the reasons given for the demand for hasty action, which was to the effect that it was necessary to have prompt ratification in order to renew our trade with Germany, for even the most ardent advocate of unconsidered action was

unable to urge that the channels of trade to the allied countries were not open. The emptiness of this particular plea for haste, now rather faded, is shown by the fact that we have been trading with Germany ever since the armistice. Between that event and the end of July we have exported to Germany goods valued at \$11,270,624. In the month of June we exported more to Germany than we did to Spain. In July, by orders of the War Trade Board, the provisions of the Trading with the Enemy act were set aside by the authorization of licenses to trade, and exports to Germany for the month of July amounted to \$2,436,742, while those to Austria and Hungary were \$1,016,518.

It is an interesting fact that the exports in June to Germany, before the relaxation of the Trading with the Enemy act, were much larger than after that relaxation, brought about by allowing licenses, was ordered, an indication of the undoubted truth that our trade with foreign countries is not affected by the treaty, but is governed by the necessarily reduced purchasing power of all countries in Europe engaged in the war. As a matter of fact, therefore, we are trading with Germany, and it is a mere delusion to say that we cannot trade with Germany until the ratification of the treaty, because in order to do so we require a new treaty of amity and commerce and the re-establishment of our consular system in that country. The United States, following the usual custom, was represented in Germany by Spain both in the consular and in the diplomatic service, after the outbreak of the war, and we can transact all the business we may desire through the good offices of Spanish Consuls until a new consular treaty with Germany has been made.

Before leaving this subject it may not be amiss to remark that Mr. Lloyd George has recently made two important speeches expressing grave apprehensions as to the social and political unrest and the economic troubles now prevalent in England. He seems to have failed to point out, however, that the ratification of the covenant of the League of Nations by Great Britain had relieved the situation which he had described. He was apparently equally remiss in omitting to suggest that prompt action by the Senate of the United States in adopting the covenant of the League of Nations would immediately lower the price of beef.

JUSTIFYING CHANGES IN TREATY

In reporting the treaty for the Senate for action the committee propose certain amendments to the text of the treaty and certain reservations to be attached to the resolution of ratification and made a part of that resolution when it is offered.

In regard to the amendments generally it should be stated at the outset that nothing is more groundless than the sedulously cultivated and constantly expressed fear that textual amendments would require a sum-

moning of the Peace Conference, and thereby cause great delay. There will be no necessity of summoning the Peace Conference, because it is in session now in Paris with delegates fully representing all the signatory nations, as it has been for six months, and it seems likely to be in session for six months more. Textual amendments if made by the Senate can be considered in Paris at once, and the conference would be at least as usefully employed in that consideration as they now are in dividing and sharing Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor, in handing the Greeks of Thrace over to our enemy, Bulgaria, and in trying to force upon the United States the control of Armenia, Anatolia, and Constantinople through the medium of a large American army.

Still more unimportant is the bugbear which has been put forward of the enormous difficulties which will be incurred in securing the adhesion of Germany. No great amount of time need be consumed in bringing German representatives to Paris. The journey is within the power of a moderate amount of human endurance, and it is also to be remembered that Germany is not a member of the League and need not be consulted in regard to the terms of the covenant. When Germany enters the League she will take it as she finds it.

NATURE OF AMENDMENTS

The first amendment offered by the committee relates to the League. It is proposed so to amend the text as to secure for the United States a vote in the Assembly of the League equal to that of any other power. Great Britain now has under the name of the British Empire one vote in the Council of the League. She has four additional votes in the Assembly of the League for her self-governed dominions and colonies, which are most properly members of the League and signatories to the treaty. She also has the vote of India, which is neither a self-governing dominion nor a colony, but merely a part of the empire, and which apparently was simply put in as a signatory and member of the League by the Peace Conference because Great Britain desired it.

Great Britain also will control the votes of the Kingdom of Hedjaz and of Persia. With these last two of course we have nothing to do. But if Great Britain has six votes in the League Assembly no reason has occurred to the committee, and no argument had been made to show why the United States should not have an equal number. If other countries like the present arrangement, that is not our affair, but the committee failed to see why the United States should have but one vote in the Assembly of the League when the British Empire has six.

Amendments 39 to 44, inclusive, transfer to China the German lease and rights as they exist in the Chinese province of Shantung, which are given by the treaty to Japan. The

majority of the committee were not willing to have their votes recorded at any stage in the proceedings in favor of the consummation of what they consider a great wrong. They cannot assent to taking the property of a faithful ally and handing it over to another ally in fulfillment of a bargain made by other powers in a secret treaty. It is a record which they are not willing to present to their fellow-citizens or leave behind for the contemplation of their children.

Amendment No. 2 is simply to provide that where a member of the League has self-governing dominions and colonies which are all members of the League the exclusion of the disputants under the League rules shall cover the aggregate vote of the member of the League and its self-governing dominions and parts of the empire combined, if any one is involved in the controversy.

The remaining amendments, with a single exception, may be treated as one, for the purpose of all alike is to relieve the United States from having representatives on the commissions established by the League which deal with questions in which the United States has and can have no interest, and in which the United States has evidently been inserted by design. The exception is Amendment No. 45, which provides that the United States shall have a member of the Reparations Commission, but that such Commissioner of the United States cannot, except in the case of shipping, where the interests of the United States are directly involved, deal with or vote upon any other questions before that commission except under instructions from the Government of the United States.

RESERVATIONS

The committee proposes four reservations, to be made a part of the resolution of ratification when it is offered. The committee reserves, of course, the right to offer other reservations if it shall so determine. The four reservations now presented are as follows:

"1. The United States reserves to itself the unconditional right to withdraw from the League of Nations upon the notice provided in Article I. of said treaty of peace with Germany."

The provision in the League covenant for withdrawal declares that any member may withdraw provided it has fulfilled all its international obligations and all its obligations under the covenant. There has been much dispute as to who would decide if the question of the fulfillment of obligations was raised, and it is very generally thought that this question would be settled by the Council of the League of Nations. The best that can be said about it is that the question of decision is clouded with doubt. On such a point as this there must be no doubt. The United States, which has never broken an international obligation, cannot permit all its existing treaties to be reviewed and its conduct and honor questioned by other nations.

The same may be said in regard to the fulfillment of the obligations to the League. It must be made perfectly clear that the United States alone is to determine as to the fulfillment of its obligations, and its right of withdrawal must therefore be unconditional, as provided in the reservation.

"2. The United States declines to assume, under the provisions of Article X. or under any other article, any obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between other nations, members of the League or not, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States in such controversies, or to adopt economic measures for the protection of any other country, whether a member of the League or not, against external aggression, or for the purpose of coercing any other country, or for the purpose of intervention in the internal conflicts or other controversies which may arise in any other country, and no mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII., Part 2, of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States."

This reservation is intended to meet the most vital objection to the League covenant as it stands. Under no circumstances must there be any legal or moral obligation upon the United States to enter into war or to send its army and navy abroad, or, without the unfettered action of Congress, to impose economic boycotts on other countries. Under the Constitution of the United States the Congress alone has the power to declare war, and all bills to raise revenue or affecting the revenue in any way must originate in the House of Representatives, be passed by the Senate, and receive the signature of the President. These constitutional rights of Congress must not be impaired by any agreements such as are presented in the treaty, nor can any opportunity of charging the United States with bad faith be permitted. No American soldiers or sailors must be sent to fight in other lands at the bidding of a League of Nations. American lives must not be sacrificed, except by the will and command of the American people acting through their constitutional representatives in Congress.

This reservation also covers the subject of mandates. According to the provisions of the covenant of the League, the acceptance of a mandate by any member is voluntary, but as to who shall have authority to refuse or to accept a mandate for any country the covenant of the League is silent. The decision as to accepting a mandate must rest exclusively within the control of the Congress of the United States, as the reservation provides, and must not be delegated, even by inference, to any personal agent or to any delegate or commissioner.

"3. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what ques-

tions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating to its affairs, including immigration, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations or to the decision or recommendation of any other power."

The reservation speaks for itself. It is not necessary to follow out here all tortuous windings, which to those who have followed them through the labyrinth disclose the fact that the League under certain conditions will have power to pass upon and decide questions of immigration and tariff, as well as the others mentioned in the reservation. It is believed by the committee that this reservation relieves the United States from any dangers or any obligations in this direction.

The fourth and last reservation is as follows:

"4. The United States declines to submit for arbitration or inquiry by the Assembly or the Council of the League of Nations provided for in said treaty of peace any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of the said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany."

The purpose of this reservation is clear. It is intended to preserve the Monroe Doctrine from any interference or interpretation by foreign powers. As the Monroe Doctrine has protected the United States, so, it is believed by the committee, will this reservation protect the Monroe Doctrine from the destruction with which it is threatened by Article XXI. in the covenant of the League and leave it, where it has always been, within the sole and complete control of the United States.

CALLS LEAGUE AN ALLIANCE

This covenant of the League of Nations is an alliance and not a league, as is amply shown by the provisions of the treaty with Germany, which vests all essential power in five great nations. Those same nations, the principal allied and associated powers, also dominate the League through the Council.

The committee believe that the League as it stands will breed wars instead of securing peace. They also believe that the covenant of the League demands sacrifices of American independence and sovereignty which would in no way promote the world's peace, but which are fraught with the gravest dangers to the future safety and well-being of the United States. The amendments and

reservations alike are governed by a single purpose, and that is to guard American rights and American sovereignty, the invasion of which would stimulate breaches of faith, encourage conflicts, and generate wars. The United States can serve the cause of peace best, as she has served it in the past, and do more to secure liberty and civilization throughout the world by proceeding along the paths she has always followed and by not permitting herself to be fettered by the dictates of other nations or immersed and entangled in all the broils and conflicts of Europe.

We have heard it frequently said that the United States "must" do this and do that in regard to this League of Nations and the terms of the German peace. There is no "must" about it. "Must" is not a word to be used by foreign nations or domestic officials to the American people or their representatives. Equally unfitting is the attempt to frighten the unthinking by suggesting that if the Senate adopts amendments or reservations the United States may be excluded from the League. That is the one thing that certainly will not happen. The other nations know well that there is no threat of retaliation possible with the United States, because we have asked nothing for ourselves and have received nothing. We seek no guarantees, no territory, no commercial benefits or advantages. The other nations will take us on our own terms, for without us their League is a wreck, and all their gains from a victorious peace are imperiled. We exact nothing for ourselves, but we insist that we shall be the judges, and the only judges, as to the preservation of our rights, our sovereignty, our safety, and our independence.

At this moment the United States is free from any entanglements or obligations which legally or in the name of honor would compel her to do anything contrary to the dictates of conscience or to the freedom and the interests of the American people. This is the hour when we can say precisely what we will do and exactly what we will not do, and no man can ever question our good faith if we speak now. When we are once caught in the meshes of a treaty of alliance or a League of Nations composed of twenty-six other powers our freedom of action is gone. To preserve American independence and American sovereignty, and thereby best serve the welfare of mankind, the committee propose these amendments and reservations.

(Signed:)

HENRY CABOT LODGE, (Mass.)
 WILLIAM E. BORAH, (Idaho.)
 FRANK B. BRANDEGEE, (Conn.)
 ALBERT C. FALL, (N. M.)
 PHILANDER C. KNOX, (Penn.)
 WARREN G. HARDING, (Ohio.)
 HIRAM JOHNSON, (Cal.)
 HARRY S. NEW, (Ind.)
 GEORGE H. MOSES, (Conn.)

THE MINORITY REPORT

The minority report, signed by six Democrats, as presented by Senator Hitchcock, ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee, was as follows:

The undersigned, members of the Foreign Relations Committee, unite in urging the early ratification of the pending treaty of peace without amendments and without reservations.

We deplore the long and unnecessary delay to which the treaty has been subjected, while locked up in the committee whose majority decisions and recommendations were from the start a foregone conclusion. They could have been made in July as well as in September, and would have been the same.

The industrial world is in ferment, the financial world in doubt, and commerce halts, while this great delay in the peace settlement has been caused by the majority of a committee known to be out of harmony with the majority of the Senate and the majority of the people. This is government by obstruction as well as by a minority.

Our export trade already shows the undeniable effects of delay and doubt in treaty ratification and peace settlement. For the first seven months following the armistice our exports averaged almost seven hundred millions per month, but in July they fell to five hundred and seventy millions of dollars. Europe undoubtedly wants our products, but can only take them in full quantity if our financial institutions provide the credit to bridge over the period necessary to restore European industry to productivity. This private credit can not and will not be furnished as long as the peace settlement is in doubt. A public credit has heretofore carried this great balance of trade. Since the armistice was signed our Government has advanced to European Governments nearly two and one-half billion dollars, which was almost enough to cover the balance of trade during the eight months' period.

Our Government, however, has about reached the end of its authority given by Congress and will advance but little more. From now on, if we are to keep up our commerce with Europe, private enterprise must furnish the credit to cover the trade balance till European industries get started and are able to pay us with their goods. Peace settlement delays and doubts paralyze this revival. If uncertainty continues, depression is inevitable.

The claim by the majority of this committee that we have exported over eleven million dollars' worth of goods to Germany since the armistice and without a peace settlement is no doubt true. To other countries during the same period we exported over five thousand million dollars' worth. What was exported to Germany, as stated by the majority report, was practically nothing. It

is only 14 cents' worth of American products for each person in Germany in seven months, or 2 cents per person per month, yet the majority report boasts of it as evidence of trade revival in spite of treaty delay.

The same statesmen gravely assure us that the figures prove that it is a mere delusion to say we cannot trade with Germany till a peace settlement is made. Two cents per month per capita is hardly trading with Germany.

AGAINST ALL AMENDMENTS

Referring to the action of the majority of the committee, we unite in opposing and condemning the recommendations both as to textual amendments and as to proposed reservations. As far as the proposed textual amendments are concerned we see no reason to discuss their character at length. In our opinion they have no merit, but whether they be good, bad, or indifferent, their adoption by the Senate can have no possible effect except to defeat the participation of the United States in the treaty. None of them could by any possibility be accepted, even by the great nations associated with the United States in the war, and none of them could by any possibility be dictated to Germany. To adopt any one of them, therefore, is equivalent to rejecting the treaty.

The suggestion of the majority report that the Peace Conference is still in session in Paris and could consider any textual amendments to the treaty made by the Senate, and that German representatives could be brought to Paris for that purpose, indicates a total misconception of the situation. The Peace Conference has acted finally upon the treaty. Great Britain has ratified; France is about to do so, and with the action of one other power it will in all human probability be in actual operation even before the Senate of the United States reaches a decision.

Moreover, the Peace Conference possesses no further power to "bring German representatives to Paris." The power of compulsion has been exhausted. Germany was told where to sign and when to sign and when to ratify, and Germany has closed the chapter by signing and by ratifying. Germany cannot be compelled to do anything more or different with regard to this treaty by being confronted with an amended treaty, whether once a month, day, or week. There must be a finality to ultimatums in a treaty by compulsion. If an amended treaty is not signed by Germany, then it is in none of its parts binding on her.

WHAT WE WOULD SACRIFICE

To adopt an amendment or to reject the treaty means that the United States will sacrifice all the concessions secured from Germany by a dictated peace. While these concessions are not as large as those which other nations associated with us secure in reparations, they are nevertheless of tremendous importance and could only be

secured under a dictated peace. Among the concessions which the United States would sacrifice by the adoption of any amendment or the rejection of the treaty may be included the following:

First—Germany's acknowledgment of responsibility for the war and her promise to make restitution for damages resulting from it.

Second—Germany's promise to us in the treaty that she will not impose higher or other customs duties or charges on our goods than those charged to the most-favored nation and will not prohibit or restrict or discriminate against imports directly or indirectly from our country.

Third—Germany's promise to us in the treaty that she will make no discrimination in German ports on shipping bearing our flag, and that our shipping in German ports will be given as favorable treatment as German ships receive.

Fourth—That for six months after the treaty goes into effect no customs duty will be levied against imports from the United States except the lowest duties that were in force for the first six months of 1914.

Fifth—Germany's agreement with us that the United States shall have the privilege of reviving such of the treaties with Germany as were in existence prior to the war as we may alone desire.

Sixth—Germany's promise to us to restore the property of our citizens seized in Germany or to compensate the owners.

Seventh—Germany's very important validating all acts by the United States and by the Alien Property Custodian by which we seized and proceeded to liquidate \$800,000,000 worth of property in the United States belonging to German citizens.

Eighth—Germany's agreement that the proceeds of the sale of these properties may be used to compensate our citizens in Germany if Germany fails to do so, or to pay debts which Germany or Germans owe to American citizens, or to pay American pre-war claims against Germany for property destroyed and lives taken similar to the losses because of the destruction of the Lusitania.

Ninth—Germany's agreement that she will compensate her own citizens for property, patents, and other things belonging to them in the United States seized during the war by our Government.

Tenth—Germany's agreement that no claim can be made against the United States in respect to the use or sale during the war by our Government, or by persons acting for our Government, of any rights in industrial, literary, or artistic property, including patents.

Eleventh—Germany's agreement that the United States shall retain over 500,000 tons of German shipping, seized

in American ports, which must more than compensate us for shipping lost during the war.

Twelfth—We would lose our membership on the Reparations Commission, which will be the most powerful international body ever created and which will have enormous control over the trade and commerce of Germany with the rest of the world for years to come. It not only supervises the use of German economic resources and the payment of reparations, but it can restrict or expand Germany's imports and distribute much of her desirable exports, including dyes. In no way can the United States assure itself against discrimination in German imports and financial policies, unless we have a member upon this great Reparations Commission.

AMENDMENT SAME AS REJECTION

These are some, but by no means all, of the valuable concessions which the United States would inevitably sacrifice by failing to ratify the treaty. This failure would be just as complete if we adopt an amendment to it as if we rejected the treaty absolutely. In either event, we would find ourselves at the end of the war, it is true, but without any peace or terms of peace with Germany. We would have abandoned our disgusted associates and we would be reduced to the necessity of seeking a negotiated peace with an angry Germany on such terms as she would be willing to accord.

We are, therefore, without any qualifications against amendments.

We are aware that the claim has been set up that one of the proposed amendments, which relates only to the League of Nations, does not require the assent of Germany. This is based on the fact that Germany is not yet a member of the League of Nations and may not be for several years.

The answer is, however, that the League covenant is a part of the treaty, and the League, which is mentioned in many places in the treaty, has much to do with German affairs, even though Germany is not a member. Germany, in agreeing to the treaty, has assented to the provisions of the covenant, and one of the provisions is that it can only be amended by the action of the League, which has not yet started, ratified by all the members of the Council, which has not yet organized, as well as by a majority of the members of the Assembly. It is obvious, therefore, if it is to be amended in any other way, Germany's assent will be just as necessary as to any other article of the treaty.

RESERVATIONS

The reservations proposed by the majority of this committee are of such a character as at once betray their authorship. They are the work of Senators organized for the purpose of destroying the League and, if possible, de-

feating this treaty. Their phraseology is such as makes this purpose plain. They are in no sense interpretative reservations, to be used to make clear language in the treaty that might be considered doubtful, but they are so framed as to receive the support of Senators who desire the defeat of the treaty.

While masquerading in the guise of reservations, they are in fact alterations of the treaty. They have all the vices of amendments and the additional vice of pretending to be what they are not. Presented as parts of the resolution to ratify the treaty, they would in fact, if adopted, result in its defeat. All of them apply to the League of Nations section of the treaty. Those who oppose the League of Nations realize that it is invincible on a square fight and they hope to destroy it by this indirection.

The League of Nations has stood the test of worldwide criticism and unlimited attack. It stands today as the only hope for world peace. After all the assaults of many months its purposes and provisions stand out clearly defined, unaffected by criticism, and unyielding to attack.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The League of Nations proposes to organize the nations of the world for peace, whereas they have always heretofore been organized for war. It proposes to establish the rule of international justice in place of force.

It proposes to make a war of conquest impossible by uniting all nations against the offender.

It is the first international arrangement ever made by which small and weak nations are given the organized strength of the world for protection.

It is a covenant between many nations by which each agrees not to do certain things which in the past have produced wars and to do many things which have been found to preserve the peace.

It is a working plan for the gradual reduction of armament by all members simultaneously in proper proportion and by agreement.

It sets up arbitration as a friendly method of adjusting disputes and inquiry when arbitration is not agreed to. In both cases it provides a cooling-off period of nine months, during which the differences may be adjusted.

It preserves the territorial integrity and political independence of each member and leaves to each the exercise of its sovereign rights as a nation.

It will save the world from wars and preparations for wars. It will reduce armies and navies and taxes.

It will help to remove the discontent with Government in all countries, by making Government beneficent and devoting its revenues to constructive rather than to destructive purposes.

It is the only plan proposed to redeem the

world from wars, pestilence, and famine, the only one by which a stricken world can be redeemed from the disasters of the late war and the dangers of impending international chaos.

Those who dally and delay as they seek with microscopes to find some petty flaw in its structure have nothing themselves to propose. They have appealed to every prejudice and resorted to every desperate method of attack to destroy this great international effort to establish peace, but they suggest nothing in its place.

They denounce the public demand for energetic action as "clamor." They rail at the President, who with the representatives of many other nations has devoted months of hard work to a great constructive effort to settle the terms and reorganize the world for peace. Finally, unable to stem the tide of public demand for the League of Nations, they resort to so-called reservations in the hope that they can destroy by indirection what they have found unassailable by direct attack.

We renew our recommendation that the work of the Peace Conference be confirmed, the will of the people fulfilled, and the peace of the world advanced by the ratification of this treaty—"the best hope of the world"—even if, like all human instrumentalities, it be not divinely perfect in every detail.

GILBERT H. HITCHCOCK, (Neb.)
JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, (Miss.)
CLAUDE A. SWANSON, (Va.)
ATLEE POMERENE, (Ohio.)
MARCUS A. SMITH, (Ariz.)
KEY PITTMAN, (Nev.)

SENATOR McCUMBER'S ATTACK ON LODGE REPORT

Senator Porter J. McCumber of North Dakota, a Republican member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, on Sept. 15 presented a minority report, of which he himself was sole signatory, and which embodied a scathing indictment of the majority report. At the outset of his protest Senator McCumber complained that the majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations had deviated from the rule of confining a report to the objects of a measure and the reasons for proposed amendments. He continued:

Not one word is said, not a single allusion made, concerning either the great purposes of the League of Nations or the methods by which these purposes are to be accomplished. Irony and sarcasm have been substituted for argument, and positions taken by the press or individuals outside the Senate seem to command more attention than the treaty itself. * * *

The instrument is not as complete and as binding as the Constitution of a State or nation. It still leaves to each nation the right of withdrawal, and

depends to a great extent upon the moral sentiment of each nation to comply with its own obligation or the enforcement of such obligation upon a recalcitrant member. It is a mighty step in the right direction. Every sentiment of justice and morality is on its side. Some of its provisions are yet crude and uncertain of application, but the whole purpose is most noble and worthy, and, as in our American Constitution, we were compelled, in order to form a more perfect union, to depend upon the right of amendment, so in this great world Constitution experience will undoubtedly necessitate

many changes in order to make a more perfect instrument that will work for the benefit of humanity. All of these noble and lofty purposes have been ignored in the majority report or treated with sarcastic disdain or jingoistic contempt. To my mind such an attitude is most selfish, immoral, and dishonorable.

The final debate on the treaty amendments was scheduled to begin Sept. 23, and the Senators who had been trailing President Wilson were recalled to Washington for the struggle.

President Wilson's Speaking Tour

His Fight for Ratification of the Treaty Carried From Coast to Coast in More Than Thirty Addresses

PRESIDENT WILSON left Washington on the evening of Sept. 3, 1919, to begin a nation-wide speaking tour in behalf of the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations. In the next twenty-seven days he delivered more than thirty speeches along a pre-arranged itinerary that included a week on the Pacific Coast. His journey was an appeal to the people on existing issues. With the exception of Illinois, the home of two Senate opponents of full ratification, the President carried the contest into the native States of virtually all the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the West who were contending for reservations and amendments.

Accompanying him were Mrs. Wilson, Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, his physician; Joseph P. Tumulty, his private secretary; Thomas W. Brahaney, chief clerk at the White House; Charles L. Swen, the President's personal stenographer; a staff of Secret Service men, twenty newspaper men, and photographers. The Presidential party traveled by special train.

A number of United States Senators, among them Messrs. Johnson, Borah, Reed, and McCormick, followed a few days behind the President in the Middle West and delivered speeches in opposition to the terms of the treaty and in

support of amendments to the covenant of the League of Nations. They also were greeted by large audiences and were bitter in their criticisms of the President.

Mr. Wilson's first speech was delivered at Columbus, Ohio, on Sept. 4. He began by calling his tour a report to the people regarding his stewardship in connection with the Peace Conference at Paris. He told his audience that the whole world was waiting for the United States to ratify the treaty, and that the League of Nations alone could prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe as that which had overwhelmed the world. In the evening of the same day he addressed a large audience at Indianapolis in defense of Article X., the storm centre of the League covenant.

From Indianapolis his itinerary took the President to St. Louis, Kansas City, Des Moines, Omaha, Sioux Falls, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Bismarck, Billings, Helena, Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, Tacoma, Seattle, San Francisco, San Diego, Los Angeles. On the return journey he went first to Reno, Nev., thence to Salt Lake City, Cheyenne, Denver, Pueblo, Wichita, Oklahoma City, Little Rock, Memphis, and Louisville, where the speaking ended. The return to Washington was scheduled for Sept. 30.

At every city the President was

greeted by immense throngs. He found sentiment somewhat divided in his first audiences, but his eloquence everywhere produced great enthusiasm. He vigorously advocated the ratification of the treaty without any amendments or reservations, criticising in strong terms the Senators who were opposing unreserved ratification. His argument at all times was that the interests of the United States were amply safeguarded by the treaty, and that the opposition was due to partisan bias or personal rancor, or else to lack of knowledge.

DEFENSE OF ARTICLE X.

Regarding Article X. of the League covenant, one of the most bitterly contested points, the President said in his Indianapolis speech:

Article X. speaks the conscience of the world. Article X. is the article which goes to the heart of this whole bad business, for that article says that the members of this League (and that is intended to be all the great nations of the world) engage to resist and to preserve against all external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of the nations concerned. That promise is necessary in order to prevent this sort of war recurring, and we are absolutely discredited if we fought this war and then neglect the essential safeguard against it.

You have heard it said, my fellow-citizens, that we are robbed of some degree of our sovereign independence of choice by articles of that sort. Every man who makes a choice to respect the rights of his neighbors deprives himself of absolute sovereignty, but he does it by promising never to do wrong, and I cannot, for one, see anything that robs me of any inherent right that I ought to retain when I promise that I will do right.

We engage, in the first sentence of Article X., to respect and preserve from external aggression the territorial integrity and the existing political independence, not only of the other member States, but of all States, and if any member of the League of Nations disregards that promise, then what happens? The Council of the League advises what should be done to enforce the respect for that covenant on the part of the nation attempting to violate it. And there is no compulsion upon us to take that advice—except the compulsion of our good conscience and judgment.

So that it is perfectly evident that if, in the judgment of the people of the United States, the Council adjudged

wrong, and that this was not an occasion for the use of force, there would be no necessity on the part of the Congress of the United States to vote the use of force. But there could be no advice of the Council on any such subject without unanimous vote, and the unanimous vote would include our own. And if we accepted the advice we would be accepting our own advice. For I need not tell you that the representatives of the Government of the United States would not vote without instructions from their Government at home, and that what we united in advising we could be certain that our people would desire to do.

There is in that covenant not one note of surrender of the independent judgment of the Government of the United States, but an expression of it, because that independent judgment would have to join with the judgment of the rest.

THE SHANTUNG ISSUE

In a speech at the Chamber of Commerce luncheon in St. Louis, Sept. 5, the President gave this explanation of the Shantung settlement:

Great Britain and others, as everybody knows, in order to make it more certain that Japan would come into the war and so assist to clear the Pacific of the German fleets, had promised that any rights that Germany had in China should, in the case of the victory of the Allies, pass to Japan. There was no qualification in the promise. She was to get exactly what Germany had. And so the only thing that was possible was to induce Japan to promise—and I want to say in all fairness, for it wouldn't be fair if I didn't say it, that Japan did very handsomely make the promises which were requested of her—that she would retain in Shantung none of the sovereign rights which Germany had enjoyed there, but would return the sovereignty without qualification to China and retain in Shantung Province only what other nationalities had elsewhere—economic rights with regard to development and administration of the railroad and of certain mines which had become attached to the railway.

That is her promise. And, personally, I haven't the slightest doubt that she will fulfill that promise. She cannot fulfill it right now because the thing doesn't come into operation until three months after the treaty is ratified, so that we must not be too impatient about it. But she will fulfill those promises.

And suppose that we said we wouldn't assent. England and others must assent, and if we are going to get Shantung Province back for China and those gentlemen don't want to engage in for-

sign wars, how are they going to get it back?

Their idea of not getting into trouble seems to be to stand for the greatest possible number of unworkable propositions. All very well to talk about standing by China. But how are you standing by China when you withdraw from the only arrangements by which China can be assisted?

If you are China's friend, don't go into the council where you can act as China's friend. If you are China's friend, then put her in a position where these concessions, which have been made, need not be carried out. If you are China's friend, scuttle and run. That is not the kind of American I am.

STEP TOWARD DISARMAMENT

Before a great crowd that packed the Coliseum in St. Louis that evening Mr. Wilson pointed out that if we did not join the League of Nations we would have to play a "lone hand," which would mean that we must maintain a great standing army. At Kansas City the next day, in addressing 15,000 persons in the Convention Hall, he further elaborated this thought as follows:

We wanted disarmament and this document provides in the only possible way for disarmament by common agreement. Observe that just now every great fighting nation in the world is a member of this partnership except Germany, and inasmuch as Germany has accepted a limitation of her army to 100,000 men, I don't think for the time being she may be regarded as a great fighting nation.

And you know, my fellow-citizens, that armaments mean great standing armies and great stores of war material. They do not mean burdensome taxation merely, they do not mean merely compulsory military service, which saps the economic strength of the nation, but they mean the building up of a military class.

At Billings, Mon., he developed this idea further:

To play a lone hand now means that we must always be ready to play by ourselves. It means that we must always be armed, that we must always be ready to mobilize the man strength and the manufacturing resources of the country. That means that we must continue to live under not diminishing but increasing taxes and be strong enough to beat any nation in the world, and absolutely contrary to the high ideals of American history. If you are going to play a lone hand, the hand that you play must be upon the handle of the sword.

The lone hand must have a weapon in

it, and the weapon must be the young men of the country, trained to arms, and the business of the country must be prepared for making armament and arms for the men. And do you suppose, my fellow-citizens, that any nation is willing to stand for that?

OVATION AT SEATTLE

On reaching the Pacific Coast President Wilson was received with the most tumultuous demonstrations he had yet encountered. In the stadium at Tacoma he was greeted in the forenoon of Sept. 13 by a vast throng of 30,000 persons, and in the afternoon, at Seattle, he reviewed the new Pacific Fleet on the waterfront, and then delivered two speeches in the evening. The popular demonstration in the streets of Seattle was one of the most remarkable ever seen in this country. As the President's automobile passed on its way, those who looked back could see the crowd overflowing the police lines and following in mass formation that filled the streets and stopped all traffic. At times the police, with clubs, were able to check the onrush for a few minutes, but as soon as the police gave way the crowd moved on in the direction of the President's car, a sea of faces that hid all else from view.

The outpouring of radicals was not the only thing that made the street demonstration different from those witnessed further east. There was a feeling in the air difficult to describe—the feeling of a great throng realizing its power. It seemed as if the people were bent upon sweeping on to something they wished to accomplish, rather than out on holiday to cheer and applaud. While the people were willing to see the League of Nations get a trial and desired to see the Peace Treaty signed and out of the way, that was not the dominant note. It was a popular demonstration given to a man whom the people accepted as a leader; a man with whom they might differ on many points, but in whom many of their hopes rested.

ADDRESS AT PORTLAND

The crowds that greeted the President at Portland on Sept. 15 were almost equally large, and after moving among them all day he delivered an address in

the evening in which he referred in these words to the opponents of the League of Nations:

Let gentlemen beware how they disappoint the world; let gentlemen beware how they betray the immemorial principles of the United States; let men not make the mistake of claiming a position of privilege for the United States which gives it all the advantages of the League of Nations and none of the risks and responsibilities.

A woman came to the train the other day and seized my hand and was about to say something, but turned away in a flood of tears, and I asked a standerby what was the matter, and he said: "Why, Sir, she lost two sons." She had nothing in her heart except the hope that I could save other sons, though she had given hers gladly. And, God help me, I will save other sons.

Through evil report and good report, through resistance, misrepresentation, and every other vile thing, I shall fight my way to that goal. I call upon the men to whom I have referred, the honest, patriotic, intelligent men who have been too particularly concerned in criticising the details of that treaty to forget the details; to remember the great enterprise; to stand with me to fulfill the hopes and traditions of the United States.

There is only one conquering force in the world, there is only one thing you can't kill, and that is the spirit of the freemen.

And now, let us, every one of us, bind ourselves in a solemn league and covenant of our own that we will redeem this expectation of the world, that we will not allow any man to stand in the way of it, that the world hereafter shall believe in us and not curse us; that the world hereafter will follow us and not turn aside from us; and that in leading we will not lead along the paths of private advantage, we will not lead along the paths of national ambition, but we will be proud and happy to lead along the paths of right, so that men shall always say that American soldiers saved Europe and American citizens saved the world.

TWO DAYS IN SAN FRANCISCO

President Wilson spent Sept. 17 and 18 in San Francisco, carrying the fight for the treaty into the heart of Senator Johnson's State. Regarding Ireland, Mr. Wilson declared that the League of Nations not only did not put the United States in a position where it would have to aid England in the event that Ireland sought to obtain its freedom, but went further by providing a court of the

world, before which Ireland or any nation which felt that Ireland was wronged could seek the verdict of public opinion. In like manner he contended that China's best hope of full sovereignty over her own soil was offered by the League.

In the Municipal Stadium at San Diego on Sept. 19 President Wilson stood before an audience estimated at 40,000 to 50,000, the largest he had yet faced, and talked from a glass cage with electrical devices to help carry his words to all parts of the great amphitheatre. Taking for his text a statement by Theodore Roosevelt, written in 1914, in favor of just such a League of Nations as has now been embodied in the Peace Treaty, Mr. Wilson told his audience that the treaty fulfilled Republican ideals. He found sentiment in Southern California strongly in favor of the League of Nations.

"THE SIX VOTES MYTH"

At Los Angeles on Sept. 21 the President increased this impression by an address in which he gave the following explanation of the process of voting in the League of Nations:

Another thing that is giving some of our fellow-country-men pangs of some sort, pangs of jealousy, perhaps, is that, as they put it, Great Britain has six votes in the League and we have only one. Well, our one vote, it happens, counts just as heavily as if every one of our States were represented and we had forty-eight votes, because it happens, though these gentlemen have overlooked it, that the Assembly is not an independent voting body. Great Britain has only one representative and one vote in the council of the League of Nations, which originates all action, and its six votes are in the Assembly, which is a debating and not an executive body, and in every matter on which the Assembly can vote along with the council it is necessary that all the nations represented on the council should concur in the affirmative vote to make it valid; so that in every vote, no matter how many vote for it in the Assembly, in order for it to become valid it is necessary that the United States should vote aye.

Now, inasmuch as the Assembly is a debating body, that is the place where this exposure that I have talked about to the open air is to occur; it would not be wise for anybody to go into the Assembly for purposes that will not bear exposure, because that is the great cool-

ing process of the world, that is the great place where gases are to be burned off. I ask you, in debating the affairs of mankind, would it have been fair to give Panama a vote, as she will have, Cuba a vote, both of them very much under the influence of the United States, and not give a vote to the Dominion of

Canada, to that great eneregtic republic in South Africa, to that place from which so many liberal ideas and liberal actions have come, that stout little Commonwealth of Australia?

From Los Angeles the President started on his homeward journey.

Austrian Peace Treaty Signed

Ceremony at St. Germain That Ended the War With Austria,
Sept. 10, 1919—The Final Negotiations

THE treaty of peace with Austria, destined to be known in history as the treaty of St. Germain, was signed in the Paris suburb of St. Germain-en-Laye, Sept. 10, 1919, after four months of negotiation and interchange of notes. Dr. Karl Renner, Austrian Chancellor, who had conducted the negotiations throughout, signed the treaty after having done all in his power to modify the original terms laid down by the Allies.

The Austrian counterproposals had been submitted to the allied mission on Aug. 6, and the Supreme Council at Paris, after a brief vacation, had set to work to draft a decisive reply. When the Austrian Chancellor returned to St. Germain after a brief absence in Vienna he was informed by the allied powers, in reference to the term "German Austria" in his recent notes, that the new State must be called "The Republic of Austria."

On Aug. 19 the Supreme Council received through Paris representatives of the Austrian Province of Vorarlberg a telegram protesting against the action of Austria in preventing Vorarlberg from laying its claims before the conference. The telegram denied the right of Austria to represent Vorarlberg, and announced that through a plebiscite taken on Aug. 10 the inhabitants of the province had decided overwhelmingly in favor of union with Switzerland.

The Austrian delegation informed the Supreme Council on Aug. 20 that it would be necessary to take the completed text of the treaty to Vienna and

to submit it to the Assembly for approval before the delegates could sign it. On the date mentioned the Supreme Council appointed a committee with the special duty of answering the Austrian note concerning Austrian interests outside Europe. The American member of the committee was Mr. Dreisel. The Chairman was Jean Gout, representing France.

The council concluded its consideration of the treaty on Aug. 30, and approved the covering letter to accompany it. The complete revised text of the treaty terms was handed to the Austrian plenipotentiaries at St. Germain on Tuesday, Sept. 2. Five days only were given for Austria to accept or reject the treaty as it stood, though an intimation was given that an extension of time might be granted if Austria requested it. Chancellor Renner at once left for Vienna bearing the revised text and letter.

DRAFT OF COVERING LETTER

The treaty was presented to the Austrian delegates by Paul Dutasta, Secretary of the Peace Conference, in French, English, and Italian texts. He also handed them the allied reply to the counterproposals, with the covering letter, which was in part as follows:

The people of Austria, together with their neighbors, the people of Hungary, bear in a peculiar degree responsibility for the calamities which have befallen Europe during the last five years. The war was precipitated by an ultimatum presented to Serbia by the Govern-

ment at Vienna and requiring acceptance within forty-eight hours of a series of demands which amounted to the destruction of the independence of a neighboring sovereign State. The Royal Government of Serbia accepted within the prescribed time all the demands except those which involved the virtual surrender of its independence.

Yet the then Austro-Hungarian Government, refusing all offers of a conference of conciliation on the basis of that reply, immediately opened hostilities against Serbia, thereby deliberately setting light to a train which led directly to a universal war.

It is now evident that this ultimatum was no more than an insincere excuse for beginning a war for which the late autocratic Government at Vienna, in close association with the rulers of Germany, had long prepared and for which it considered the time had arrived. The presence of Austrian guns at the siege of Liège and Namur is further proof, if proof were required, of the intimate association of the Government of Vienna with the Government of Berlin in its plot against public law and the liberties of Europe. * * *

In the opinion * * * of the allied and associated powers it is impossible to admit the plea of the Austrian delegation that the people of Austria do not share the responsibility of the Government which provoked the war, or that they are to escape the duty of making reparation to the utmost of their capacity to those whom they and the Government they sustained have so grievously wronged. The principles upon which the draft treaty is based must therefore stand.

REAPING AS THEY SOWED

The Austrian delegation have further protested against the arrangements under the treaty governing their relations with the new States formed out of the late Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The allied and associated powers feel bound to point out that the disabilities from which Austria will suffer will rise, not from the provisions of the treaty, but mainly from the policy of ascendancy which its people have pursued in the past. Had the policy of Austria-Hungary been one of liberty and justice to all its peoples, the upper Danube States might have remained in friendly economic and political unity. As it was, the policy of ascendancy produced one of the cruelest tragedies of the late war, when millions of the subject peoples of Austria-Hungary were driven, under pain of death, to fight against their will in an army which was being used to perpetuate their own servitude as well as to compass the destruction of liberty in Europe.

Many of these peoples protested against

the war, and for their protests suffered confiscation, imprisonment, or death. Many more, who were captured or escaped, joined the armies of the Allies and played their part in the war of liberation. But they are now, one and all, determined, and rightly determined, to set themselves up as independent States. They will trust Vienna no more. The policy of ascendancy has borne its inevitable fruit in the fact of partition, and it is this partition which lies at the root of Austria's troubles today.

Vienna was made the economic and political centre of the empire. Everything was artificially concentrated there. Outlying districts and railways were starved in order that the capital might thrive. The break-up of Austria-Hungary, cutting these centralized economic filaments in two, can hardly fail to inflict the severest blows upon the State of Austria and its capital. But the dissolution of the monarchy with its consequences is the direct outcome of that fatal policy of domination for which the people of Austria are themselves principally to blame.

The allied and associated powers, however, have no wish to add to the hardships of Austria's position. On the contrary, they are anxious to do all in their power to assist her people to accommodate themselves to their new position and to recover their prosperity, provided always that it is not at the expense of the new States formed out of the late empire.

ECONOMIC CONCESSIONS GRANTED

The break-up of the monarchy has given rise to many difficult problems in the relations between the new States, which, under the treaty, are its heirs. It has been recognized as reasonable that the relations between the citizens of the succeeding States should be regulated in certain respects differently from the relations between the citizens of Austria and those of the other allied and associated powers, and, in view of the observations of the Austrian delegation, the allied and associated powers, while adhering to the general lines of the treaty, have made considerable modification in its economic provisions. The property of Austrian nationals in territories ceded to the allied powers is to be restored to its owners free from any measures of liquidation or bans forbidden since the armistice, and is guaranteed similar freedom from seizure or liquidation in the future. Contracts between Austrian nationals and persons who acquire, under the treaty, an allied nationality are maintained without option of cancellation.

Provision is made to insure Austria supplies of coal from Czechoslovakia and Poland, upon which she is dependent, in

return for reciprocal obligations to supply certain raw material. Outstanding questions affecting nationals of Austria which require settlement between Austria and its inheriting neighbors are to be regulated by separate conventions, and these conventions are to be drawn up by a conference to which Austria will be admitted on a footing of equality with the other States concerned. * * *

In conclusion, the allied and associated powers wish to make it clear that the modifications which they have now made in the draft treaty are final. They wish further to state that if they have not replied specifically to all the points in the reply of the Austrian delegation, it is not because they have not taken them into careful consideration, nor must the absence of any reply be taken as acquiescence or in approval of these contentions, nor must the present reply be taken as authoritative interpretation of the text of the treaty.

The text of the treaty, which we send you today, following upon that of July 20 last, which had already undergone considerable changes since the original text of June 2, must be accepted or rejected in the exact terms in which it is now drafted. Consequently, the allied and associated powers require from the Austrian delegation within a period of five days, counting from the date of the present communication, a declaration informing them that they are prepared to sign this treaty as it now stands. So soon as their declaration reaches the allied and associated powers arrangements will be made for the immediate signature of peace at St. Germain-en-Laye.

In default of such declaration within the period above stipulated, the armistice concluded on Nov. 13, 1918, shall be considered as having terminated, and the allied and associated powers will take such steps as they may judge necessary to impose their conditions.

ONE TERRITORIAL MODIFICATION

The allied powers had studied the frontiers of the future Republic of Austria from a historical, geographical, ethnological, economic, and political point of view, and, with the exception of one point, no modification had been made in regard to frontiers.

In defining the boundary of Czechoslovakia they tried to assure this State a complete system of communications, and therefore departed from the historical frontier of the crown of Bohemia to assure west and east communications of Southern Moravia, and in the Gmund region to give Bohemia a junction of

the two large railroad lines supplying this province.

With respect to the frontiers between Austria and Hungary, the allied and associated powers desired to guarantee access to the sea for the Czechoslovak State and therefore provided that Pressburg should have its access to the sea assured by transit across Hungarian as well as Austrian territory.

Concessions were granted to Austria in connection with the Serb-Croat-Slovene State in so far that Radkersburg was given to the Austrians; also the basin of Marburg, in Styria, was attached to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, as previously determined. The period within which Austria is obliged to give favored-nation treatment in its commercial relations with the allied and associated powers is reduced by the treaty from five to three years.

AUSTRIA ACCEPTS TREATY

On his return to Vienna Dr. Renner presented the treaty to the Austrian Assembly. On Sept. 6 the Assembly, by a vote of 97 to 23, decided to accept and sign the treaty. It protested, however, against "the violation of Austria's right of free disposal of herself." The German nationalists voted against accepting the treaty, while some members of the South Tyrolese Party abstained from voting. The vote was taken after adoption, without dissent, of the Government's resolution of protest, presented by the Christian Socialist, Hauser, declaring that the territorial clauses of the treaty violated grossly the national claim to self-determination and the basis on which the armistice was concluded. The resolution read:

We raise once more our voices against a peace founded on brute force. As one man we decline the dividing up of our peoples into free and unfree, as is done by this peace. We further declare that the 4,000,000 Germans forced under foreign rule will for all time insist on self-determination as the only possible basis on which the modern State may be founded.

The resolution also declared that ultimate union with Germany was an absolute necessity and expressed the hope that when the hatred of the war died

down this union would be consummated. It ended by placing responsibility for steeping Europe in revolution and confusion on the shoulders of the Entente and looked to the League of Nations to repair the wrong done.

Notification that Austria had accepted the treaty was made to the Peace Conference on Sept. 7 in a letter signed by Peter Eichhoff, one of the members of the Austrian delegation. He announced that the National Assembly had authorized Chancellor Renner, already on his return trip to Paris, to sign the treaty for Austria. Two documents were attached to the letter. The first, dated Sept. 6, said that the National Assembly had declared that Austria must bow before necessity. The second was a protest to the Assembly by representatives of countries detached by the treaty from Austria—Bohemians, Germans, Tyroleans, Carinthians, and others.

PROTEST FROM HUNGARY

A protest from another source came from Berlin on Sept. 6, in the form of a wireless announcing that Count Sigray, Commissary for Western Hungary, had informed the Commissary for Oedenberg, near the border of Lower Austria, in view of reported territorial clauses of the Austrian treaty giving Austria the Oedenberg region on ethnological grounds, its population being largely German, that the Hungarian Government did not recognize these clauses as having any validity with regard to Hungary, and that the Government would meet with armed force any attempt to occupy Western Hungary. The strict closing of the frontier had been ordered to prevent the Austrians from entering the territory involved.

The peace terms of the allied powers were printed in the Vienna newspapers on Wednesday, Sept. 3, accompanied by editorial expressions of protest and despair. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* characterized the terms as "bitter, spiteful, and unjust." It added: "The Entente is using its power in the most shameful manner to ill-treat and outrage a defenseless people with a peace based on might." The *Tageblatt* said: "In vain do we search for a sign of justice, regard

for our utter incapacity to fulfill, or consideration for the principles of self-determination for peoples." It added that the Reparations Commission must begin its work by constituting itself a revision commission.

PREPARING FOR THE CEREMONY

Hurried arrangements, meanwhile, were being made in Paris for the signing of the treaty. The ceremony at St. Germain was deliberately planned to be much less formal than in the case of the German treaty at Versailles, because of the unstable condition of the Vienna Government, which made the speedy signing of peace imperative. The Stone Age Hall, where the first draft of the treaty with Austria was presented, was chosen again for the ceremony of signing.

On Sept. 9, the day before the date set for the signing, the Rumanian delegation to the Peace Conference announced officially that it would not sign the treaty. In answer to a Rumanian note stating that the Rumanians would sign the treaty only with reservations, A. J. Balfour of the British delegation had drawn up and dispatched a letter for the council declaring that Rumania's signature would not be accepted unless given unreservedly. In reply to this letter Nicholas Misu, head of the Rumanian delegation, handed to the council a letter saying that Rumania was unable to sign the treaty. The two principal reasons were: First, that Article 60 of the treaty tied Rumania's hands commercially and economically at a time when she required absolute freedom of action to accomplish reconstruction; and, second, that guarantees to minorities imposed by an outside power would take away Rumania's sovereignty over territories newly annexed from the former Austrian Empire.

The delegates of the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia, for similar reasons, announced that they would not sign without receiving special authorization from Belgrade. Both Rumania and Yugoslavia were given until Saturday, Sept. 13, to make known their definite intentions.

At St. Germain, in the hall of the old château which is now a public museum

filled with relics of the Stone Age, the treaty between Austria and her twenty-seven enemies, minus Rumania and Jugoslavia, was signed by Chancellor Renner for Austria and by the representatives of the allied and associated powers on the morning of Sept. 10.

The ceremony was marked by a lack of formality, and also by the absence of any bitterness. On a bright, calm, warm Autumn morning the delegates motored from Paris to St. Germain, and assembled in the Stone Age Room of the château. The delegates grouped themselves around the U-shaped table. Frank L. Polk, head of the American delegation since the departure of President Wilson, represented the United States, with his colleagues, Henry White and General Bliss. Mr. Balfour, Mr. Milner, and Mr. Barnes represented Great Britain, with a number of British colonial delegates. Premier Clemenceau was on hand to sign for France. The faces of the representatives of two of the signatory nations were particularly happy, those, namely, of the Italian and the Chinese delegates. The Italian representatives, Tittoni, Marconi, Scialoja, and Ferraris, were surrounded by huge bouquets sent by the Frenchwomen of St. Germain, the only flowers in the hall. The spirit of Italian victory was in the air. China, the only absentee at the signing of the treaty of Versailles, was represented by Lou Tseng-Tsiang, the Chinese Foreign Minister, and Cheng-Ting Thomas Wang, a Yale graduate from Southern China. Both expressed their satisfaction before the ceremony in being able to put their country into the League of Nations without killing Chinese national pride.

ENTRANCE OF THE DELEGATES

M. Clemenceau entered the room at exactly 10 o'clock, being saluted by the guard of honor. He took his place at the table with Frank L. Polk on his right and A. J. Balfour, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on his left. Mr. Polk was accompanied by his wife. After the other American delegates were seated Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Premier of Poland, entered the room, his arrival provoking a flurry of conversation.

There was no hostility of any kind

evinced when Dr. Renner smilingly entered the small Stone-Age Hall. He nodded politely as he took his seat at the end of the U-shaped table, about which the delegates were grouped. There was no harshness in the voice of M. Clemenceau as he announced in a few words the purpose of the meeting, saying:

The sitting is opened. The negotiations to establish an agreement between the allied and associated powers and Austria for the conclusion of peace are ended. I have signed the documents attesting that the text about to be signed conforms to that delivered to the Austrian delegation in the name of the allied and associated powers. I invite Chancellor Renner to be so kind as to sign the treaty.

AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR SIGNS

Dr. Renner rose while M. Clemenceau's remarks were being translated into German, and then, bowing graciously, followed the master of ceremonies to the signing table in the centre of the room, where he attached his signature four times to the treaty. He then returned to his seat at the end of the hall, where he remained quite at ease while representatives of twenty-five powers attached their signatures.

Frank L. Polk, who succeeded Secretary Lansing as head of the United States delegation, signed after Dr. Renner, and was followed by Henry White and General Bliss. As the French delegation went to the signing table and passed Dr. Renner's chair the latter rose and bowed very politely to M. Clemenceau, who returned the salutation. China's signature was affixed by Lou Tseng-Tsiang, head of her delegation.

To carry out the technical arrangements under the treaty Dr. Renner actually signed twelve documents, as follows:

First, the treaty with Austria; second, the protocol of the treaty; third, a declaration regarding prize court decisions; fourth, a declaration regarding the blockade of Hungary and agreeing to furnish the Allies with all possible information regarding shipping destroyed by the Austrians during the war; fifth, a protocol of signature; sixth the Czechoslovak treaty regarding minorities; seventh, the Serbian treaty regarding minorities; eighth, annex protocol to the

arms convention; ninth, annex protocol to the liquor convention; tenth, revision of Berlin and Brussels acts; eleventh, financial arrangement with Italy; twelfth, financial arrangement with the States inheriting parts of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

RENNER'S CONCILIATORY INTERVIEW

After the ceremony of signing, Dr. Renner, in the course of an interview, said:

If France lends us aid the name of St. Germain will soon evoke in our hearts

feelings which will alleviate the bitterness of the hours we have just passed. * * * Austria cannot hate. It always respects the man with whom it has to fight. We are the conquered. Yet, misfortune has given us liberty; freed us from the yoke of a dynasty whence for three generations no man of worth has sprung; freed us from bonds with nations which were never in understanding with us nor with themselves.

We are independent, with an independence which cannot be alienated; yet we depend on the Czechs and Poles for coal, on the Banat for cereals, on Italy for maritime commerce.

Dr. Renner departed for Vienna the same evening at 7:20 o'clock.

Text of the Austrian Treaty

Under the Peace of St. Germain Austria Gives Up Vast Territories and Renounces All Military Power

THE complete official English text of the treaty signed on Sept. 10, 1919, by Austria and the allied and associated powers at St. Germain, and brought to the United States by special courier, was presented by Senator Lodge to the Senate on Sept. 15, and at his request reprinted in The Congressional Record of that date.

The treaty consists of 381 articles, making 181 pages in The Congressional Record. In general terms it follows the scheme of the German treaty. Part I, consisting of the first twenty-six articles, is the League of Nations covenant, already published as part of the treaty with Germany, which Austria likewise accepts, though she may not become a member of the League until admitted by vote of the other members.

Part II, lays down in detail the new boundaries of Austria. These boundaries, as specified in the treaty, are indicated in the map on Page 29. The frontiers with Switzerland and Lichtenstein remain unchanged. The treaty contains elaborate clauses covering the cession of territory to Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia. The frontiers with Italy, the Klagenfurt area, and Hungary have undergone much modifi-

cation; that with Germany remains as before. The net results of this whole section of the treaty are embodied in the two maps accompanying this summary. Boundary commissions are to trace the various new lines, to fix points left undefined by the treaty, and to revise portions defined by administrative boundaries. The various States involved are pledged to furnish all possible information to these commissions.

One of the most vital parts of the treaty is that entitled "Political Clauses for Europe," referring to Austria's relations with neighbor nations. Article 88, which forbids annexation of Austria by Germany, save with the consent of the League of Nations Council, has a direct connection with Article 61 of the German Constitution, which foreshadowed political union between the two nations, and which the Peace Conference compelled Germany to modify.

Following is the text of "Part III: Political Clauses for Europe":

SECTION I.—ITALY

Article 36.—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of Italy all rights and title over the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy situated beyond the frontier laid down in Article 27 (2) and

lying between that frontier, the former Austro-Hungarian frontier, the Adriatic Sea, and the eastern frontier of Italy as subsequently determined.

Austria similarly renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of Italy all rights and title over other territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy which may be recognized as forming part of Italy by any treaties which may be concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement.

A commission composed of five members, one nominated by Italy, three by the other principal allied and associated powers, and one by Austria, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line between Italy and Austria. The decisions of the commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

Article 37.—Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 269 of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) persons having their usual residence in the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy transferred to Italy who, during the war, have been outside the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy or have been imprisoned, interned or evacuated, shall enjoy the full benefit of the provisions of Articles 252 and 253 of Part X., (Economic Clauses.)

Article 38.—A special convention will determine the terms of repayment in Austrian currency of the special war expenditure advanced during the war by territory of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy transferred to Italy or by public associations in that territory on account of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy under its legislation, such as allowances to the families of persons mobilized, requisitions, billeting of troops, and relief to persons who have been evacuated.

In fixing the amount of these sums Austria shall be credited with the amount which the territory would have contributed to Austria-Hungary to meet the expenses resulting from these payments, this contribution being calculated according to the proportion of the revenues of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy derived from the territory in 1913.

Article 39.—The Italian Government will collect for its own account the taxes, dues, and charges of every kind leviable in the territories transferred to Italy and not collected on Nov. 3, 1918.

Article 40.—No sum shall be due by Italy on the ground of her entry into possession of the Palazzo Venezia at Rome.

Article 41.—Subject to the provisions of Article 204 of Part IX., (Financial Clauses,) relative to the acquisition of, and payment for, State property and possessions, the Italian Government is substituted in all the rights which the Austrian State possessed over all the railways in the territories transferred to Italy which were administered by

the Railway Administration of the said State and which are actually working or under construction.

The same shall apply to the rights of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy with regard to railway and tramway concessions within the above-mentioned territories.

The frontier railway stations shall be determined by a subsequent agreement.

Article 42.—Austria shall restore to Italy within a period of three months all the wagons belonging to the Italian railways which before the outbreak of war had passed into Austria and have not returned to Italy.

Article 43.—Austria renounces as from Nov. 3, 1918, on behalf of herself and her nationals in regard to territories transferred to Italy all rights to which she may be entitled with regard to the products of the aforesaid territories under any agreements, stipulations, or laws establishing trusts, cartels or other similar organizations.

Article 44.—For a period of ten years from the coming into force of the present treaty central electric power stations situated in Austrian territory and formerly furnishing electric power to the territories transferred to Italy or to any other establishment the exploitation of which passes to Italy shall be required to continue furnishing this supply up to an amount corresponding to the undertakings and contracts in force on Nov. 3, 1918.

Austria further admits the right of Italy to the free use of the waters of Lake Raibl and its derivative watercourse and to divert the said waters to the basin of the Korinitza.

Article 45.—(1) Judgments rendered since Aug. 4, 1914, by the courts in the territory transferred to Italy in civil and commercial cases between the inhabitants of such territory and other nationals of the former Austrian empire, or between such inhabitants and the subjects of the allies of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, shall not be carried into effect until after indorsement by the corresponding new court in such territory.

(2) All decisions rendered for political crimes or offenses since Aug. 4, 1914, by the judicial authorities of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy against Italian nationals, including persons who obtain Italian nationality under the present treaty, shall be annulled.

(3) In all matters relating to proceedings initiated before the coming into force of the present treaty before the competent authorities of the territory transferred to Italy, the Italian and Austrian judicial authorities respectively shall until the coming into force of a special convention on this subject be authorized to correspond with each other direct. Requests thus presented shall be given effect to so far as the laws of a public character allow in the country to the authorities of which the request is addressed.

(4) All appeals to the higher Austrian judicial and administrative authorities beyond the limits of the territory transferred to Italy against decisions of the administrative or judicial authorities of this territory shall be suspended. The records shall be submitted to the authorities against whose decision the appeal was entered. They must be transmitted to the competent Italian authorities without delay.

(5) All other questions as to jurisdiction, procedure, or the administration of justice will be determined by a special convention between Italy and Austria.

SECTION II.—SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE

Article 46.—Austria, in conformity with the action already taken by the allied and associated powers, recognizes the complete independence of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

Article 47.—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State all rights and title over the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Austria as laid down in Article 27 of Part II., (Frontiers of Austria,) and recognized by the present treaty, or by any treaties concluded for the purpose of completing the present settlement, as forming part of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

Article 48.—A commission consisting of seven members, five nominated by the principal allied and associated powers, one by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and one by Austria, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line described in Article 27 (4) of Part II., (Frontiers of Austria.)

The decisions of the commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

Article 49.—The inhabitants of the Klagenfurt area will be called upon, to the extent stated below, to indicate by a vote the State to which they wish the territory to belong.

[The definition of the Klagenfurt boundaries, and a boundary division of this area into two zones for the taking of the plebiscite, follow here.]

Article 50.—The Klagenfurt area will be placed under the control of a commission intrusted with the duty of preparing the plebiscite in that area and assuring the impartial administration thereof. This commission will be composed as follows: Four members nominated respectively by the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy, one by Austria, one by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State; the Austrian member only taking part in the deliberations of the commission in regard to the second zone, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene member only taking part therein with regard to the first zone. The

decisions of the commission will be taken by a majority.

The second zone will be occupied by the Austrian troops and administered in accordance with the general regulations of the Austrian legislation.

The first zone will be occupied by the troops of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State and administered in accordance with the general regulations of the legislation of that State.

In both zones the troops, whether Austrian or Serb-Croat-Slovene, shall be reduced to the numbers which the commission may consider necessary for the preservation of order, and shall carry out their mission under the control of the commission. These troops shall be replaced as speedily as possible by a police force recruited on the spot.

The commission will be charged with the duty of arranging for the vote and of taking such measures as it may deem necessary to insure its freedom, fairness, and secrecy.

In the first zone the plebiscite will be held within three months from the coming into force of the present treaty, at a date fixed by the commission.

If the vote is in favor of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, a plebiscite will be held in the second zone within three weeks from the proclamation of the result of the plebiscite in the first zone, at a date to be fixed by the commission.

If on the other hand the vote in the first zone is in favor of Austria, no plebiscite will be held in the second zone, and the whole of the area will remain definitely under Austrian sovereignty.

The right of voting will be granted to every person without distinction of sex who:

(a) Has attained the age of twenty years on or before Jan. 1, 1919;

(b) Has on Jan. 1, 1919, his or her habitual residence within the zone subjected to the plebiscite; and,

(c) Was born within the said zone, or has had his or her habitual residence or rights of citizenship (*pertinenza*) there from a date previous to Jan. 1, 1912.

The result of the vote will be determined by the majority of votes in the whole of each zone.

On the conclusion of each vote the result will be communicated by the commission to the principal allied and associated powers, with a full report as to the taking of the vote, and will be proclaimed.

If the vote is in favor of the incorporation either of the first zone or of both zones in the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Austria hereby renounces, so far as she is concerned and to the extent corresponding to the result of the vote, in favor of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State all rights and title over these territories.

After agreement with the commission the Serb-Croat-Slovene Government may definitively establish its authority over the said territories.

If the vote in the first or second zone is in favor of Austria, the Austrian Govern-

ment, after agreement with the commission, will be entitled definitively to re-establish its authority over the whole of the *Klagenfurt* area, or in the second zone, as the case may be.

When the administration of the country, either by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, or by Austria, as the case may be, has been thus assured, the powers of the commission will terminate.

Expenditure by the commission will be borne by Austria and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State in equal moieties.

Article 51.—The Serb-Croat-Slovene State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as these powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment of the commerce of other nations.

Article 52.—The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of the former Austrian Empire which the Serb-Croat-Slovene State will have to assume on account of the territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 203 of Part IX., (financial clauses,) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions which are not decided by the present treaty and which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

SECTION III.—CZECHOSLOVAK STATE

Article 53.—Austria, in conformity with the action already taken by the allied and associated powers, recognizes the complete independence of the Czechoslovak State, which will include the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians to the south of the Carpathians.

Article 54.—Austria renounces so far as she is concerned in favor of the Czechoslovak State all rights and title over the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy situated outside the frontiers of Austria as laid down in Article 27 of Part II., (frontiers of Austria,) and recognized in accordance with the present treaty as forming part of the Czechoslovak State.

Article 55.—A commission composed of seven members, five nominated by the principal allied and associated powers, one by the Czechoslovak State, and one by Austria, will be appointed fifteen days after the coming into force of the present treaty to trace on the spot the frontier line laid down in Article 27, (6,) of Part II., (frontiers of Austria,) of the present treaty.

The decisions of this commission will be taken by a majority and shall be binding on the parties concerned.

Article 56.—The Czechoslovak State undertakes not to erect any military works in that portion of its territory which lies on the right bank of the Danube to the south of Bratislava, (Pressburg.)

Article 57.—The Czechoslovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

The Czechoslovak State further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as these powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

Article 58.—The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of the former Austrian Empire which the Czechoslovak State will have to assume on account of the territory placed under its sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 203 of Part IX., (Financial Clauses,) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions which are not decided by the present treaty and which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

SECTION IV.—RUMANIA

Article 59.—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of Rumania all rights and title over such portion of the former Duchy of Bukovina as lies within the frontiers of Rumania which may ultimately be fixed by the principal allied and associated powers.

Article 60.—Rumania accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by these powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language, or religion.

Rumania further accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal allied and associated powers such provisions as these powers may deem necessary to protect freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of other nations.

Article 61.—The proportion and nature of the financial obligations of the former Austrian Empire which Rumania will have to assume on account of the territory placed under her sovereignty will be determined in accordance with Article 203 of Part IX., (Financial Clauses,) of the present treaty.

Subsequent agreements will decide all questions which are not decided by the present treaty and which may arise in consequence of the cession of the said territory.

SKETCH MAP OF THE FORMER AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE, THE SHADED PORTION INDICATING ALL THAT REMAINS TO AUSTRIA UNDER THE PEACE TREATY. THE NATIONALITIES SHOWN IN THE OTHER PARTS OF THE OLD EMPIRE FURNISH THE BASIS FOR THE OTHER NEW STATES CREATED FROM THE DISMEMBERED REALM OF THE HAPSBURGS.



SECTION V.—PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

Article 62.—Austria undertakes that the stipulations contained in this section shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation, or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation, or official action prevail over them.

Article 63.—Austria undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Austria, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race, or religion.

All inhabitants of Austria shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

Article 64.—Austria admits and declares to be Austrian nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality all persons possessing at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty rights of citizenship, (*pertinenza*.) within Austrian territory who are not nationals of any other State.

Article 65.—All persons born in Austrian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Austrian nationals.

Article 66.—All Austrian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language, or religion.

Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Austrian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Austrian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press, or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Austrian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Austrian nationals of non-German speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

Article 67.—Austrian nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Austrian nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 68.—Austria will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Austrian nationals of other than German speech are residents adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of

such Austrian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Austrian Government from making the teaching of the German language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Austrian nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budgets for education, religious, or charitable purposes.

Article 69.—Austria agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles of this section, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The allied and associated powers represented on the council severally agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Austria agrees that any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Austria further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Austrian Government and any one of the principal allied and associated powers or any other power, a member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. The Austrian Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the permanent court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

SECTION VI.—CAUSES RELATING TO NATIONALITY

Article 70.—Every person possessing rights of citizenship (*pertinenza*) in territory which formed part of the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy shall obtain *ipso facto* to the exclusion of Austrian nationality the nationality of the State exercising sovereignty over such territory.

Article 71.—Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 70, Italian nationality shall not, in the case of territory transferred to Italy, be acquired *ipso facto*;

(1) by persons possessing rights of citizen-

ship in such territory who were not born there:

(2) by persons who acquired their rights of citizenship in such territory after May 24, 1915, or who acquired them only by reason of their official position.

Article 72.—The persons referred to in Article 71, as well as those who (a) formerly possessed rights of citizenship in the territories transferred to Italy, or whose father, or mother if the father is unknown, possessed rights of citizenship in such territories, or (b) have served in the Italian Army during the present war, and their descendants, may claim Italian nationality subject to the conditions prescribed in Article 78 for the right of option.

Article 73.—The claim to Italian nationality by the persons referred to in Article 72 may in individual cases be refused by the competent Italian authority.

Article 74.—Where the claim to Italian nationality under Article 72 is not made, or is refused, the persons concerned will obtain *ipso facto* the nationality of the State exercising sovereignty over the territory in which they possessed rights of citizenship before acquiring such rights in the territory transferred to Italy.

Article 75.—Juridical persons established in the territories transferred to Italy shall be considered Italian if they are recognized as such either by the Italian administrative authorities or by an Italian judicial decision.

Article 76.—Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 70, persons who acquired rights of citizenship after Jan. 1, 1910, in territory transferred under the present treaty to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, or to the Czechoslovak State, will not acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene or Czechoslovak nationality without a permit from the Serb-Croat-Slovene State or the Czechoslovak State respectively.

Article 77.—If the permit referred to in Article 76 is not applied for, or is refused, the persons concerned will obtain *ipso facto* the nationality of the State exercising sovereignty over the territory in which they previously possessed rights of citizenship.

Article 78.—Persons over 18 years of age losing their Austrian nationality and obtaining *ipso facto* a new nationality under Article 70 shall be entitled within a period of one year from the coming into force of the present treaty to opt for the nationality of the State in which they possessed rights of citizenship before acquiring such rights in the territory transferred.

Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted.

They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in the territory of the

other State where they had their place of residence before exercising their right to opt.

They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export or import duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

Article 79.—Persons entitled to vote in plebiscites provided for in the present treaty shall within a period of six months after the definitive attribution of the area in which the plebiscite has taken place be entitled to opt for the nationality of the State to which the area is not assigned.

The provisions of Article 78 relating to the right of option shall apply equally to the exercise of the right under this article.

Article 80.—Persons possessing rights of citizenship in territory forming part of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and differing in race and language from the majority of the population of such territory, shall within six months of the coming into force of the present treaty severally be entitled to opt for Austria, Italy, Poland, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, or the Czechoslovak State, if the majority of the population of the State selected is of the same race and language as the person exercising the right to opt. The provisions of Article 78 as to the exercise of the right of option shall apply to the right of option given by this article.

Article 81.—The high contracting parties undertake to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have under the present treaty, or under treaties concluded by the allied and associated powers with Germany, Hungary or Russia, or between any of the allied and associated powers themselves, to choose any other nationality which may be open to them.

Article 82.—For the purposes of the provisions of this section, the status of a married woman will be governed by that of her husband, and the status of children under 18 years of age by that of their parents.

SECTION VII.—CLAUSES RELATING TO CERTAIN NATIONS

[Section VII. binds Austria to accept all allied terms relating to Belgium, Luxemburg, Schleswig, Turkey, Bulgaria, and the Russian States.]

SECTION VIII.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 88.—The independence of Austria is inalienable otherwise than with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Consequently Austria undertakes in the absence of the consent of the said Council to abstain from any act which might directly or indirectly or by any means whatever compromise her independence, particularly, and until her admission to membership of the

League of Nations, by participation in the affairs of another power.

Article 89.—Austria hereby recognizes and accepts the frontiers of Bulgaria, Greece, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and the Czechoslovak State as these frontiers may be determined by the principal allied and associated powers.

Article 90.—Austria undertakes to recognize the full force of the treaties of peace and additional conventions which have been or may be concluded by the allied and associated powers with the powers who fought on the side of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and to recognize whatever dispositions have been or may be made concerning the territories of the former German Empire, of Hungary, of the Kingdom of Bulgaria and of the Ottoman Empire, and to recognize the new States within their frontiers as there laid down.

Article 91.—Austria renounces so far as she is concerned in favor of the principal allied and associated powers all rights and title over the territories which previously belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and which, being situated outside the new frontiers of Austria as described in Article 27 of Part II., (Frontiers of Austria,) have not at present been assigned to any State.

Austria undertakes to accept the settlement made by the principal allied and associated powers in regard to these territories, particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants.

Article 92.—No inhabitant of the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy shall be disturbed or molested on account either of his political attitude between July 28, 1914, and the definite settlement of the sovereignty over these territories, or of the determination of his nationality effected by the present treaty.

Article 93.—Austria will hand over without delay to the allied and associated Governments concerned archives, registers, plans, title-deeds, and documents of every kind belonging to the civil, military, financial, judicial or other forms of administration in the ceded territories. If any one of these documents, archives, registers, title-deeds or plans is missing, it shall be restored by Austria upon the demand of the allied or associated Government concerned.

In case the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds or documents referred to in the preceding paragraph, exclusive of those of a military character, concern equally the administrations in Austria, and cannot therefore be handed over without inconvenience to such administrations, Austria undertakes, subject to reciprocity, to give access thereto to the allied and associated Governments concerned.

Article 94.—Separate conventions between Austria and each of the States to which territory of the former Austrian Empire is

transferred, and each of the States arising from the dismemberment of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, will provide for the interests of the inhabitants, especially in connection with their civil rights, their commerce, and the exercise of their professions.

PART IV.—AUSTRIAN INTERESTS OUTSIDE EUROPE

Article 95.—In territory outside her frontiers as fixed by the present treaty Austria renounces so far as she is concerned all rights, titles and privileges whatever in or over territory outside Europe which belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, or to its allies, and all rights, titles and privileges whatever their origin which it held as against the allied and associated powers.

Austria undertakes immediately to recognize and to conform to the measures which may be taken now or in the future by the principal allied and associated powers, in agreement where necessary with third powers, in order to carry the above stipulation into effect.

SECTION I.—MOROCCO

Article 96.—Austria renounces so far as she is concerned all rights, titles and privileges conferred on her by the General Act of Algeciras of April 7, 1906, and by the Franco-German agreements of Feb. 9, 1909, and Nov. 4, 1911. All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with the Sherifian Empire are regarded as abrogated as from Aug. 12, 1914.

In no case can Austria avail herself of these acts and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Morocco which may take place between France and the other powers.

Article 97.—Austria hereby accepts all the consequences of the establishment of the French protectorate in Morocco, which had been recognized by the Government of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and she renounces so far as she is concerned the régime of the capitulations in Morocco.

This renunciation shall take effect as from Aug. 12, 1914.

Article 98.—The Sherifian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of Austrian nationals in Morocco and the conditions in which they can establish themselves there.

Austrian protected persons, *semsars*, and "associés agricoles" shall be considered to have ceased, as from Aug. 12, 1914, to enjoy the privileges attached to their status and shall be subject to the ordinary law.

Article 99.—All movable and immovable property in the Sherifian Empire belonging to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy passes *ipso facto* to the Maghzen without compensation.

For this purpose, the property and possessions of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, and the private property of members of the former royal family of Austria-Hungary.

All movable and immovable property in the Sherifian Empire belonging to Austrian nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections 3 and 4 of Part X. (Economic Clauses) of the present treaty.

Mining rights which may be recognized as belonging to Austrian nationals by the Court of Arbitration set up under the Moroccan Mining Regulations shall be treated in the same way as property in Morocco belonging to Austrian nationals.

Article 100.—The Austrian Government shall insure the transfer to the person nominated by the French Government of the shares representing Austria's portion of the capital of the State Bank of Morocco. This person will repay to the persons entitled thereto the value of these shares, which shall be indicated by the State Bank.

This transfer will take place without prejudice to the repayment of debts which Austrian nationals may have contracted toward the State Bank of Morocco.

Article 101.—Moroccan goods entering Austria shall enjoy the treatment accorded to French goods.

SECTION II.—EGYPT

Article 102.—Austria declares that she recognizes the protectorate proclaimed over Egypt by Great Britain on Dec. 18, 1914, and that she renounces so far as she is concerned the régime of the capitulations in Egypt.

This renunciation shall take effect as from Aug. 12, 1914.

Article 103.—All treaties, agreements, arrangements and contracts concluded by the Government of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy with Egypt are regarded as abrogated as from Aug. 12, 1914.

In no case can Austria avail herself of these instruments, and she undertakes not to intervene in any way in negotiations relating to Egypt which may take place between Great Britain and the other powers.

Article 104.—Until an Egyptian law of judicial organization establishing courts with universal jurisdiction comes into force, provision shall be made, by means of decrees issued by his highness the Sultan, for the exercise of jurisdiction over Austrian nationals and property by the British Consular tribunals.

Article 105.—The Egyptian Government shall have complete liberty of action in regulating the status of Austrian nationals and the conditions under which they may establish themselves in Egypt.

Article 106.—Austria consents so far as she is concerned to the abrogation of the decree issued by his highness the Khédive on Nov.

28, 1904, relating to the Commission of the Egyptian Public Debt, or to such changes as the Egyptian Government may think it desirable to make therein.

Article 107.—Austria consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to his Britannic Majesty's Government of the powers conferred on his Imperial Majesty the Sultan by the convention signed at Constantinople on Oct. 29, 1888, relating to the free navigation of the Suez Canal.

She renounces all participation in the Sanitary, Maritime, and Quarantine Board of Egypt, and consents, in so far as she is concerned, to the transfer to the Egyptian authorities of the powers of that board.

Article 108.—All property and possessions in Egypt of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy pass to the Egyptian Government without payment.

For this purpose, the property and possessions of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy shall be deemed to include all the property of the crown, and the private property of members of the former royal family of Austria-Hungary.

All movable and immovable property in Egypt belonging to Austrian nationals shall be dealt with in accordance with Sections III. and IV. of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) of the present treaty.

Article 109.—Egyptian goods entering Austria shall enjoy the treatment accorded to British goods.

SECTION III.—SIAM

Article 110.—Austria recognizes, so far as she is concerned, that all treaties, conventions, and agreements between the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Siam, and all rights, titles, and privileges derived therefrom, including all rights of extraterritorial jurisdiction, terminated as from July 22, 1917.

Article 111.—Austria, so far as she is concerned, cedes to Siam all her rights over the goods and property in Siam which belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, with the exception of premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices, as well as the effects and furniture which they contain. These goods and property pass *ipso facto* and without compensation to the Siamese Government.

The goods, property, and private rights of Austrian nationals in Siam shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) of the present treaty.

Article 112.—Austria waives all claims against the Siamese Government on behalf of herself or her nationals arising out of the liquidation of Austrian property or the internment of Austrian nationals in Siam. This provision shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) of the present treaty.

SECTION IV.—CHINA

Article 113.—Austria renounces, so far as she is concerned, in favor of China all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final protocol signed at Peking on Sept. 7, 1901, and from all annexes, notes, and documents supplementary thereto. She likewise renounces in favor of China any claim to indemnities accruing thereunder subsequent to Aug. 14, 1917.

Article 114.—From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall apply, in so far as concerns them respectively:

(1) The arrangement of Aug. 29, 1902, regarding the new Chinese customs tariff.

(2) The arrangement of Sept. 27, 1905, regarding Whang-Poo, and the provisional supplementary arrangement of April 4, 1912.

China, however, will not be bound to grant to Austria the advantages or privileges which she allowed to the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy under these arrangements.

Article 115.—Austria, so far as she is concerned, cedes to China all her rights over the buildings, wharves and pontoons, barracks, forts, arms and munitions of war, vessels of all kinds, wireless telegraphy installations and other public property which belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and which are situated or may be in the Austro-Hungarian concession at Tientsin or elsewhere in Chinese territory.

It is understood, however, that premises used as diplomatic or consular residences or offices, as well as the effects and furniture contained therein, are not included in the above cession, and, furthermore, that no steps shall be taken by the Chinese Government to dispose of the public and private property belonging to the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy situated within the so-called Legation Quarter at Peking without the consent of the diplomatic representatives of the powers which, on the coming into force of the present treaty, remain parties to the final protocol of Sept. 7, 1901.

Article 116.—Austria agrees, so far as she is concerned, to the abrogation of the leases from the Chinese Government under which the Austro-Hungarian concession at Tientsin is now held.

China, restored to the full exercise of her sovereign rights in the above area, declares her intention of opening it to international residence and trade. She further declares that the abrogation of the leases under which the said concession is now held shall not affect the property rights of nationals of allied and associated powers who are holders of lots in this concession.

Article 117.—Austria waives all claims against the Chinese Government or against any allied or associated Government arising out of the internment of Austrian nationals in China and their repatriation. She equally renounces, so far as she is con-

cerned, all claims arising out of the capture and condemnation of Austro-Hungarian ships in China, or the liquidation, sequestration or control of Austrian properties, rights and interests in that country since Aug. 14, 1917. This provision, however, shall not affect the rights of the parties interested in the proceeds of any such liquidation, which shall be governed by the provisions of Part X., (Economic Clauses,) of the present treaty.

MILITARY AND NAVAL CLAUSES

The disarmament of Austria is required in as great detail as in the case of Germany. The Austrian Army is not to exceed 30,000 men. The number of guns and machine guns is strictly limited, mobilization is forbidden and compulsory military service is abolished. Surplus armament and munitions must be turned over to the Allies. The manufacture of arms is restricted to one factory controlled by the State, and the use of gases for warfare is prohibited.

The Austrian Navy henceforth will consist of three patrol boats on the Danube. All warships and submarines are declared finally surrendered to the Allies and the treaty names thirty-two cruisers and fleet auxiliaries, including the President Wilson, (ex-Kaiser Franz Joseph,) which are to be disarmed and treated as merchant ships. All warships begun must be broken up.

Austria will not be allowed to maintain any military or naval air forces nor any dirigibles, and all such equipment and material must be delivered to the Allies.

The disarmament of Austria will be carried out under the supervision of an interallied commission, on which the United States will be represented.

The repatriation of Austrian prisoners of war and interned civilians is fully provided for under a joint commission.

Austrians accused of violating the laws and customs of war are to be delivered to the Allies for trial by military tribunals, together with all documentary evidence.

REPARATIONS

Details of reparations to be made by Austria are given in Part VII., notably in the following articles:

Article 177.—The allied and associated

Governments affirm, and Austria accepts, the responsibility of Austria and her allies for causing the loss and damage to which the allied and associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Austria-Hungary and her allies.

Article 178.—The allied and associated Governments recognize that the resources of Austria are not adequate, after taking into account the permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other provisions of the present treaty, to make complete reparation for such loss and damage.

The allied and associated Governments, however, require and Austria undertakes that she will make compensation as hereinafter determined for damage done to the civilian population of the allied and associated powers and to their property during the period of the belligerency of each as an allied and associated power against Austria by the said aggression by land, by sea, and from the air, and in general damage as defined in Annex 1 hereto.

Article 179.—The amount of such damage for which compensation is to be made by Austria shall be determined by an inter-allied commission to be called the Reparation Commission and constituted in the form and with the powers set forth hereunder and in annexed Nos. II.-V. inclusive hereto. The commission is the same as that provided for under Article 233 of the treaty with Germany, subject to any modifications resulting from the present treaty. The commission shall constitute a section to consider the special questions raised by the application of the present treaty. This section shall have consultative power only, except in cases in which the commission shall delegate to it such powers as may be deemed convenient.

The Reparation Commission shall consider the claims and give to the Austrian Government a just opportunity to be heard.

The commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging by Austria within thirty years dating from May 1, 1921, that part of the debt which shall have been assigned to her, after the commission has decided whether Germany is in a position to pay the balance of the total amount of claims presented by Germany and her allies and approved by the commission. If, however, within the period mentioned Austria fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may within the discretion of the commission be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the allied and associated governments acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in this part of the present treaty shall determine.

MODIFICATION POSSIBLE

Article 180.—The Reparation Commis-

sion shall after May 1, 1921, from time to time consider the resources and capacity of Austria and, after giving her representatives a just opportunity to be heard, shall have discretion to extend the date and to modify the form of payments, such as are to be provided for in accordance with Article 179, but not to cancel any part except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented on the commission.

Article 181.—Austria shall pay in the course of the year 1919, 1920, and the first four months of 1921 in such installments and in such manner (whether in gold, commodities, ships, securities or otherwise) as the Reparation Commission may lay down, a reasonable sum which shall be determined by the commission.

Out of this sum the expenses of the armies of occupation subsequent to the armistice of Nov. 3, 1918, shall first be met, and such supplies of food and raw materials as may be judged by the Governments of the principal allied and associated powers essential to enable Austria to meet her obligations for reparation may also, with the approval of said Government, be paid for out of the above sum. The balance shall be reckoned toward the liquidation of the amount due for reparation.

ANNEXES

Annex No. 1 to the reparation articles schedules in detail the damages which may be claimed of Austria for injuries to persons or property resulting from acts of war, including naval and military pensions paid by the Allies, and also including repayment of levies or fines on civilian populations.

Annex No. 2 sets forth the organization of the Reparation Commission, its procedure in assessing damage payments by Austria and the financial arrangements Austria is required to make to secure to the Allies the discharge of its obligations.

Annex No. 3 provides for the replacement by Austria "ton for ton (gross tonnage) and class for class of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war," and the Austrian Government cedes to the Allies the property in all merchant ships and fishing boats "belonging to nationals of the former Austrian Empire."

Under Annex No. 4 Austria undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of invaded allied territory.

In partial reparation Austria is re-

quired under Annex No. 5 to make annual deliveries of timber and manufactures of iron and magnesite.

Annex No. 6 provides for the renunciation to Italy of all Austrian cables in Italian ports and of other specified cables to the allied powers.

By special provisions laid down by Article 191-196 (including annex) Austria is required to surrender all loot from invaded allied territory, particularly objects of art and historical records taken from Italy by the Hapsburgs, not only in this but in previous wars. Some of the loot from Italy which the Austrians are required to return are the Crown jewels of Tuscany and the private jewels of the Princess Electress of Medici and other Medici heirlooms removed to Vienna in the eighteenth century; the furniture and silver plate belonging to the House of Medici and the "jewel of Aspasius" in payment of debt owed by the House of Austria to the Crown of Tuscany, and also the "ancient instruments of astronomy and physics belonging to the Academy of Cimento, removed by the House of Lorraine and sent as a present to the cousins of the imperial house of Vienna."

This annex also specifies the return

to Italy of "The Virgin" by Andrea del Sarto, and four drawings by Correggio belonging to the Pinacothek of Modena and removed in 1859 by Duke Francis V.; numerous manuscripts and rare books and bronzes stolen from Modena and "objects made in Palermo in the twelfth century for the Norman Kings and employed in the coronation of the Emperors."

Austria also is required to restore to Belgium various works of art removed to Vienna in the eighteenth century.

To Poland, Austria is required to restore the gold cup of King Ladislas IV., No. 1,114 of the Court Museum at Vienna.

Czechoslovakia will get back many historical documents removed by Maria Theresa and works of art taken from the Bohemian royal castles by various Austrian Emperors in the eighteenth century.

The remainder of the treaty is taken up by financial, economic, legal, river and maritime, transport, labor and general miscellaneous clauses subsidiary to the main provisions of the treaty summarized or quoted above. These sections are essentially similar to those in the German peace treaty.

Activities of the Peace Conference

The Dramatic Coup at Fiume

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 20, 1919]

FACED with the multiple problems of boundary determination of many conflicting peoples in Central and Eastern Europe, the Peace Conference continued its labors during August and September. The treaty with Austria was completed and signed at St. Germain. The treaty with Bulgaria was at last definitely shaped and presented on Sept. 19. Late in August the conference was faced with the dangerous situation created in Hungary by the coup d'état of Archduke Joseph and the military occupation of Budapest by the Rumanians.

Regarding the expenses of the Ameri-

can delegation in Paris, President Wilson presented to Congress an estimate of \$1,506,776 from Dec. 1, 1918, to Dec. 31, 1919, and asked that \$825,000 be appropriated to cover probable expenses up to the end of this year.

IMPORTANT MATTERS DISCUSSED

Early in September various issues of great importance were discussed. On Sept. 12 the committee in charge of the Teschen controversy between Poland and Czechoslovakia began to consider different plans for the taking of the plebiscite agreed upon between the delegates of the two nations in Paris. The

Czechoslovak delegation had accepted this solution as the best obtainable under the circumstances, and had indicated that it would be satisfied if the vote were taken with proper guarantees for its impartiality.

The definite resignation of Arthur J. Balfour, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, from membership in the Peace Conference was the subject of much discussion on the date mentioned. David Lloyd George arrived in Paris at this time for a conference with M. Clemenceau and Frank L. Polk, chief representative of the United States Government at the conference. On Sept. 16 David Lloyd George, just before leaving Paris with two trainloads of attachés, appointed Sir Eyre Crowe, Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as England's plenipotentiary and sole British representative in the Conference.

THE D'ANNUNZIO RAID

Shortly before the middle of September the strained situation existing between the conference and Italy over the cession of Fiume to the Yugoslavs was sharply emphasized by an event which disturbed the efforts of Signor Tittoni, the new Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs and a member of the Italian Peace delegation, to bring about a better feeling.

The event referred to was the sudden and audacious march upon Fiume by Gabriele d'Annunzio, the poet-aviator—who had performed signal aerial service in the war—at the head of several thousand soldiers and with 40 motor lorries, and his entrance of the city despite the protests of its commander, General Pittaluga, who went forth with troops and machine guns to prevent his entering the city. Advices from Milan recorded the meeting of d'Annunzio with Pittaluga outside the city in a descriptive scene worthy of Livy:

Pittaluga—Thus you will ruin Italy.

D'Annunzio—Rather will you ruin Italy if you oppose Fiume's destiny and support the infamous policy.

Pittaluga—What, then, do you wish?

D'Annunzio—A free entry into Fiume.

Pittaluga—I must obey orders.

D'Annunzio—I understand you would

fire upon your brethren? Fire first upon me.

Pittaluga—I am happy to meet you, brave soldier and great poet. With you I cry, "Viva Fiume!"

All forces together, "Viva Pittaluga!"

While this little drama was being enacted the allied forces remained quietly within their barracks, and d'Annunzio entered the city amid great demonstrations of welcome.

In a statement to the Chamber of Deputies on Sept. 14 Premier Nitti announced that the commander of the 6th Army Corps had been ordered to intercept and disarm d'Annunzio's troops, but that these troops had refused to obey the order. The Premier declared that he was determined to act in a manner to avoid grave conflicts. He deplored what had happened, because for the first time sedition, even though for idealistic aims, had entered the Italian Army. Signor Nitti expressed strong condemnation of what he termed the misguided deed of d'Annunzio.

D'Annunzio's troops, described as numbering 2,300, were still in Fiume, and the poet had installed himself in the Army Command Bureau, defying alike the Peace Conference and the Italian Government. The Government, meanwhile, dispatched General Badoglio, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Italian Army, to Fiume, armed with full powers. Efforts were also being made to intercept and stop the rebellious portions of the 6th Army Artillery Regiment and a cycle corps from entering Fiume and joining the forces of d'Annunzio. On the following day came news that the French and British garrisons in the town, at d'Annunzio's demand, had hauled down their flags and left the city.

The reaction of this news at the Peace Conference was intense. Fear was expressed that the coup would lead to the downfall of the Nitti Government. Signor Tittoni left Paris on Sept. 16 and returned to Italy. The Supreme Council, however, after earnest discussion, decided to refrain from interference, and to allow Italy herself to deal with the situation. A dispatch from Rome on Sept. 18 said that David Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and Signor Tittoni were

in accord over a definite solution of the Fiume question, insuring the Italian nationality of the town, and were waiting only for President Wilson's decision on the subject. Meanwhile d'Annunzio, ill with fever, was issuing fervid proclamations to his forces, who had occupied the whole defensive line with reinforcements received from various sources, while General Badoglio had proclaimed a time limit for the return of these rebellious troops to the line of armistice, to expire Sept. 18. The Italian Government had put into execution a land and sea blockade against d'Annunzio, and expected by these means to starve the poet aviator's troops into submission.

No decision regarding Albania was officially announced. Repeated protests

of this country against the "imperialism" of her neighbors, Italy, Greece, and Serbia, especially protests against Greek advances into territory awarded Albania by the London Conference, had brought no response. On Aug. 20 the Albanian delegation to the Peace Conference sent an appeal for protection to the United States Senate. On Sept. 14 Albanian refugees arriving in Paris from Koritzia brought reports of the plight of many Albanians, fearing massacre before the advance of Greek forces. Albania at this time petitioned the Peace Conference to keep French officials in the district or to send a small American force there to steady the situation, pending the settlement by the conference of the whole Albanian question.

Handing Peace Terms to Bulgaria

Ceremony at the Quai d'Orsay

THE Peace Treaty between the allied and associated powers and Bulgaria was handed to the Bulgarian peace delegation on Sept. 19, 1919, at 10:40 A. M. in the Clock Room of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Quai d'Orsay in Paris. It was received by General Theodoroff and the four other members of the Bulgarian delegation.

Representatives of each of the twenty-seven Governments participating in the conference, including Rumania, were present. Frank L. Polk, head of the United States delegation, sat on M. Clemenceau's right and Sir Eyre Crowe, the new British plenipotentiary to the Peace Conference, sat on the President's left.

General Theodoroff, head of the Bulgarian delegation; M. Ganef, M. Saksouff, M. Stambouli, and M. Hartzoff entered the Foreign Office punctually, their dark faces showing no emotion, in contrast to the pale, drawn countenances displayed by the German plenipotentiaries at the Versailles ceremony and with Dr. Renner's good-humored demeanor on the occasion of the signing

of the Austrian treaty at St. Germain. They were ushered into the large dining room, where the plenary sessions of the Peace Conference formerly were held. The allied delegates rose when the Bulgarian representatives appeared.

Premier Clemenceau opened the proceedings by stating that the meeting had been called to hand the Peace Treaty to the Bulgarians and that they would have twenty-five days to consider it and file objections, after which the powers would fix a day for final consideration. Paul Duta, Secretary of the Peace Conference, then handed the bound treaty to the Bulgarians, after which General Theodoroff read a long statement in French, pleading that the Bulgarian people were not responsible for the war, but that their Government had thrown the country into the struggle. He blamed King Ferdinand and Vasil Radoslavoff, Bulgarian Foreign Minister in 1914, for Bulgaria's entry into the war. The people, he declared, did not approve of the German alliance, which "came to them as a cataclysm," but they realized that they must accept a part of the blame. Bulgaria's desire was to live

at peace with her Balkan neighbors. He continued as follows:

We have committed faults and we shall bear the consequences within the bounds of equity, but there is a punishment no crime can justify, and that is servitude. We are here not only to defend the rights of Bulgaria; we are anxious also to confess her faults. The rights of nations are indestructible. With your high sense of equity you have put them from the start beyond reach of injury. This is why a guilty State, and even a conquered one, may be allowed to appeal to them.

General Theodoroff's plea lasted for fifteen minutes. When it was over, Premier Clemenceau arose and announced curtly that the ceremony was ended. It had lasted forty minutes. The Bulgarian delegation left Paris for Sofia on the same day.

An official summary of the treaty with Bulgaria was made public by the State Department at Washington on Sept. 18. Many clauses are identical with those of the German treaty, notably the League of Nations covenant, the clauses on labor, aerial navigation, penalties, prisoners of war and graves. The important changes in the Bulgarian frontiers are to the south, where Bulgaria cedes Western Thrace to the principal allied and associated powers and agrees to accept whatever disposition of this territory the powers ultimately decide; but it is stipulated that in any event Bulgaria's western frontier shall be modified slightly in four places to Serbia's advantage.

The Bulgarians are required to recognize the independence of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and provisions are made to change the nationality of the inhabitants of the territory formerly Bulgarian and transferred to other States. Provisions are made for protection of minorities in race, language, nationality, and religion. As special compensation for the destruction of the Serb-

ian coal mines, Bulgaria shall for five years deliver 50,000 tons of coal annually to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State.

The frontier with Rumania remains the same as before the war, although it is understood the question of inducing Rumania to cede to Bulgaria that portion of Dobrudja which is wholly Bulgarian in character will be taken up later. The frontier on the west with Serbia is modified in four places to the advantage of Serbia. The frontier with Greece remains the same, except for slight rectification to afford proper protection to the Greek town of Buk.

The Bulgarian Army is to be reduced to 20,000 men within three months, with universal military service abolished and voluntary enlistment substituted. The number of gendarmes, custom officials and other armed guards shall not exceed 10,000, and there must exist only one military school. The manufacture of war material will be confined to a single factory, and the importation or exportation of arms, munitions and war materials of all kinds is forbidden. All existing Bulgarian warships, including submarines, will be surrendered to the Allies.

Bulgaria recognizes that by joining the war of aggression which Germany and Austria-Hungary waged against the allied and associated powers she caused the latter losses and sacrifices of all kinds for which she ought to make adequate reparation. As it is recognized that Bulgaria's resources are not sufficient to make adequate reparation, a capital sum of 2,225,000,000 francs in gold [\$445,000,000] is agreed upon as being such as Bulgaria is able to make, to be paid in half-yearly payments, beginning Jan. 1, 1920.

Payments are to be remitted through the Interallied Commission to the Reparation Commission created by the German treaty. The Interallied Commission shall be established at Sofia as soon as possible after the coming into force of the treaty. The commission shall consist of three members nominated by Great Britain, France, and Italy, with a right to withdraw upon six months' notice. Bulgaria will be represented by a commissioner who may be invited to take part in the sittings but have no vote. Cost and expenses of the commission will be paid by Bulgaria and will be a first charge on the revenues payable to the commission.



CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 20, 1919]

CARDINAL MERCIER'S VISIT

ONE of the most interesting visitors whom the United States has had since the war is Cardinal Mercier, Primate of Belgium, who stood between the people of his country and the German invaders. The heroic and beloved prelate arrived in New York on Sept. 9 on the Great Northern, a United States naval transport, and received an enthusiastic welcome from the throng of soldiers, sailors, and civilians waiting at a Hoboken pier to greet him. The Collector of the Port went down the harbor to welcome him on behalf of the State Department, and a committee of prominent Catholics, headed by Archbishop Hayes, with the Baltimore committee representing Cardinal Gibbons, as well as Mayor Hylan, saluted him from a police patrol boat which reached the pier at the same time as the transport. After the transport had been made fast, the Cardinal received these committees on the upper deck.

Cardinal Mercier is a white-haired man six feet two inches tall, with a benevolent countenance and a soft, musical voice. Deep lines in his thin face show the strain under which he labored during the years of war. The Cardinal is 68 years old. At the home of the Archbishop of New York he stated that he had not come on any special mission for the Belgian Government; that love was his only mission, and the desire to reveal the grateful heart of his nation to those who had saved it.

On the day following his arrival Cardinal Mercier reviewed the Pershing parade from the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and General Pershing descended from his horse and went to the Cardinal to present his greetings. Later that day the prelate left for Baltimore on a visit to Cardinal Gibbons.

As a guest of the American Cardinal, in the blue room of the latter's home, Cardinal Mercier granted an audience, in which he made an appeal for Ameri-

ca's aid to Belgium in respect to raw materials and machinery, of which his country was in urgent need. The restoration of Belgium, he said, would take a long time. The University of Louvain would be restored, as well as his own palace at Malines. His feeling toward Germany was one of great distrust; Belgium might forgive, but it could never forget. In the Baltimore Cathedral on Sept. 14, before a notable audience, he interpreted American intervention against Germany as God's answer to his prayers. Before another great audience at the Lyric Theatre on the 16th the Belgian Cardinal paid tribute to the valor of American troops and to Mr. Hoover's gigantic work of relief, and again stressed Belgium's great need for assistance in reconstruction.

On his return to New York on Sept. 18 he was given the freedom of the city by Mayor Hylan. A great ovation was tendered the Belgian Cardinal at a dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria, where men and women of many creeds joined in enthusiastic tribute. After a day of almost continuous ovation he stood in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf with bowed head and hands clasped as if in prayer, his shoulders enfolded in an American flag, while speaker after speaker lauded his heroic service in the war. In replying he said simply, "The praises were all, I know, for Belgium."

With Cardinal Mercier on the Great Northern arrived the new Belgian Ambassador, Baron Emile de Cartier Marcienne, who was Minister at Washington until he returned to Belgium five months ago.

* * *

STORM ON THE TEXAS COAST

IN a hurricane along the Gulf coast on Sunday, Sept. 14, more than 300 people were drowned in and around Corpus Christi, Texas, and the damage to property totaled more than \$10,000,000. Industry was brought to a standstill, and the stricken region was destitute of food.

United States troops were sent to guard the wrecked city of Corpus Christi, and the Governors of many States issued an appeal for funds to aid the stricken survivors. Galveston was saved from catastrophe by its new sea wall.

* * *

ITALIAN BATTLESHIP RAISED

THE Italian Government on Sept. 17 announced a great hydrostatic feat in the raising of Italy's great super-dreadnought, the Leonardo da Vinci, which had been deliberately sunk by the commander in order to save a neighboring town and Italian and allied warships nearby from the effects of a terrible explosion caused by a clockwork bomb placed on the vessel by some unknown hand. The vessel overturned as it sank, and the heavy guns became imbedded in the sand at the bottom of the sea. It took months of patient, strenuous work to remove the cannon and other equipment, and to bring the gigantic hull to the surface by pumping compressed air into it. At the date mentioned the vessel was ready to be towed into dock and restored to its former value and efficiency.

* * *

FRENCH MONUMENT TO AMERICA

AT Pointe de Grave, France, a great French monument to America was begun on Sept. 6, with the laying of a cornerstone commemorating the landing of the first contingent of American troops in 1917. Speeches were made by President Poincaré and Ambassador Wallace. Premier Clemenceau, Marshal Foch, and other distinguished Frenchmen and Americans were present.

* * *

THE BREMEN'S FATE A MYSTERY

THE end of the war has brought no light on the mysterious vanishing of the German commercial submarine Bremen, which left Kiel for the United States in the early Summer of 1916 with a cargo of dyes and chemicals, and which was never heard of again.

A report of the return of the crew of the Bremen to Germany was circulated on Aug. 11 by the Vossische Zeitung of Berlin, which declared the men

had reached Bremen. According to this newspaper the British had kept the crew prisoners, completely isolated from the world, so that the whereabouts of the missing submersible might remain a secret. Several days later official denial was made in Berlin that the crew of the submarine had arrived in Bremen. On Aug. 26 the British Admiralty disavowed all knowledge of the Bremen. The fate of this underwater craft apparently will remain one of the mysteries of the war.

* * *

DEATH OF GENERAL BOTHA

GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA, Premier Minister of Agriculture of the Union of South Africa, died suddenly in Pretoria on Aug. 28. He had first gained distinction as a commander of the Boer forces against the British, and later proved himself a loyal subject of the empire as Premier of the Union of South Africa and as a leader of the campaign against the Germans in Southwest Africa. General Botha was born in Greytown, Natal, in 1863, and was descended from some of the earliest South African settlers. As a youth he herded sheep on his father's farm and, like all Boers, was devoted to his rifle.

When the war with England began he was merely a Veldt-Cornett, but quickly displayed his ability and was put in charge of the Boer Army of 6,000 men which defeated Sir Redvers Buller with 18,000 at the battle of Colenso. Following the death of General P. J. Joubert he was made Commander in Chief of the Transvaal Boers.

After the fall of Pretoria he carried on a prolonged guerrilla warfare till late in 1901. But as soon as peace was declared he set himself to the task of reorganizing his defeated country and aiding it to play its part in the British Empire. He was made first Premier of the Transvaal, and on the formation of the Union of South Africa he became the Premier, and held that position continuously except for one brief interval. The British always trusted him.

At the outbreak of the world war he took command of the forces of the Union in Southwest Africa. The campaign

that he conducted was of the most difficult sort, over a nearly waterless country where the few wells had been poisoned by the Germans and the sandstorms compelled the men to wear goggles. His success was complete, the Germans surrendering in July, 1915, and thus placing under the British flag 116,670 more miles of territory than Germany itself contains.

With General Smuts, General Botha signed the Peace Treaty at Versailles on behalf of the Union of South Africa. He arrived at Cape Town on July 28.

On Aug. 31 General Jan Christian Smuts was appointed Premier to replace General Botha, and charged with the duty of forming a new Cabinet.

* * *

COST \$81.75 PER SOLDIER

FOR each man transported overseas in British vessels the United States Government will pay Great Britain \$81.75 under an agreement reached between Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, Director of Transportation in the War Department, and Lord Reading, representing the British Government. Secretary Baker, it was learned on Aug. 24, approved the agreement, which fixes a price a little more than half that tentatively put forward by the British at the beginning of the negotiations. The total cost of the British tonnage used in troop transportation is estimated at \$83,757,250, the number of men carried having been 1,027,000. Similar negotiations are in progress with the French and other Governments.

* * *

FEEDING 400,000 CZECH CHILDREN.

THROUGH the American Relief Administration European Children's Fund approximately 400,000 children in Czechoslovakia are now being provided with one supplementary meal daily, according to Earl D. Osborn, American Relief representative.

The Czechoslovak Government has added 1,000,000 kronen to the 5,000,000 it had already contributed for child-feeding work, bringing the total to about \$300,000. The Czechs in the United States have raised \$100,000.

The importance of the work is shown

by the following telegram sent from Paris by Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the American Relief Administration European Children's Fund, to the Czechoslovak League of America:

The children's food program for Czechoslovakia will remain an urgent need for at least another year. I urge you to concentrate on this movement. The new Government is assisting the organization of social service workers for the proper distribution of funds for children's relief coming from America. This has enormous importance for the future of the new republic, and I urge you to give it your special support.

* * *

CARNEGIE LEAVES \$30,000,000

THE will of Andrew Carnegie, filed in New York on Aug. 28, disposed of an estate estimated at approximately \$30,000,000. The sum of \$10,000,000 was distributed to friends and philanthropies; the residue was set aside for public use. Many annuities were granted. The philanthropic gifts, including bequests, totaled over \$378,000,000.

* * *

THE ISLAND OF YAP

THE little island of Yap in the Pacific Ocean suddenly loomed up as an international question when it developed in a conference between President Wilson and the Senate Foreign Committee that this island was an important cable centre and that the United States naval authorities were anxious to have it annexed by the United States.

Yap is the centre of a cable system formerly owned by a German cable company. These cables if taken over by the United States would be made to form an integral part of the American cable system already in the Pacific and thus strengthen American trade and commerce, not to speak of the importance of the island and its cable connections from a strategic standpoint.

Up to the time of the outbreak of the war in 1914, the island was owned by the German Government and was the centre of a cable system which that Government was developing in the Pacific. In 1914 it was seized by the Japanese Government and is being held by that Government pending its final

disposition by the Allies, but it is understood that Japan is anxious to hold it permanently, together with its cable connections.

* * *

PROHIBITION IN BELGIUM

THE United States is not the only prohibition country, Belgium having followed suit, so far as whisky, gin, and other highly alcoholic liquors are concerned. Soon after the armistice was signed a law was passed forbidding the manufacture and sale of such beverages. The making of alcoholic drinks ceased almost immediately, but not much attention was paid to the rule so far as the selling of liquor in the larger places was concerned. The authorities recently confiscated big stocks the bars had on hand.

* * *

RED PARTY FORMED IN UNITED STATES

THREE HUNDRED representatives of the Left Wing Faction of the National Socialist Party having withdrawn from the parent body, on Sept. 2 organized the "Communist Labor Party of America" and adopted the emblem of the Soviet Republic of Russia with the motto: "Workers of the World Unite." The emblem consists of a scythe and a hammer surrounded by a wreath of wheat. A suggestion that a torch be added to the emblem was voted down.

Delegate Zimmerman of Indiana led a small minority who wanted the new organization called the Independent Socialist Party, but his suggestion was overwhelmingly defeated. He said in its support:

I think that the word communist will strike terror to the American workman and we cannot succeed in the movement without this element. I will go as far in the revolutionary movement as any man in this hall, but I think it unwise to adopt this name. If you think I am a coward, search the court records of Indiana.

We know that this country is not yet ripe for the revolution. If it was, the name Communist would be all right. They did not use it in Russia until after the capitalist class had been overthrown.

The party announced that it would adopt a constitution which would be patterned largely after that of the Soviet Republic of Russia. Every mention of the Soviet Republic and Bolshevism was

greeted with cheers. One of the first acts of the new party was to approve a plan for a general strike in the United States on Oct. 8 to compel the release of Thomas J. Mooney, Eugene V. Debs, and other radical agitators. Subsequently the President of the new communist party was arrested for violent and seditious public utterances of a previous date.

* * *

AGUINALDO CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY

WORD comes from the Philippines that Emilio Aguinaldo, famed in his youth as a Captain of the insurrectos, is winning new fame in his sedate middle age as a captain of industry. Not only is he the owner of valuable agricultural holdings in the islands, returned travelers report, but he is Vice President of two big cocoanut oil concerns recently organized. One-third of the world's supply of cocoanut oil comes from the Philippine Islands, and the two companies in which Aguinaldo is interested are important factors in that trade.

Back in the '90s, at the age of twenty-six, Aguinaldo headed a formidable revolution against the Spanish Government, then administering the Philippines. When the Spanish-American war broke and the American expedition against those far-away Spanish possessions was organized his aid was sought by the American commanders. His troops cooperated with the American forces, but their young Captain broke with the Americans when the peace treaty with Spain gave over the islands to American control instead of granting them independence. He took the warpath again, with the title of Provisional President, and during the campaign that followed his name was by way of being a household word in America. Finally, in March, 1901, he and his staff were captured by an American force led by Funston, and soon afterward took the oath of allegiance.

During the eighteen years that have passed since the surrender and acceptance of American control in the Philippines both Aguinaldo and the islands have prospered probably beyond his own expectations. His influence with his Filipino countrymen continues very

great, but his liking for revolution seems to have vanished entirely.

* * *

FOOD ADMINISTRATION CLOSES

THE American Relief Administration closed its Paris office on Aug. 23, formally ending its work in Europe. The offices in Prague, Warsaw, Vienna, and other cities all are closed, except that in some of them bookkeepers are closing accounts, work that probably will be finished within two months. Herbert Hoover, who had supervised the distribution of supplies valued at hundreds of millions, sailed for the United States early in September.

The feeding of 4,000,000 underfed children in various parts of Europe, undertaken by the administration, will be continued by a charitable organization formed by Mr. Hoover, with its main offices in New York.

The American Relief Administration during the six months ending May 31, 1919, distributed supplies valued at \$836,175,000 to seventeen countries, according to Mr. Hoover's reports to the Supreme Council. These supplies represented 512 shiploads, weighing 2,486,230 metric tons.

* * *

THE CERCAY PAPERS

IN the treaty of peace occurs an allusion to "the Cerçay papers." The clause stipulates that Germany shall return to France all the political papers seized by the German authorities on Oct. 10, 1870, at the country house of Cerçay, then the property of M. Rouher, sometime Cabinet Minister. The London Sunday Times explains this clause as follows: When, on Oct. 10, 1870, the 17th Mecklenberg Division arrived at Cerçay, the soldiers proceeded to turn Rouher's house upside down. In the process they came upon some papers which they would have scattered and destroyed, if it had not been for a German officer who, guessing something of their value, reported their existence and was ordered to send them to Versailles, where Bismarck then was. The Chancellor examined the papers himself, would let no one else see them, and ultimately stowed them away in the State

archives, where no one, not even Treitschke, has ever set eyes on them. Bismarck had discovered that the fortune of war had put in his possession a correspondence which gave him the complete mastery over his enemies, the recalcitrant States of Southern Germany. The nature of the correspondence can be gathered from contemporary history; it was also pretty clearly divulged in a letter published in the *Kölnische Zeitung*. The writer, "M. von D." Dalwigk, Minister of the Grand Duchy of Hesse, wrote, "Though Germany does not actually desire a French invasion, the French, if they did come, would be received with open arms." With such letters in his possession Bismarck held the cards. "I cannot help thinking," says a German historian, Ruville, "that we have there the key to the foundation of the German Empire." A French paper, *Le Peuple Français*, known to have been inspired by Rouher, declared in so many words that "the confidential correspondence exchanged in 1865 and 1866 between the French Government and the Ministers of Bavaria and Württemberg had also been left at Cerçay and are in Prince Bismarck's hands."

* * *

GREEK PREMIER CROWNED AS VICTOR

A STRONG appeal to the imagination is made by the crowning of Eleutherios Venizelos, the Prime Minister of Greece, on his return from the Peace Conference bearing triumphantly the many diplomatic triumphs won by him as the results of his long negotiations with the other allied powers, as an Olympian victor, with the golden wreath of wild olive to which the whole democracy of Greece has subscribed.

The wild olive was peculiarly the Olympian victor's wreath, though the crowning of heroes in Greece was not for those who had performed great and valiant deeds in statecraft, or in defense of their country, but for those who had outstripped their fellows in the athletic games which were the chief feature of their national life. The Isthmian festival, claiming an even greater antiquity than the Olympian, crowned its heroes with dry celery leaves; in the cypress

grove of Nemea, a secluded valley among the hills half way between Philus and Cleonae, the wreath was of fresh celery, though there at one time, as at Olympia, which it resembled also in other ways, both having probably come under Dorian influence, the prize was a wreath of wild olives. With the Pythians, at Delphi, the prize was a crown of bay leaves, plucked from the Vale of Tempe.

* * *

CAPTAIN FRYATT'S WATCH

WHEN Captain Fryatt (the British Sea Captain executed by the Germans for an attempt to ram an attacking submarine) left his home at Dovercourt on his last voyage in command of the Brussels he carried with him a possession which proved to be his death-warrant. It was the gold watch presented to him by the Directors of the Great Eastern Railway Company for faithful service. After capture he was sent with other prisoners into Germany, and it was not until he had been there some time that his identity was discovered through the watch. With a woman's uncanny intuition Mrs. Fryatt had begged him to leave it with her, saying first that it would be safer in her keeping and finally that she had a feeling that it would bring him harm. The Captain, who was particularly proud of the watch, laughed at his wife's fears, and took it away with him—the first episode in the tragedy which followed.

* * *

RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SATISFIED on the whole with the results of their negotiation, the delegation of Czechoslovak priests who went to Rome to lay before the Pope the Czech and Slovak point of view in certain ecclesiastical matters of interest and importance to the new republic, returned to Prague on July 19.

The subjects brought under consideration were:

1. The advisability of changes in certain Bishoprics in conformity with new conditions.
2. The establishment of a de facto primacy for the Archbishop of Prague throughout the territories of the republic.

3. The use of the Slav instead of the Latin liturgy.

4. The marriage of priests.

It had been an occasion of grave offense to the Czechs and Slovaks that many Bishops of entirely Slav dioceses were formerly appointed from the ruling races, that is to say, Germans in Bohemia and Magyars in Slovakia, and that the higher prelates were often distinctly hostile to the sentiments of the population.

The annulment of the old Slavonic liturgy was contemporary with the loss of all liberties, political and religious, at the battle of the White Mountain. This is one of the reasons why the Czech clergy are so tenacious in insisting on its restoration now. It was stated that there would be a compromise, permitting certain portions of the liturgy to be in Czech.

Much greater difficulty was encountered on the question of the celibacy of the clergy. A congress of clergy, held in Prague last January, petitioned the Government and the Pope for the legal abolition of obligatory celibacy. There has for centuries been a strong feeling for married priests in the country; moreover, 700,000 Ruthenes who are Uniate Catholics with a married clergy are now within the new republic.

* * *

LONDON HONORS GENERAL FOCH

ON July 29, amid scenes of great enthusiasm, the British King and the City of London welcomed the victor of the Marne and the Supreme Commander of the allied armies, General Foch. The King bestowed on the illustrious commander the title of Field Marshal, the highest rank in the British Army. The City of London made him a Freeman of her liberties and presented him with a sword of honor, the highest favor it was in her power to bestow. Among the tributes paid him was one by Field Marshal Haig, who very warmly and with earnest sincerity lauded him for his military genius and his devoted services; for his courtesy on the battlefield and in the council chamber, and for the inspiration of his courage, energy, and enthusiasm. Crucial moments of his campaigns against the Germans were re-

called by others, and phrases uttered by him and now become famous, were recalled. After the Guildhall ceremony Marshal Foch met a distinguished company at luncheon at the Mansion House, where he heard many laudatory addresses, and in response uttered words of gratitude for the distinguished honors paid him.

* * *

THE SACRIFICES OF ST. CYR

ON Aug. 9 there occurred a great pageant at the French Military College of St. Cyr. The ceremony took place in brilliant sunshine. Six different classes were represented, and the gaps in their ranks made it possible to realize the terrible price France had paid for the victory of civilization. When the war broke out in 1914 the great Military School of St. Cyr was crowded with the youthful military talent of France. Out of every hundred men belonging to this class fifty men met their death. Their predecessors, the class of 1913, had lost in killed sixty-one out of every 100, and the losses of the succeeding classes had been extreme. This fact gave a note of pain to the pageant, which was one of the annual triumphs held by St. Cyr year after year to prove in this way the continuity in the history of French arms. Members of the pageant symbolized in appropriate costume the various periods, from the time of early Gaul down to the epoch of 1914. The ceremony of the "baptism of the classes" was particularly impressive. The military students of 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, and 1919 lined up in the riding school and the selected representative of the 1914 class, followed by the representative of the 1913 class, was dressed as a splendid figure of Napoleon. He halted before the General in command and read an address of the purest patriotism. Normally the representative of the outgoing class has to speak to the untried boys and exhort them to carry on the great traditions of the school. On this occasion he addressed men who had led their comrades through the worst phases of war, whose breasts were a blaze of decorations, and who had learned more of the

meaning of warfare than many of those who were their instructors before the war.

As each was baptized—the 1914 class as the Promotion de la Grande Revanche, the 1915, 1916, and 1917 as the Promotion des Drapaux et de l'Amitié Américaine, the 1918 as the Promotion de St. Odile (the Patron Saint of Alsace) et de Lafayette, and the 1919 as the Promotion de la Victoire—these men all knelt. The ceremony was much more than a mere form, for throughout their careers all these men will speak of themselves under the title of these respective promotions.

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ARMISTICE CORRESPONDENCE OF CENTRAL RULERS

THE two following telegrams, exchanged between Charles I and William II. on Oct. 30, 1918, the day when Austria made her first attempt to obtain an armistice, were published in the Frankfurter Zeitung on Aug. 6, 1919. The Austrian Emperor telegraphed to his ally as follows:

This morning, in view of the fact that the military situation has become untenable, I was forced to propose an armistice to the Italians. But if the Italians insist as a condition that the roads through Tyrol and Carinthia, the railways of Tarvis, Brenner, and Südbahn be opened to our enemies to march against thy territories, I will place myself at the head of my German Austrians to prevent this march by the force of arms. Thou canst count on this absolutely. I cannot have the same confidence in the troops of other nationalities. Cordially and loyally,

CHARLES.

To this message the ex-Kaiser replied as follows:

I have read with emotion thy telegram concerning the armistice proposal. I am convinced that thy German Austrians, guided by their Emperor, will rise as a single man against all shameful conditions, and I thank thee for assuring me thereof. Thy faithful friend,

WILLIAM.

* * *

MOROCCO AND THE PEACE TREATY

A REPORT on the clauses of the treaty of peace relative to Morocco was submitted to the French Chamber shortly previous to Aug. 10 by M. Maurice Long, a Deputy. After having recalled the events that have occurred

in Morocco—the German interventions, the various conventions preceding the war—the report described the favorable results of French policy which gave France a strong position in Morocco when the European conflagration burst out, thus precluding the danger of an attack in Northern Africa. Far from being a cause of weakness, Morocco proved a source of strength. Under the leadership of its administrators, and of the French soldiers and colonists established there, Morocco vied with the oldest and most loyal provinces of France in its contributions to the common cause. The report continued as follows:

France was justified in presenting to the Peace Conference its legitimate aspirations in Morocco. All of these have been admitted. All the treaties which Germany had made with the Moroccan Empire or with France concerning Morocco have been abrogated; Germany loses all the rights which she acquired from those treaties. All the possessions of Germany in Morocco pass to the makhzen without indemnity; all those of German individuals are liquidated and their value deducted from Germany's debt to France. In the future German subjects will have right of access to Morocco only in so far and on the conditions that the Moroccan Government may fix of its own volition; the same will apply to all merchandise coming from Germany. As for Moroccan products they will be admitted to Germany on the same basis as French mer-

chandise. This whole system means that total eviction which the past justifies and by which the future is guaranteed. France could not obtain a satisfaction more complete.

The pact of Algieras, the Franco-German treaties of 1909 and 1911, the protectorate treaty of 1912 applied to all Morocco. The allied and associated powers explicitly recognized that the treaty of peace should have the same scope. The treaty of peace with Austria placed Austria on the same basis in Morocco as Germany. Tangier, which occupies a special position, being administered by a Sultan protected by France, was provided for by a special charter, drawn up by France in 1914, accepted by Great Britain and presented to Spain, but not approved by her up to the year 1919. By the terms of this charter foreign Governments will share in the administration of Tangier, which will thus have an international character. The central and controlling power, however, will remain with France.

The report of the French Deputy concluded thus:

From the Atlantic to the Gulf of Gabès it is not a colony which we wish to govern, but an African France, henceforth a prolongation of the mother country—awakening to life in the new era of world expansion opened to us by the victory of peace.

American Events

Occurrences and Developments in the United States of National Importance

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 18, 1919]

THE American armies called into being by the exigencies of war were rapidly being absorbed into the civil life of the nation when the Summer ended. General March, the Chief of Staff, announced Sept. 13 that to date 3,305,737 officers and enlisted men had been returned to civil life. Of these 164,670 were officers. The number of men returned from Europe totaled 1,892,483, of whom 89,205 were officers.

For the new regular army there had been enlisted since the armistice 113,239 men, of whom 10,921 asked service in Europe and 2,001 expressed a preference for duty in Siberia.

The following casualties were reported on Sept. 12 by the commanding general of the American Expeditionary Forces: Killed in action (including 382 at sea), 34,568; died from wounds, 13,957; died of disease, 23,653; died from accident and other causes, 5,281; wounded in ac-

tion (over 85 per cent. returned), 214,378; missing in action (not including prisoners released and returned), 2; total to date, 291,839. It is interesting to note that of those missing in action only two remained unaccounted for.

AID TO DISABLED SOLDIERS

Increases practically doubling the monthly compensation originally provided by the War Risk Insurance act to disabled soldiers and sailors and members of their families were passed unanimously by the House of Representatives on Sept. 13. Under the new plan the compensation for total temporary disability will be—for a single man—\$80 a month instead of \$30; for a married man with a wife, or a child, \$90 instead of \$45; one with a wife and one child, \$95 instead of \$55, and the man with a wife and two children or more, \$100 instead of \$65.

Disabilities, it is provided, shall also be rated as partial and temporary, total and permanent, and partial and permanent, for which the monthly compensation shall be a percentage of the degree of reduction in earning capacity.

Automatic insurance provisions of the law are extended to cover all men, except those who actually refused to apply for insurance, who were finally accepted for service during the war. The permitted class of beneficiaries is enlarged to include uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, while the definition of parent is extended to persons who stood in loco parentis to a service man.

COURTS-MARTIAL

In approving the report submitted to him by Major Gen. Francis J. Kernan, head of the special War Department Board, on courts-martial and their procedure, Secretary Baker on Aug. 24 took the official stand that the present system should not be changed except in minor details.

The War Department Board's report reflected the opinion of 225 officers who were circularized. More than half of these gave hearty approval to the present system, forty-three condemned it as

basically wrong, and the remainder, a total of sixty-seven, pointed out specific weaknesses which they thought should be remedied.

The most serious defect in the existing system, the report asserted, arises from the "lack of competent trial Judge Advocates and counsel," and as a remedy it was recommended that defense counsel be appointed for each general and special court-martial, and that special inducements be offered young officers to study law in order that they may be fitted for these and other special duties.

PERMANENT RANK FOR PERSHING

President Wilson, on Sept. 3, signed the bill passed by the House and Senate authorizing him to confer upon General Pershing the permanent title of General, which creates him ranking officer of the American Army as long as he remains in active service. As the General is 59 years old, this insures his retention of the title for the next five years. The commission was presented to the General by Secretary Baker on the former's arrival in New York, Sept. 8.

RESIGNATION OF OFFICERS

Since the armistice was signed the War Department has accepted the resignations of nearly 1,300 officers. In July alone there were about 160 resignations accepted, more than twice as many officers as resigned in the entire ten years immediately prior to the country's entry into the war in 1917.

The situation created as a result of the wholesale resignation of officers, most of them junior officers—the very backbone of the regular establishment—was so serious that General March, the Chief of Staff, instructed the Morale Division of the General Staff to make a complete and thorough investigation. The results of that investigation were filed Aug. 18 with Major Gen. William G. Haan, the Chief of the Plans Division of the General Staff, who immediately transmitted the document to General March.

The investigation showed* that the enormous increase in the cost of living was in the main responsible for the

great loss in officer personnel. In the great majority of the cases of younger officers the pay received was less than that now given to unskilled laborers. Furthermore, these officers of the regular army, practically all of whom served with increased rank during the war, were now being demoted, and up to Aug. 18 861 had reverted to their former grades, with a corresponding reduction in pay. With their demotion their pay reverted to the scale of 1908.

Opposition to an army of 576,000 officers and men developed from both Republican and Democratic sources, when the Chief of Staff appeared before the House Military Affairs Committee on Sept. 3 to discuss legislation dealing with the future of the army. The War Department's bill would raise the total to 576,000 as compared with 175,000 under the National Defense act of 1916.

As soon as General March mentioned these figures Representative Miller of Washington, Republican, asked what world condition would make it necessary to have a force of such size. Representative Dent of Alabama, Democrat, former Chairman of the committee, and now the ranking Democrat, made it plain that he intended to make a fight to keep the size of the army down to 175,000.

SALE OF ARMY SUPPLIES

It was announced by Secretary Baker on Aug. 28 that an agreement had been reached by which the French Government would pay to the American Government \$400,000,000 for all of the A. E. F. property in France, except that allotted for return to this country and for the use of remaining troops.

Under the contract made with France that Government will pay for these American army works, properties, and goods in \$400,000,000 worth of French bonds, which are to be delivered to the American Government. These bonds will be dated Aug. 1, 1919. They will bear interest at the date of 5 per cent. annually. Interest on them will begin to run from Aug. 1, 1920, payable in United States gold coin, or, if this Government at any time elects, the interest may be paid in French francs. The

principal will also be payable in gold coin.

The estimated inventory value of all of the property of the A. E. F. in France on July 8 last was \$969,000,000, while the estimated inventory value of the property available for sale to the French was \$749,000,000. The estimated original cost of all the property of the A. E. F. still in France on July 8 was about \$1,700,000,000, while the estimated original cost of that part of this property available for sale to France was about \$1,300,000,000, according to statements obtained from the War Department.

Secretary Baker was advised that if these supplies had been held in France to be sold or otherwise disposed of by this Government, instead of through the French Government, it would have cost the American Government considerable money. He said that it would have meant the expense, among other things, of maintaining about 40,000 men in France from six to eight months, to dispose of the goods, or care for them. If these goods were placed on sale to individuals in France, it would have been necessary to pay duties on them which would have amounted to about \$150,000,000.

GROWTH OF NAVY

The United States Navy Year Book, recently issued, showed that the United States was easily the second naval power of the world, while construction now under way would greatly reduce the difference in tonnage between the British and American navies. Great Britain stands first in completed ships, but the United States is far ahead of all other nations as far as new construction is concerned.

The Year Book also includes what is perhaps the most complete statistical history yet compiled of the naval losses sustained by all the belligerents during the war, and gives the name and the date of the loss of 197 German submarines, a total which exceeds the official German report of submarine losses by nineteen vessels. Previously the German Admiralty published a report in which it was said that Germany's losses in un-

dersea craft totaled 178 vessels. The total naval losses of the war were 883 ships, and of these Germany lost 398 and Great Britain 259. France lost 57, Russia 50, Italy 31, the United States 13, Japan 11, and Rumania, Greece, and Portugal 1 each. Turkey lost 32 and Austria-Hungary 29 vessels, making the total losses 424 ships for the Allies and 459 for the Central Powers.

The total submarine losses of the war were 299 vessels, and of these Germany lost 197, England 55, France 15, Austria 12, Russia 10, Italy 8, and Turkey 2, which shows an allied submarine loss of 88 and a Central Powers loss of 211.

REVIEW OF PACIFIC FLEET

On Sept. 1 the Pacific Fleet was reviewed in San Francisco Harbor by Secretary Daniels. The sky was overcast while the review was in progress. Hundreds of thousands, who lined the shores from the Golden Gate to the foot of Market Street, were able, however, to see the manoeuvres.

Half an hour before the first vessel was sighted Secretary Daniels and his party were piped aboard the battleship Oregon, while the guns of Fort Scott boomed out the Secretary's salute. By this time a long line of the fleet—coming single file—was approaching the Gate, led by the dreadnought New Mexico, and with the dreadnoughts Mississippi and Idaho following at intervals of 700 yards.

The long line of warcraft crept through the Golden Gate, past the Presidio military reservation and the once impregnable old Fort Point, whose thick brick walls the engineers of civil war days built to withstand the solid shot of enemy frigates; past the modern forts, Miley and Winfield Scott, on the San Francisco side of the harbor, and under the long range guns of Forts Baker and Barry, hidden in the golden brown hills on the opposite shore, where Mount Tamalpais stands sentinel to the Golden Gate.

Each ship was "dressed" for the event. The Admiral flew his flag—a field of blue with four white stars—from the foremast, and the largest and newest American flags from mainmast and

stern. The flagship of the Vice Admiral bore the blue flag with three white stars from its foremast and those of the two Rear Admirals, blue banners with two white stars, from the corresponding masts. The other vessels flew the national ensign at foremast and mainmast and stern.

PEARL HARBOR DRYDOCK

The great Pearl Harbor drydock was dedicated by Secretary Daniels at Honolulu, Hawaii, Aug. 21. The dock is 1,001 feet long and has an inside width of 138 feet and an inside depth of 32½ feet. It will accommodate any ship afloat and represents an investment of more than \$5,000,000.

The dock and naval base have a setting in what is considered one of the finest and most beautiful harbors in the world. Entirely landlocked in a rim of hills, Pearl Harbor could anchor all the naval fleets of the world out of view from the open sea. Pearl Harbor has an area of approximately ten square miles. Its depth is approximately sixty feet. Entrance to the harbor has been made safe for all time by dredging and other work done by the United States.

The drydock had been under construction since 1910. Its opening had been planned to take place long before this, but various delays and the war caused postponement. The most serious delay occurred when the entire bottom of the drydock upheaved suddenly, ruining all work that had been done and delaying construction for a year.

Permanent rank of Admiral in the United States Navy, previously given only to three men, Farragut, Porter and Dewey, was conferred upon Admirals W. S. Sims and W. S. Benson by a bill which passed the House of Representatives Sept. 8, by a vote of 244 to 7.

RAILROAD DEFICIT

Reports of Class 1 railroads of this country to the Interstate Commerce Commission for July and the first seven months of this year showed that the Railroad Administration must face an operating deficit at the end of 1919. At present, the line of 1919 earnings is running far below the standard return guar-

anted by the Government to the roads during its control, and while July records show a net gain to the Railroad Administration of approximately \$2,000,000 for the month, this improvement is not sufficient to offset the deficit piled up in the first six months to approximately \$290,525,000.

COST OF LIVING

General increases of about 80 per cent. in the cost of living during the period from December, 1914, to June, 1919, were shown in tables made public on Aug. 16 by the Department of Labor. The tables were based on investigations in various representative cities. In every instance the greatest increases were recorded in the prices of clothing and house furnishings. Food advances were of third importance. Figures for the period, December, 1917, to June, 1919, show general average increases of about 20 per cent.

Total increases in the two items of food and clothing, without considering other items in family budgets, showed enormous increases from December, 1914, to June, 1919, the advance in the case of Chicago being 157.67 per cent. The same items went up 125 per cent. in Detroit, 125 per cent. in Cleveland, 140 per cent. in Buffalo, 103 per cent. in Portland, Me., 137 per cent. in Boston, 151 per cent. in New York, 135 per cent. in Philadelphia, 128 per cent. in Baltimore, 104 per cent. in Norfolk, 146 per cent. in Savannah, 139 per cent. in Jacksonville, 93 per cent. in Mobile, 135 per cent. in Houston, Texas, 115 per cent. in Portland, Ore., 110 per cent. in Seattle, 123 per cent. in Los Angeles, and 134 per cent. in San Francisco and Oakland, Cal.

Smaller increases in such things as housing, fuel and light and miscellaneous items lowered the general average increase, general percentages being as follows: Portland, Me., 74; Boston, 72; New York, 79; Philadelphia, 76; Baltimore, 83; Norfolk, 87; Savannah, 79; Jacksonville, 74; Mobile, 76; Houston, 80; Portland, Ore., 69; Seattle, 74; Los Angeles, 65; San Francisco and Oakland, 65; Chicago, 74; Detroit, 84; Cleveland, 77, and Buffalo, 84.

In all instances the increases in cloth-

ing prices were greater than any other item.

PENALTIES FOR PROFITEERS

The proposed amendments to the Food Control act for dealing with profiteers in nearly all necessities, with a penalty of \$5,000 fine or two years' imprisonment for those who charge exorbitant prices, was passed by the House on Aug. 22 without a roll call. This action came at the end of a day of partisan speech-making after the House, sitting as Committee of the Whole, by a vote of 79 to 63, had brought rent profiteers throughout the country within the scope of the law. When the bill was reported to the House this amendment was eliminated by a vote of 77 to 132, and a motion by Representative Griffin to recommit the bill and instruct the committee to report it without the exemption of farmers was lost by a vote of 24 to 200.

Republican leaders who were responsible for the defeat of the rent profiteering section held that the inclusion of this subject would make the bill too far-reaching and break down the purpose of the proposed law, which is timed to reach profiteering in food and clothing. They said that rent profiteering would be reached later in a specific law.

This action marked the first legislative step in the Administration's high cost of living campaign and place in the hands of Governmental agencies sufficient authority to proceed against retailers, who, according to Attorney General Palmer, are maintaining high price levels.

ARMY OF OCCUPATION

Marshal Foch reached a decision Sept. 4 upon the extent of territory in the Rhineland to be held permanently by the American force. Its area will be twice as large as that which has been under American jurisdiction since the last combat division left for home. By Marshal Foch's decision the Americans are again to take over all the Coblenz bridgehead proper, or exactly the same territory on the east bank of the Rhine as they have occupied since December last. On the west bank American area has been extended about forty kilometers, taking in the large towns of Cochem, on the Mo-

selle, Mayen, and Andernach, which have been occupied by the French since the departure of the 3d Division a month ago. On the east bank of the Rhine the Americans will continue to occupy the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, Neuvied, and Montabaur. The headquarters of the American forces will remain at Coblenz.

General Pershing advised the War Department on Aug. 22 that the American force remaining in Germany after Sept. 30 would consist of a little more than

6,000 picked men. The names of the units and their approximate strength were as follows:

	Officers.	Men.
8th Infantry.....	114	3,720
7th Machine Gun Battalion....	16	379
2d Battalion, 6th F. A.....	20	620
35th Field Signal Battalion.....	15	473
1st Supply Train.....	16	485
1st Mobile Ordnance Repair Shop	3	45
Company A, 1st Engineers.....	6	250
Field Hospital No. 13.....	6	82
Ambulance Company No. 26....	5	153
Total	201	6,207

The Police Strike in Boston

Other Labor Problems

THE police strike in Boston, which began on Sept. 9, 1919, and which resulted in the city's being subjected to a brief reign of terror by the lawless elements, at once assumed an aspect of national importance by reason of the far-reaching principles involved. Boston policemen to the number of 1,500 went out on strike on the date mentioned at the 5:45 roll-call as a long-threatened and drastic means of enforcing recognition of their newly formed union and of their right to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. The strike was precipitated by the suspension of nineteen patrolmen found guilty by Police Commissioner Curtis of violating the department order against unionizing.

The serious consequences of a strike of this nature at once became apparent. Gangs of boys looted shops; hoodlums broke windows; and rioting mobs in Roxbury, South Boston, the West End and other sections of the city were dispersed only at the point of the revolver. Loyal policemen were jeered and pelted with mud. Howling mobs roamed the city streets committing acts of violence. The Provost Guard was rushed to the city from the navy yard at midnight to help quell the disturbances. Mayor Peters issued a proclamation calling on all law-abiding citizens to help the authorities to maintain order. Volunteers were sworn in by special officers and

equipped with badges and revolvers. All able-bodied retired patrolmen were recruited. Banks and large business houses organized guards from among their employes, arming them as special policemen. Federal authorities took precautions for the guarding of all Government property.

On Sept. 10 the rioting continued. Cavalry with drawn sabres and infantry with fixed bayonets charged to disperse the assembled rioters. The city was placed completely under martial law, and 5,000 soldiers of the State Guard patrolled the streets with orders to protect life and property. Two men were killed and several wounded by machine gun and rifle fire in South Boston, where the rioting continued for hours. Scores of soldiers and civilians received injuries from flying missiles. Sticks, bottles, and paving stones were used as weapons by the attacking crowds. In Scollay Square, which is in the heart of the city, some of the worst outbreaks occurred, the crowd growing steadily and finally attacking police officers. One man was killed at this point, and others were removed badly wounded to the hospital. Steel-helmeted cavalymen clattered through the streets and frequently took to the sidewalks to break up all gatherings. Banks and business offices were kept fully lighted, and guards sat inside with rifles and automatics in their hands ready for instant use. Millions of dol-

lars' worth of valuables were removed and sent to Springfield or Worcester. The windows of many downtown stores were barricaded with lumber. Numberless persons were robbed. Gambling went on openly on the Boston Common. Unprotected women were pursued and assaulted in dark corners. Some of the perpetrators of these crimes were arrested and sentenced to prison, but many went unpunished.

POLICE UNION'S ATTITUDE

President John McInnis of the Policemen's Union issued a statement saying that the responsibility for the rioting and looting rested with Commissioner Curtis. Ample notice of the coming strike, he declared, had been given, and the public had been informed that an emergency force was being recruited. Why, he asked, was this emergency force not in evidence? Mayor Peters stated that the Committee of Thirty-four appointed by him had done everything humanly possible to avoid the strike, but had received no co-operation either from the Police Commissioner or the Governor. A request made by him to mobilize the State Guard had been refused by the Commissioner.

On Sept. 11 lawlessness started early in the morning and continued through the day. Nineteen more were wounded and forty injured in clashes with troops. Some forty-four men were arrested for gambling on the Common. One was killed. Meanwhile Governor Coolidge had sent a telegram to the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy asking for Federal military assistance to maintain order if the 5,000 guardsmen on duty in the city proved unequal to the task.

ACTION BY MR. GOMPERS

A new element was injected into the situation by a telegram, sent from New York on Sept. 12 by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, to Mayor Andrew J. Peters of Boston, and repeated to Governor Coolidge and to Frank McCarthy, Organizer of the American Federation of Labor in Boston. It was an appeal that the whole

matter of police unionization be left in statu quo until after the conference called by President Wilson for Oct. 6.

On the same day Mr. McCarthy announced that the Policemen's Union agreed to accept Mr. Gompers's proposal to return to work and await the result of the President's conference. The Governor referred the question of reinstatement of the striking policemen to the Police Commissioner. A conference, however, was arranged between Governor Coolidge and representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Union, to discuss Mr. Gompers's proposal and the general question of the policemen's right to unionize and affiliate with the association.

STRIKERS' POSITIONS FORFEITED

The next day, acting on the legal advice of the State Attorney General that the police strikers had forfeited their positions in the Police Department, Commissioner Curtis declared vacant the positions of all policemen who had gone out on strike. The nineteen suspended policemen had been discharged, and a new force was being recruited.

After receiving from Governor Coolidge a telegram declaring that he would support Police Commissioner Curtis in dismissing the Boston policemen who went out on strike, Samuel Gompers issued a statement making a further appeal for the strikers and asserting that Commissioner Curtis had assumed an unwarranted and autocratic attitude.

The Bay State Governor, however, remained firm and on Sept. 14 sent a letter to Mr. Gompers in which he said:

Replying to your telegram, I have already refused to remove the Police Commissioner of Boston. I did not appoint him. He can assume no position which the courts would uphold except what the people have by the authority of their law vested in him. He speaks only with their voice. The right of the police of Boston to affiliate has always been questioned, never granted, is now prohibited.

The suggestion of President Wilson to Washington does not apply to Boston. There the police have remained on duty. Here the Policemen's Union left their duty, an action which President Wilson characterized as a crime against civilization.

Your assertion that the Commissioner

was wrong cannot justify the wrong of leaving the city unguarded. That furnished the opportunity; the criminal element furnished the action. There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time.

An appeal was issued by the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Central Labor Union on behalf of the policemen, setting forth the poor pay and bad working conditions of the force, describing their ineffectual efforts to better these conditions and placing the blame for the outbreak of lawlessness on the Police Commissioner. A new wage scale was drafted by Mayor Peters to apply to the newly recruited members of the force. The authorities, however, firmly refused to reinstate the striking policemen, and their places were filled by new men, mostly returned soldiers.

President Wilson's attitude on the subject of police unions was stated in a telegram to Louis Brownlow, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, in which he said:

I am desirous, as you are, of dealing with the police force in the most just and generous way, but I think that any association of the police force of the capital city, or of any great city, whose object is to bring pressure upon the public or the community such as will endanger the public peace or embarrass the maintenance of order, should in no case be countenanced or permitted.

NATION STRIKE-RIDDEN

Strikes in general were on the increase during the month, as shown by Department of Labor statistics at Washington. As far as bases of comparison were available in regard to strikes and lock-outs, labor unrest had reached its highest point since the armistice. Reports received from Sept. 11 to Sept. 18 indicated that there were 121 strikes under way in the country and that 53 were threatened. Nineteen strikes were settled before Sept. 17. In these settlements it was the strikers who gained the advantage.

The actors' strike was settled on the basis of the open shop on Sept. 6. Demands as to salaries, overtime, and pay for rehearsals were mostly granted, and arbitration was provided for. On Sept. 7 all New York theatres reopened.

Rivaling this in public interest was the threatened steel strike. The vote of the steel workers to strike was taken on Aug. 20. Requests for conference with the steel operators were denied, and even President Wilson's attempt to bring about an arbitration failed, Mr. Gary, Chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corporation, remaining unmoved in his determination not to arbitrate the corporation's right to continue the system of the open shop. The steel unions made twelve demands, including collective bargaining and wage revision. At least 2,000,000 persons were involved. The strike was ushered in on Sept. 21 by clashes between the Pennsylvania State police and crowds bent on holding labor mass meetings in the Pittsburgh district. Nineteen labor men were arrested. At this time some steel unions had already gone out.

Railway strikes on the Southern Pacific, Santa Fé, and Salt Lake roads, which tied up all Los Angeles traffic, were ended by an ultimatum sent by Mr. Hines, Director General of the Federal Railroad Administration, and approved by President Wilson, declaring the Government's purpose to continue the operation of these roads with military force if necessary. It was stated on Sept. 21 that all the striking shopmen had accepted President Wilson's terms of an eight-hour day and an increase of 4 cents an hour for labor performed. Mr. Gompers won over the shopmen to a ninety-day truce awaiting the results of the Administration's drive to reduce the cost of living.

On Sept. 2 the President issued invitations to labor leaders, financiers, manufacturers, and farmers to attend a conference to be held in Washington Oct. 6-15, for consideration of the problems of labor and its directors. Regarding the International Labor Conference scheduled to be held in Washington on Oct. 29 in accordance with the Peace Treaty, Mr. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, on Sept. 2 stated publicly that no arrangements had been made for representation of the United States and that no such arrangements could be made pending the ratification of the treaty by the Senate.

Among the Nations

Survey of Important Events and Developments in Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 15, 1919]

THE BALKANS

THE situation in the Balkans, from internal to international affairs, was rendered confusing by repeated assertions and denials of opposing factions and Governments. Telegraphic messages, except Belgrade official, from the Balkan capitals were few and contradictory.

Aside from the Rumanian adventure at Budapest, with its political ramifications in the Balkans, locally the chief topics of discussion in the peninsula were the partition of Thrace, the continuance of the Rumanian-Serb dispute over the Banat, and the attempt of the Serbian Government at Belgrade to inaugurate Yugoslavia—the Monarchy of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The Yugoslav propagandists continued to publish documents of varying authenticity and importance tending to show the treason of King Nicholas toward Montenegro, and there were signs that the press of Sofia had espoused the cause of Yugoslavia against Italy and had begun a new campaign against Greece as a response to the growing good-will of Greece toward Italy and the growing accumulation of evidence of Bulgarian atrocities visited on the Greek population of Macedonia and Thrace.

Details of an uprising of Montenegrins against the Serbian Army of occupation came in a dispatch from London, on Aug. 28, only to be categorically denied and stigmatized on Sept. 2 as King Nicholas's propaganda, by representatives of the Belgrade Government at Washington. On the other hand, a defeat of Italian troops by the Albanian clansmen, reported from Belgrade on Sept. 2, was formally denied by the Italian Government three days later and the assertion made that the Albanians, both Christian and Moslem, were working

hand in hand with the Italian Army of Occupation so as to restore order and revive industry.

The question of Thrace reverted to its position of a month ago, after several declarations were made at Paris, only to be later repudiated. On Aug. 21 it was reported that the so-called Polk (American) compromise plan for making an international State of about half of Western Thrace, with Dedeagatch as its Aegean port, and with commercial right of way for Bulgaria, had been adopted at Paris with the assent of the Greek Premier, M. Venizelos. On Sept. 1 the French delegates were understood to have induced M. Venizelos to withdraw his assent, and it was announced that the Polk compromise had been abandoned. Meanwhile, the position of Greek propaganda on the subject, as may be interpreted from the material reaching M. Venizelos and American newspapers, stood firmly not only on the claim that all Thrace should belong to Greece, but that Bulgaria should be shut out entirely from the Aegean Sea, and that no territory containing Greek nationals should be internationalized.

BULGARIA.—The Sofia press and official pamphleteers made spirited replies to the charges of Bulgar atrocities in Eastern Macedonia published in the Official Report of the Interallied Commission by declaring that many of the towns and villages within the zones covered had been inhabited almost entirely by Bulgars who had fallen victims to the Greek irregulars, and by resurrecting the Rockefeller report of 1913 containing charges of Serb and Greek atrocities alleged to have been committed against the Bulgars. The Sofia press also charged Greek and Italian delegates at Paris with bringing about the withdrawal by Austria of the Orient Express

on the line from Vienna to Constantinople, via Belgrade, Nish, Sofia, and Adrianople.

GREECE.—The Athens press reprinted with general approbation the scheme for the disposition of Thrace advanced by J. Saxon Mills of London, which covers the following points:

1. There is no Aegean port worthy of the name which can be ceded to Bulgaria. Hence it is useless to present arguments in favor of one.

2. Bulgaria already has two ports on the Black Sea which should be of great value with the opening of the Dardanelles.

3. All commercial tendencies of Bulgaria lean toward Central Europe. As Friedrich Neumann has said, Bulgaria is the natural ally of Germany.

4. Let the Greeks accord to the Bulgars at Cavalla commercial facilities similar to those accorded to Serbia at Saloniki. It is useless to speak of any rights in Thrace other than those of Greece, save in Constantinople and its neighborhood, where other considerations demand another disposition. During the recent wars the attitude of Bulgaria has certainly been such that no political or commercial advantage should be given her at the expense of Greece. The right of Greece to Thrace reposes in race, tradition, and present administration, which is acceptable to both the Bulgar and Moslem minorities.

RUMANIA.—Although the replies made by the Rumanian Government to the Peace Conference in regard to the Rumanian military occupation of Budapest were couched in the approved language of diplomacy, the press of Bucharest was more outspoken, and its arguments covered the following points: It was absolutely necessary, both for Rumania and for the conference that the Bela Kun Bolshevik régime in Budapest should be ended, hence Rumania should be thanked rather than censured by her allies; the delay in signing the Austrian peace treaty with restorations, particularly in live stock, rolling stock, and farm implements to be made to Rumania, has kept the latter stagnant, with consequent dissatisfaction for the Government; nothing was seized in Hungary by the Rumanian army of occupation that was not needed for the maintenance of that army or that had not been taken away from Rumania by Hungarians—"Belgium and France should have done

the same thing in Prussia"; as to the shipment of arms from Hungary to Rumania, did the conference want Rumania to be defeated by the Russian Bolsheviks in Bessarabia?

The press of Bucharest gave considerable space to translations from the Paris papers commending Rumania's action at Budapest, most of them adding that the Peace Conference needed to be taught a lesson. The case of Premier Bratiano, who returned from Paris to Bucharest, was compared to that of Premier Orlando in Italy—both were obliged to brave the Supreme Council at Paris in order to retain power at home. Vienna reported on Sept. 10 that the Bratiano Ministry was out and that Take Jonescu would head a new one.

The establishment of a Rumanian civil Government in Bessarabia on Aug. 20 brought about direct diplomatic communication between Rumania and Rumania.

According to the United States Trade Commissioner at Bucharest, Louis E. Van Norman, in a report published Aug. 30:

On account of its exceptional economic position Rumania, in the opinion of competent observers, seems virtually certain to recover its financial stability sooner than any other of the Balkan nations and perhaps sooner than any of the nations of Europe, including the new ones which have grown up out of the war. Rumanian credit has always been good. The national obligations of the country have been secured by natural resources, perhaps surpassed by no other nation of the same size. This is demonstrated by the fact that up to the time of the Balkan wars the Rumanian national debt was held almost exclusively by the Rumanian people. There had been practically no borrowing abroad, although before these wars the German financial penetration had proceeded very far in Rumania. Although there is no Government bank in Rumania, as the term is generally accepted in other countries, the National Bank of Rumania is permitted to issue national bank notes to the extent of 30 per cent. of its reserves, and the Banca Romaneasca, a bank with some national character, is granted special privileges. In the hands of the banks, of course, lies for all practical purposes the rehabilitation of Rumanian finance.

SERBIA.—On Aug. 16, the Prince Regent signed a decree appointing a Ministry for the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. It was formed by

the Social-Democratic Party. The list follows. All are Democrats save the last three, who are Socialists:

- M. LIOUBA DAVIDOVITCH, Prime Minister.
- M. PAVLE MARINKOVITCH, Public Instruction.
- M. VOISLAV VELTKOVITCH, Finance.
- Dr. ANTE TRUMBITCH, Foreign Affairs.
- M. MILORAD DRACHLOVITCH, Communications.
- M. MOSTA HYMOTYEVITCH, Justice.
- M. VELISLAV VOULOVITCH, Public Works.
- M. SVETOZAR PRIBICHEVITCH, Interior.
- M. EDO. LUKINITCH, Post and Telegraphs.
- M. TOUGOMAN ELABUPUVITCH, Public Worship.
- M. ALBERT KRAMER, Commerce and Industry.
- M. FRANCO POLJAK, Agricultural and Agrarian Reform.
- General STEVAN HADJITCH, War, (no party.)
- M. VITOMER ORATCH, Social Policy and *ad interim* Public Health.
- M. VILIN ROUKSCHEG, Food.
- M. ANTON KRISTAN, Mines and Forests.

On Aug. 23 M. Davidovitch made a declaration of policy before the Provisional Chamber, which aside from purely internal matters—ridding the country of Austrian crown notes before the exportation of the new crops begins and the expropriation of large landowners—was as follows:

The conditions we demand are based on the principles of international justice, which should be applied to us as they have been applied to others. We are asking for no departure from those principles for our own benefit; we cannot reconcile ourselves to their being transgressed at our expense. We are prepared to co-operate as faithfully in the consolidation of peace as we did in the achievement of victory. Alone in Southeastern Europe we maintained the struggle from the beginning to the end of the war, and, though cruelly stricken, never wavered in the fight for the grand ideal of liberty. Our co-operation in the re-establishment of peace should be sought for and welcomed, because no other nation has had such long and such wide experience of the conditions of the Balkan Peninsula, and our friends would risk missing the great aim of the pacification of the world if they try to solve Balkan problems without sufficient regard to the claims of those of their allies who are most directly concerned in the questions of new frontiers, indemnities, and other economic and political problems. In these matters our delegates at the Peace Conference will have our utmost support. We have nothing to modify in our point of view and our de-

mands, and we will defend our rights and interests wherever threatened.

We feel keen sympathy for such of our brethren as are not yet united to us and are persecuted for their love of us. When peace is concluded we will endeavor to maintain friendly relations with all our neighbors. Without ever forgetting our past experiences, our policy toward them will always be inspired by the principle of not seeking to benefit at the expense of others.

With the new Slav States of Czechoslovakia and Poland we will seek to draw closer the bonds of friendship. With Greece and Rumania, whose aspirations have hitherto enjoyed greater international support than ours, our State, by working for mutual confidence and intimacy, will insure permanent peace in the Balkans.

It is our conviction that until the solution of all pending problems by the Peace Conference, it is indispensable that the Government of this country should be composed of representatives of all political groups, and we are determined to do all in our power not to render such concentration of national political forces impossible. * * * We take the opportunity of solemnly denying the rumor, spread both abroad and here, that the Constituent Assembly will be dispensed with. * * * On the contrary, the Government will in a few days submit to the Chamber an electoral bill, whereby the nation will be enabled, through its freely chosen representatives, to lay the foundations of its future destiny. On the broad basis of liberty that we aspire to establish will arise a solid resistance to anarchy and the abuse of liberty by any one section of the community at the expense of any other, those terrible social fallacies of which we are now the horrified witnesses.

At Belgrade, as at Bucharest, there is complaint of the tardiness of restitution to be made by Hungary and Bulgaria. Rolling stock and locomotives are needed for the newly opened Belgrade-Nish-Saloniki main line. The United States Commercial Report of Sept. 6 contained the following comment on Serbian commercial and industrial conditions:

Of labor in the wide sense Serbia is almost as deficient as in materials. When the army is freed from duty there will be workers for the fields and unskilled labor for reconstruction, but expert technical and professional men are few in numbers and are not capable, without foreign assistance, of handling the problems which press for solution. It is stated that there are not more than seventy constructional engineers, architects, and surveyors in the whole of Serbia. It is much less difficult,

however costly it may be, to reconstruct a country like Belgium—before the war the most highly organized for its size in Europe—than to rebuild Serbia, a country in which industrial development had scarcely passed the stage of infancy.

The point which requires emphasis is that Serbia is quite unable, without skilled assistance from the Allies, to re-establish normal life in the country. If that assistance is not forthcoming Serbia must inevitably, when peace is signed, turn for help to the countries which have been enemies.

What Serbia needs Serbia is able to pay for. This may seem strange, but it is a fact that, apart altogether from indemnities for the damage done during the war, the peasant population and shopkeepers have plenty of money—in dinars and Austrian crowns. The explanation is simple. The people in the country during enemy occupation spent little or nothing on luxuries, and all the while were receiving high prices for their goods and produce. They have sold but not bought, and are now in a position to buy largely.

BELGIUM, HOLLAND, AND LUXEMBURG

The Belgian and Dutch press passed through another period of tension in regard to the reconstruction of the Treaty of 1839 and the Belgian claims to Limburg, and to that part of Zeeland south of the Scheldt, or the right-of-way over the Ghent-Terneuzen Canal—which would give the same commercial but not strategic advantage. The tension was characterized by feverish propaganda on the part of the Belgian press and insinuating silence on the part of the Dutch, with the exception of the *Telegraaf*, which on Aug. 31 assured its readers that the Commission of Fourteen in Paris had no intention of changing their decision of June 4, which was to the effect that no territorial concessions would be demanded of Holland. Also at The Hague the celebration of the Queen's birthday on Sept. 1, which had not been publicly observed since 1914, was the occasion for a patriotic demonstration in favor of the territorial status quo.

That the matter was not regarded as serious in official circles, in spite of certain alarmist messages sent American newspapers, was deduced from the fact that although the Dutch Minister to Great Britain, Jonkheer van Swinderen, who was also the chief Dutch delegate

at Paris, made several significant trips between there and The Hague. Foreign Minister Moher and other high officials were away on vacation.

Stories repeatedly appeared in the Belgian and British press to the effect that Great Britain and the United States would guarantee Belgium's security against Germany. There was no official confirmation of these stories, beyond emphasizing the fact that such protection was implied in the Franco-Anglo-American convention which was adopted on Aug. 8, when the Peace Treaty with Germany was ratified by the Chamber. It was ratified by the Senate on Aug. 26.

Malmedy, where Belgian troops had replaced the British on Aug. 13, was transferred to Belgian civil authority on Aug. 25, when registration of the population began which will settle their ultimate nationality. Similar registration went on in Eupen, a district stretching north of Malmedy as far as Limburg. The League of Nations will review and determine the nationality of the registration—whether Prussian or Belgian—within six months.

After four and a half years of work the Rotterdam headquarters of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium and France closed its office on Aug. 16. Its head, since 1914, Walter Brown of Los Angeles, moved to London to take charge of Mr. Hoover's "child's welfare" for feeding the undernourished children of Europe.

According to statistics published by the Belgian Interior Department, the output of coal in July reached nearly 87 per cent. of the monthly output of the year before the war. Although no payments had been received from Germany and little machinery returned, the blast furnaces in the Liège district and the mills in Louvain nearly reached their normal production.

Before the war more than half of Belgium, or an area of nearly 6,000 square miles, was under cultivation, with a fifth of forest lands and only a fifteenth of fallow or uncultivated. A measurable portion of the latter and those parts of the forest lands destroyed by the Germans have been reclaimed and put under cultivation. In the great sand-belt of

Campine, across the provinces of Antwerp, Limburg, and Brabant, agricultural reclamations have proceeded with afforestation projects and with equal success have transformed the wastes of sand dunes and marshes into crop-producing and pasturage lands. In this way the great estates of Baron van Havre and Esbeek have quadrupled their capacity.

In spite of its small area, only 998 square miles, and its population of 300,000, the wealth of Luxemburg is \$2,400 per capita, or twice that of France. On Dec. 7, 1918, the Grand Duchy denounced its zollverein with Prussia and ever since both France and Belgium have been bidding for preferment. According to an unofficial canvass made by Marcel Noppenay of the *Indépendance Luxembourgeoise* a majority of the population desired industrial cohesion with France.

FRANCE

The Chamber of Deputies began its debate on the German Peace Treaty Aug. 26. In the speeches delivered in the following days frequent references were made to the attitude of the United States Senate, and several Deputies voiced the opinion that if the League of Nations covenant were the cause of the American delay then the covenant "should be amputated." Aside from the Socialist criticisms of the treaty along lines which have become familiar everywhere, there were criticisms from members of former Governments similar to those heard from the Republican side in the American Senate, without, however, any attempt to formulate reservations.

The principal expounder of the treaty was Captain André Tardieu of the Peace Mission. Louis Barthou, former Premier, declared that the treaty was insufficient and insecure, and insisted on an international General Staff and army to carry out the decrees, when necessary, of the League of Nations. M. Franklin-Bouillon criticised the lead taken by Washington and ridiculed the placing of France on terms of equality with Panama and Cuba. Of the thirty-one Deputies scheduled to speak on the treaty over one-third had withdrawn by Sept. 4, when it

was announced that there would probably be fewer than 100 votes against the treaty when the final vote was taken.

In the Chamber on Aug. 28 M. Lefèvre introduced a bill authorizing the issue of a lottery loan of 60,000,000,000 francs (\$12,000,000,000) without interest—the largest project of its kind ever proposed. The lottery would take the form of an issue of 120,000,000 bonds of 500 francs (\$100) each, reimbursable at par by half-yearly drawings over a period of twenty years. Thus every day for two years a number would be drawn which would win 1,250,000 francs, (\$250,000,) and every week two numbers winning 100,000 francs, (\$20,000.) After the first two years the 1,250,000 franc prizes would be drawn each week instead of each day.

The American Liquidation Commission reached an agreement with the French Government on Aug. 20, by which the latter for the sum of \$400,000,000 took over all the property in France of the A. E. F. with the exception of what had been put aside for return to America or would be needed by the military force remaining in France. The payment was made in gold bonds, with interest beginning Aug. 1, 1920. An official inventory of all the property of the A. E. F. made last July showed it to be worth nearly \$1,000,000,000. The part disposed of to France is estimated to be worth \$749,000,000. The original cost of all the property was \$1,700,000,000, and of that sold to France \$1,300,000,000.

Reports to the Department of Commerce at Washington, as well as articles and advertisements in the French papers, show that France needs and is now ready to employ (as she did not realize immediately after the armistice) American engineers, architects, masons, and constructors of all sorts, together with interchangeable structural material for dwellings and factories. Statistics show that nearly 50 per cent. of the younger and most advanced professional men were killed or permanently injured in the war. It was estimated that with the speed made in the devastated regions in the last ten months it would take ten years for complete rehabilitation and re-

construction without outside help in expert skill and prepared material.

The campaign against the high cost of living in France made considerable advance. The Commission of the Food Ministry and the Sub-Commissions of the Départements were reinforced by Vigilant Committees in the Arrondissements, while the so-called local Leagues of Consumers were transformed into Leagues of Purchasers. In small towns the new leagues devote a certain weekly amount for the purchase of necessities and appoint a member to buy the material desired. This has worked out as the bid for estimates works out in larger enterprises—he receives bids and accepts the cheapest. There is no chance for the sellers to combine against him, as the maximum price is fixed by the commission.

Some of the Paris papers took up the question of Russian prisoners, who, released from German war prisons, have been interned at Auch, in Gascony, where it was reported they scandalized the neighborhood. They are fed, lodged, and entertained by the French Government, but they decline to work, and openly declare that they desire to return to Russia in order to join the forces of Lenin.

The National Wine Syndicate and International Wine Committee, two bodies which rule the production and distribution of European wine, issued a manifesto declaring that there must be a great diversion of labor from viticulture, particularly in the Bordeaux, Dijon, and Rheims region. The German market, they say, is overstocked with stolen French wines; America will use no more, and the exportation to Great Britain, which was measurably reduced during the war, is still contracting. The United States in the past imported annually \$7,000,000 worth of French wine alone, or nearly twice as much as she imported from Italy. Among other things the manifesto says:

It is a shame, almost a sacrilege. The red juice of Burgundy and Bordeaux was never brought into disgrace by tipplers. Why is it that because there are a small minority of people who do not know how to drink that those who do should be sacrificed together with the most ancient world industry?

ITALY

According to Roman papers the meeting which took place toward the last of August between Signor Tittoni, Foreign Secretary and head of the Italian Peace Delegation, and Premier Lloyd George, at Deauville, France, put in form for presentation to President Wilson what is known as the "Tittoni Compromise" in regard to Fiume already agreed to by Premier Clemenceau. According to unofficial descriptions of the measure it provided for the Italian possession of the city and its two western harbors, while the waterfront east together with a zone on the left bank of the Fiumara or Rjeka shall be administered by the mandate of the League of Nations, with full commercial facilities for the districts of Central Europe which formerly used the port, until such a time as the Monarchy of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes should develop the natural ports lying to the southeast—Buccari and Portorè in the Bay of Buccari, Novi, Cirquenizza, Segna, San Giorgio, the great historic port of Croatia; Ablana and Carlopago.

The Interallied Military Commission at Fiume reported in favor of the League's control of the city. On Sept. 13 Italian volunteers, under Gabriele D'Annunzio, took forcible possession of Fiume, the Italian Sixth Army Corps refusing to disarm them and the allied troops remaining in their barracks.

The press of Vienna began reasserting the Austrian claim to the Southern Tyrol denied it in the Austrian Treaty of Peace. The Popolo Romano of Rome on Aug. 22 said, after discussing the threefold question, whether the Peace Conference was doing its best to satisfy the national aspirations of all, or only of the major allied members, or was fostering discord in an attempt to rehabilitate the enemy:

The promised Utopian Society of Nations lacked from its very birth harmony among its members and a reciprocal acknowledgment of legitimate rights. This amply justifies our claim to Southern Tyrol even against the principle of nationality. Our claim is based on the right of defense. The Brenner boundary is the sole result obtained by Italy's sacrifice of blood and treasure, and is not contested

by the Allies, and it would be a crime to renounce the greatest benefit derived from our victory by weakening the defense of the country to favor Austria.

On Sept. 4 the bill granting Italian women the right of national suffrage, after receiving support in an eloquent address by Premier Nitti, was passed by the Chamber by a vote of 174 to 55. Women, however, will not vote in the November general elections.

On Aug. 23, five days before the Chamber reconvened to debate the peace treaties, Signor Nitti, as Minister of the Interior, issued a circu letter to the Prefects of the Provinces urging them to begin a campaign for harder work, greater production, greater economy, and the prevention of strikes. The Government, he said, could not go on supplying bread at an annual loss to the State of \$500,000,000, particularly when 1,250,000 acres had gone out of cultivation in three years. He added: "There is a condition in Italy which forces us to act now strongly and vigorously."

On Sept. 1 it was announced that King Victor Emmanuel III. had signified his intention of relinquishing all the vast domains of the Crown throughout Italy for the benefit of the peasantry and soldiers. The Crown properties of Italy are larger than those of any other country, since the House of Savoy inherited the properties of the rulers of the eleven States into which Italy was divided before the kingdom became united.

During the war the King gave over his splendid royal palace at Caserta, the Castel Moscali di Piedmont, for the use of his soldiers. His intention was that the vast lands which he possesses, virtually in every region of Italy, should go to the peasants who fought in the war, while his palaces, castles and other buildings should be utilized for philanthropic purposes. In addition, the King expressed a desire that his private patrimony be taxed like that of any other citizen. Thus the King's civil list, amounting to about \$3,000,000 yearly, will be done away with or greatly diminished, as the monarch used it almost entirely to administer the Crown properties or for charitable purposes.

In the opinion of the United States

Consul at Venice, John S. Armstrong, the Pearl of the Adriatic is certain to regain much of its ancient position as a commercial clearing house between the West and the East. In his report issued by the Department of Commerce, Sept. 2, he writes:

The situation in which Venice finds itself today is greatly altered. Italy expects to acquire competing ports on the Adriatic with their railroad connections, has already taken possession of the important railway artery of the Trentino extending 200 kilometers (124.27 miles) toward Germany, and controls the western end of the railroads in the Pusteria. Moreover, as a result of the collapse of Germany the force of its political prestige in the field of international economic competition has been destroyed.

Venice is, therefore, presented with a favorable opportunity to develop into an important distributing centre for a largely extended international zone. To attain these ends, the port must have complete and regular steamship services, an efficient railroad network connecting Venice with its national serving area, and sufficient dock facilities for handling incoming and outgoing cargo.

Venice's position is greatly improved by the removal of the pressure of the Austro-Hungarian railways immediately north of the old Italian confines, and Il Lavoro points out that the port should profit by the new state of affairs by linking itself more closely to new serving areas, such as the Trentino, the Alto Adige, eastern and southern Switzerland.

At present Venice has a single important railway artery completely piercing the Alpine walls which can serve the port for international traffic. This is the Padua-Verona-Trento-Brennero. However, the big curve which the railway describes in the plains near Verona considerably prolongs its distance, and its already excessive traffic does not render it adaptable to a more intense utilization than at present.

LATIN AMERICA

Advices from Buenos Aires under date of Sept. 11 were that two steamers had arrived on that date bringing 450 German immigrants as colonists for the scheme of Baron von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen, mentioned last month. Concerning him and his scheme a correspondent wrote:

Married to an Argentine lady—a member of the important portefio family of Martinez de Hoz—and a man who is not only well versed in Argentine affairs but

is also, to give him his due, remembered by all who came into contact with him as a capable and courteous diplomat, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he will be successful in his mission, whatever form that mission may take.

Thus while in many quarters one hears that Argentina is at heart wholly pro-ally, that she has no love for Germany and the Germans, and that her firm desire is to strengthen her relationship with the allied powers, actual facts go to prove the contrary, and official Argentina loses no opportunity of showing the remnant of the imperial party in Germany that they have a firm friend in the Government of this republic. The diplomatic agents in the German Legation are still fully accredited and treated with all the honors; the German flag is still hoisted on the official quarters and on the leading German houses of business, and when the whole city of Buenos Aires was bedecked over the final ratification of peace the Germans ostentatiously held aloof, and in their local press refer contemptuously to the *schandfrieden*, or shameful peace, which they hold has no interest for them.

On Sept. 13 the Chilean Ministry resigned, principally owing to the controversy in the House of Deputies over the Tacna-Arica problem, which had come to the surface again by Bolivia demanding an outlet to the sea.

The United States Government was in receipt of no official information showing that Nicaragua was involved in the expulsion of Federico Tinoco from the Presidency of Costa Rica and the murder of his brother, as alleged by the former on Aug. 16, at Kingston, Jamaica.

The revolution in Honduras which began in July forced the resignation of President Bertrand in the first week of September and the landing of American marines from the cruiser *Cleveland* at Puerto Cortez to protect foreign lives and property. The Presidential candidate, Dr. Nazario Sorano, had the support of President Bertrand, while the revolutionary forces supported Dr. Membréño and Lopez Guierrez.

A French military mission under Colonel René Mascarel arrived in Peru. It was reported from Lima that J. Leonard Replogle and Charles M. Schwab had purchased the properties of the American Vanadium Company, thus obtaining direct control of 98 per cent. of the vanadium supply in the world. The gen-

eral election held in Peru on Aug. 24 gave the Leguia party nearly unanimous returns for their candidates as well as for constitutional reforms, described in these columns at length last month.

A movement in favor of Dr. Fernandez Henriquez, the exiled President of Santo Domingo, was launched in Spain on Sept. 10 by certain Spanish political leaders sending a memorial to the Washington Government suggesting a withdrawal of American marines, who had been maintaining order there since Nov. 25, 1914. By the treaty of 1917 Santo Domingo became practically a protectorate of the United States.

The press of the Republic of Colombia urged the Government to resent the absence of the "apology" in the Colombian treaty which was submitted by President Wilson to the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate on July 29. La Palabra of Aug. 2 stated:

Truly it looks grotesque that after the United States unsheathed the sword to fight in defense of justice outraged in the violation of the Treaty of Brussels, now they refuse, in the New World, to make amends for the outrage which they brought upon a sister who was worthy, although weak. The "sincere regret" cannot be blotted out of the treaty with Colombia, without causing the magnanimity of the North American Republic to suffer diminution. The whole of Latin America should back Colombia in this supreme claim and should exert an international and collective influence to the end that our sister may obtain the most complete satisfaction. The United States must not forget that "greatness compels."

MOROCCO

The Sultan of Morocco on Aug. 26 published a proclamation declaring Raisuli a rebel and ordering the confiscation of his property. The proceeds of the latter will be divided between the victims of Raisuli and the Government Treasury. Correspondents at Tangier declared that Raisuli was plentifully supplied with German gold, which enabled him to pay his followers \$1 a day, and that to judge from the debates in the Spanish Cortes on the subject the seriousness of the matter was not understood at Madrid. One wrote:

Raisuli has never been as strong as he is now. There is, too, a spirit of waning

loyalty among the tribes which have already submitted to Spain that only a decided Spanish success can cure.

The great religious sect of Derkaona, hitherto friendly to Spain, and on whose support so much depends, is now divided in its opinion, and many of its devotees are already openly on Raisuli's side. The Spanish authorities here and in Tetua seem to realize this and are taking a step to counteract this action that can only be described as hazardous. Perhaps the critical situation warrants it. Both Spain and Raisuli are playing for the support of these Derkaona, and my information is that Raisuli is winning. He has released certain Derkaona prisoners whom he held incarcerated and has received a Derkaona deputation at the Fondako.

PERSIA

In regard to the Anglo-Persian treaty, described last month, the full text published on Aug. 18 in Paris aroused a wave of drastic criticism in the press of the capital. The following passage is from an article in the *Echo de Paris*:

If the above stipulations do not constitute a most complete protectorate then words have lost their meaning. Doubtless nowhere is a formal protectorate mentioned, and doubtless a clause announces the independence and full integrity of Persia, but the substance of the agreement will fool no one.

Le Temps four days previous had said:

The departure of the Shah of Persia, who is proceeding to Europe, appears to have been hastened as a result of the feeling caused in Teheran by the signature of an agreement which has been negotiated during the last few months by the British Legation there. The agreement recognizes the independence and integrity of Persia, but nevertheless contains stipulations which seem to point to the fact that henceforth only British influence will be exerted in that country.

Only British subjects will henceforth be able to be engaged as foreign officials by the Persian Government. British experts will reorganize finances in Persia, to which country Britain is making a loan. Great Britain will also reorganize the Persian Army, supplying instruction and modern arms. British capital will be interested in concessions in Persia, and Great Britain promises to help the Persian Government to obtain pecuniary and territorial reparation.

And this from the *Journal des Débats*:

According to reports from Persia, the new agreement has not been well received

by public opinion, which accuses the Government of having sold the country. It can easily be understood that the Persians are not enthusiastic over the contract, which will place Persia in a situation analogous to that of Egypt, and it is difficult to explain why they should be surprised at this event, as it is merely the last stage of a process which has developed logically. The fact that Persia has been admitted to the League of Nations will not inspire many illusions, as the situation in Persia is exactly what might have been foreseen from the moment when Russia disappeared from the scene of international politics.

On Aug. 18 Cecil B. Harmsworth, British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, made a protracted denial of the foregoing charges in the House of Commons.

TURKEY AND ARMENIA

The fate of Armenia overshadowed every other subject connected with the attempt of the Peace Conference to adjust the affairs of Turkey. While the State Department at Washington put itself on record Aug. 28 by declaring that the United States neither desired nor would accept a mandate for Armenia, and that public opinion here would not support the necessary military force to preserve the Armenian Republic from the Turks, prominent Armenians all over the world in petitions and pamphlets sent to Paris and Washington urged the mandatory guardianship of the United States as the only means to save the survivors of the Turkish war massacres. Later it was explained at Washington that the American Government, which did not declare war on Turkey, was merely following its pre-war policy there, although this policy might be later modified in accordance with the report expected from Major Gen. James G. Harbord, then making an investigation in Armenia and the Transcaucasus.

On Sept. 14 M. Venizelos, the Prime Minister of Greece, was quoted as saying in Paris that the idea of an American mandate for Armenia would be popular among all the powers concerned, but that if the status of Turkey were not settled soon there would be no Armenians left.

Why the Saloniki Army Was Powerless

By GORDON GORDON-SMITH

[CAPTAIN OF THE ROYAL SERBIAN ARMY AND ATTACHE OF THE SERBIAN LEGATION AT WASHINGTON]

Acting as war correspondent for London and New York newspapers, Captain Gordon-Smith was with the Serbian headquarters staff in 1915 from the attack on Belgrade to the final retreat through Albania. In July, 1916, at the request of M. Pashitch, he returned to the Serbian headquarters at Saloniki and was with the staff of three Serbian armies up to the fall of Monastir. Toward the end of the war he became attached to the Serbian headquarters staff with the rank of Captain of Cavalry and has since been sent on important diplomatic missions to Paris, London, and Washington. He has here written for CURRENT HISTORY the inside facts as to why Sarraill's army of half a million men stood practically idle until the last months of the war.

DURING the world war just terminated, with its clash of peoples on a score of fronts, it was difficult for the public to follow the various phases and realize their relative importance. Military tactics and strategy were often divorced from policy, with the result that the co-ordination of the effort suffered and the war, instead of being waged by the Allies as a whole on a well-defined plan, was split up into a series of water-tight compartments, each of which was regarded by those fighting in it as the crucial one for the decision of the whole war. Some fronts were given undue prominence, others excited little or no interest.

An example of the latter was the Saloniki front. The Army of the Orient was the Cinderella of the Allies, as far as treatment was concerned. This front was, in certain quarters, regarded as one of merely secondary importance. The Army of the Orient, under the command of General Sarraill, was considered to have the mission of holding the line from Monastir to the Aegean, so as to exercise pressure on the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish forces defending it, immobilize them, and prevent their utilization elsewhere. But there was no intention of so reinforcing the allied army as to permit of its undertaking an energetic offensive and, *coûte que coûte*, cutting the Berlin-Constantinople railway.

This was, however, a completely false conception of the mission of the Army

of the Orient. The Saloniki front was not one of secondary importance; it was a front of capital importance. On no other front would such immense and far-reaching effects have resulted from a successful offensive.

In stating this I am not expressing a merely personal opinion. During the eighteen months I spent with the headquarters staff of the Serbian Army I had continual opportunity of discussing with officers of the highest rank the importance of the whole Balkan front, and in the ten months I passed on the Saloniki front, of discussing the real mission of the Army of the Orient. I found them unanimous in their opinion as to the importance of the operations in Macedonia.

IMPORTANCE OF RAILWAY

In their opinion, the objective of the Army of the Orient was the cutting of the Berlin-Constantinople railway. It was notorious that Germany drew immense resources from Asia Minor, and that Bulgaria and Serbia were also laid under contributions.

A swarm of German officials had been sent down to these countries, which had been cut up into sections like a chess board, and were swept clean of everything that could be made use of. All day and every day trains filled with food were rolling up to Germany from the Balkan States and Asia Minor, while the trains traveling from Germany to Constantinople were filled with muni-

tions, without which the resistance of Turkey to the British and Russian Armies would at once have collapsed.

The possession of the Berlin-Constantinople railroad further assured the Central Powers the mastery of the Dardanelles. As Germany controlled the entrances to the Baltic, Russia was practically isolated from her allies. The only means they had of forwarding war material to her was via Vladivostok or Archangel. In other words "Mittel-europa" was realized and a situation created which, if it could have been made permanent, would have assured to Germany the domination of Europe, the first step to world dominion.

There is not the slightest doubt that the cutting of the railway would have brought about the immediate collapse of Turkey. This would have meant the reopening of the Dardanelles, the re-provisioning of Russia, then still in the field, with munitions, of which she was sorely in need, and the delivery to the Allies of the immense quantities of food-stuffs accumulated in Southern Russia after the closing of the strait. At the same time the collapse of Turkey as a military power would have set free the British armies in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Palestine and the Russian Army in the Caucasus for service elsewhere.

BLUNDER OF THE ALLIES

The appearance of the allied fleets in the Black Sea would undoubtedly have called a halt to the intrigues of the pro-German court camarille surrounding the Czar, and even if the Russian revolution had nevertheless taken place, the Kerensky army on the Polish front, as a "force in being," would have been maintained, Bolshevism would have been nipped in the bud, and the whole course of the war might have been changed. The failure to recognize these elementary truths constitutes the second capital error of the Allies in the Balkans and undoubtedly prolonged the war by at least two years.

Once Bulgaria and Turkey were disposed of, the Army of the Orient could have reoccupied Serbia, moved on the Danube, and threatened Budapest. The

Hungarian capital would then have been menaced from three sides—from the Danube, from the Rumanian front, and by the Russian Army then operating in the Bukovina. The country around Budapest being one immense plain, on which there are no fortresses of any importance, the defense of the capital would have called for an immense number of men, which Austria at that moment did not possess.

The chief arguments of the opponents of the Saloniki front were: (1) The excessive demands it made on tonnage, (2) the difficulties of communication, and (3) the mountainous nature of the country.

The excessive demands made on tonnage for the transport of troops and war material was due to the failure of the Allies to utilize all the means of transport at their disposal. For eighteen long months they only made use of the sea route. As a transport steaming at ten knots (the speed imposed on it by the scarcity of coal) took ten days to make the voyage from Marseilles to Saloniki, a ship could only deliver one cargo per month. At the same time the Mediterranean and the Aegean were swarming with submarines, and a large proportion of the transports were sunk. It was only in December, 1917, that some one in the War Office in London perceived that if troops and stores were forwarded by land to Taranto in the south of Italy they could be shipped over to Greece in a single night, thus avoiding the submarine danger. One ship going backward and forward between Italy and the Greek ports could therefore do the work of ten running from Marseilles to Saloniki.

MARVELS IN ROAD BUILDING

As soon as this was realized, a clause giving the Allies the right to disembark troops and stores at Itea, the Greek railroad in the Gulf of Lepanto, whence they could be forwarded by rail to Saloniki, was inserted in one of the many ultimatums sent to King Constantine. The Italians also constructed a "route carrossable" from Santa Quaranta to Monastir, a marvel of military engineering, by which

they were able to send thousands of tons a day of war material by motor truck.

As regards the second difficulty—the means of communication in Macedonia itself—an immense improvement had been made. When the expeditionary force first landed, in 1915, there were only three lines of railway—and those single track—and such roads as had existed under the Turkish régime. But the 300,000 men composing General Sarrail's force, reinforced by thousands of Macedonian peasants, in less than a year and a half constructed thousands of kilometers of roads and hundreds of kilometers of light railways.

Mountains on which a year before only sheep tracks existed were made accessible to heavy guns. An immense amount of motor transport was accumulated, and hundreds of thousands of pack animals were at the disposal of the allied army. The army of General Sarrail was, therefore, *if reinforced*, in a position to undertake a successful offensive. The Serbian advanced lines were in January, 1917, only a matter of eighty miles from Nish, one of the principal stations of the Berlin-Constantinople railway.

The third objection—the mountainous nature of the country—was greatly exaggerated. It did not offer any insuperable obstacle to military operations. The brilliant campaign of Field Marshal Misitch, which culminated in the capture of Monastir, is a proof of this. He attacked, with inferior numbers, an enemy intrenched in most formidable mountain strongholds and drove them from one position after another. In fact, the superior skill of the Serbians in mountain fighting gave them a distinct advantage over the Germans in a country like the Balkans. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to seize advantages to outmanoeuvre an enemy who was not accustomed to that kind of warfare. It may further be argued that in no country has there ever been so much fighting as in the Balkans.

The mountainous nature of the country did not prevent the States composing the Balkan League from inflicting in 1912 a crushing defeat on Turkey; neither did it prevent the German-Aus-

trian-Bulgarian Armies in 1915 from driving the Serbian Army into Albania. On that occasion 250,000 Serbs resisted the invasion of 750,000 Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians for over two months. The fact that they were able to do so is only attributable to their superior skill in this kind of warfare.

SALONIKI'S NAVAL VALUE

The Saloniki front had not only immense military importance, but its naval value could hardly be overestimated—by this I mean its naval value for the enemy. If, by any chance, the Germans and their allies had driven the Army of the Orient out of Saloniki and seized the city and bay, the effect would have been simply catastrophic.

The Port of Saloniki is one of the most magnificent in the world; a land-locked harbor miles in extent, in which the navies of the world could lie at anchor. If this had fallen into the hands of the Germans they would at once have formed it into a submarine base of the most formidable kind. Then would have followed the invasion of Greece. Once the Germans were in firm possession of that country, they would have established other submarine bases in the rocky and indented coast line of Greece and in the hundreds of islands forming the Archipelago. Once they were firmly established there, the task of driving them out would have been one of superhuman difficulty.

The result would have been that hundreds of submarines and submarine mine layers would have been let loose in the Aegean and the Mediterranean. It would have been perfectly possible for them to stop all traffic by the Suez Canal, thereby cutting Great Britain off from direct communication with India, and depriving the large British Army holding Egypt from receiving supplies and munitions. The attack by the Turks on the Suez Canal would then undoubtedly have been resumed, as the difficulty of providing the army defending Egypt with munitions would have rendered the chances of success more than probable.

In these circumstances, the Suez Canal being put out of commission, the Ger-

mans would have left no stone unturned to bring about trouble in British India. That this was their program is proved by the prosecution of Hindu conspirators held in 1917 in San Francisco. With the Suez Canal cut, the only means of communication between Great Britain and India would have been the long and difficult voyage via the Cape of Good Hope.

It was, therefore, for the Allies a life-and-death question not only to maintain themselves in force on the Saloniki front, but it was also of the highest importance that this front should be so reinforced as to allow the Army of the Orient to take an energetic offensive and cut the Berlin-Constantinople line.

There was, in addition, the danger that the Russian collapse might any day set free some hundreds of thousands of German troops for service in the Balkans. There is no doubt that the Great General Staff at Berlin was thoroughly alive to the immense results which would follow from successful operations at Saloniki; in fact, the loss of Saloniki would be irreparable. Once Germany was master of the Aegean and the Mediterranean, victory for her would be in sight. That the Great General Staff did not undertake operations only proves how hard pressed it was on other fronts. This renders the failure of the Allies to realize their opportunity all the more inexcusable.

ERROR IN BRITISH ATTITUDE

On the Saloniki front the only possible policy was, therefore, an energetic offensive. But in certain British circles it was argued that this front could perfectly well fulfill its mission by simply defending the intrenched camp of Saloniki. This, supported by the guns of the fleet, was, they declared, impregnable.

There could be no greater error. Any abandonment of the line running from the Albanian frontier across the plain of Monastir and along the Moglene Mountain range to Lake Doiran and the Struma Valley would have been disastrous. It would have permitted the German troops and their allies to seize Greece and threaten Saloniki both by land and sea. Once masters of Greece,

Germany would have had little difficulty in rendering the access to Saloniki by sea or land either impossible or a matter of extreme difficulty.

The intrenched camp could have been closely invested until such time as the Germans and their allies had established themselves solidly in Greece and Greek Macedonia and concentrated overwhelmingly superior forces for an attack. With the Aegean Sea swarming with hostile submarines, the position of the force defending the intrenched camp would have been precarious in the extreme. The prize was too great for the Germans not to put forward every effort to win it.

Such a policy would have cut off all communication between the Italian force in Albania and the Army of the Orient. Shortly after the capture of Monastir the liaison was successfully established between the Italian army of occupation in Albania and the forces of General Sarrail, so that the fighting line was continuous from Valona on the Adriatic to the Gulf of Cavalla on the Aegean. The successful expulsion of the Germans and Bulgarians from Greek Macedonia entailed ten months of hard fighting and cost the Army of the Orient 40,000 men. Its abandonment would have meant the loss of thousands of kilometers of roads and hundreds of kilometers of light railways constructed at a cost of millions of dollars. In addition, the unfortunate population would have been delivered over to the tender mercies of a ruthless and cruel enemy.

No more suicidal policy could therefore have been imagined than any abandonment of the conquered territory by the Allies, and the idea of confining the task of the Army of the Orient to the defense of the intrenched camp was, in the opinion of all competent authorities on the spot with whom I discussed the question, strategically and tactically unsound.

ARMY OF 500,000 PARALYZED

The result of this failure of the Allies to realize the importance of the Saloniki front (or perhaps it would be more correct to say their divided opinions in regard to it) paralyzed the action of an

army of 500,000 men. This was more than was required for the mere defense of the entrenched camp of Saloniki and not sufficient to undertake an offensive. Every time the Army of the Orient undertook a successful operation it was unable to follow it up for want of men.

The capture of Florina by the French and Serbs on Sept. 18, 1916, was a case in point. The Bulgarians retired with such precipitation that little would have been required to turn their retreat into a rout. But the necessary reserves for this were lacking, with the result that instead of being driven back in confusion to Prilep and Veles the Bulgarians were able to reform their fleeing regiments, "dig themselves in" a few miles further back and again arrest the operations of the allied army.

A few weeks later came the second offensive, the brilliant campaign of the army under the command of Field Marshal Misitch, which resulted in the capture of Monastir. But as before he possessed no reserves, he was unable to follow up his victory with the result that the retreating enemy once more were able to intrench themselves in formidable mountain positions. And during all this time the Army of the Orient was melting away as the result of the ravages of malaria. The armies sweltering on the plains fell victim to it by tens of thousands. At one time there were not sufficient hospital ships to repatriate the sick.

FRANCE FOR ACTION

When the position of the Army of the Orient had thus been reduced to one of stalemate I had, in the early months of 1917, occasion to visit Paris and London and made it my business to find out the views of the French and British statesmen regarding the Saloniki front. In Paris I had long conversations with M. Briand, then Prime Minister; M. Stephen Pichon, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Malterre, the famous French military writer; M. Humbert, member of the Commission of the Senate on Military Affairs; Colonel Rousset, the eminent military critic of the *Petit Parisien*, and a score or so

of other well-known public men and soldiers.

I also had long conversations with M. Sevastopoula, Counselor of the Russian Embassy, and Colonel Count Ignatieff, the Russian member of the Interallied Military Council. I found that they completely shared the views of their French allies. The latter were unanimous in favor of an energetic offensive on the Saloniki front and equally unanimous in deploring the shortsightedness of the British military authorities.

When I spoke with M. Briand and urged the importance of the Saloniki front he replied to me "My dear M. Gordon-Smith, you are preaching to the converted. It was I who sent the Army of the Orient to Saloniki and who have kept it there. If you see Lloyd George in London tell him from me that M. Briand is more convinced than ever of the strategical and political importance of the Saloniki front."

BRITISH FOR WITHDRAWAL

A week later I was in London and found myself face to face with a stone wall. The public knew nothing about Saloniki and cared less. The *Daily Mail* had, on Jan. 18, published an article proposing purely and simply to withdraw the whole army from Saloniki, a repetition of Gallipoli. The impression made in Paris by this article was disastrous, so much so that the censor "got busy" and issued a stern warning to the press to abstain from discussing the situation in Saloniki.

The military censorship would allow no discussion of the situation in the Balkans. All the correspondents of London journals had been expelled from Saloniki with the exception of Ward Price, correspondent of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, (a syndicate of the London Journals,) and Mr. Ferguson of Reuter's Agency. As all their dispatches were strictly censored first in Saloniki and a second time in London, no news of any importance was allowed to transpire and the word Saloniki had practically disappeared from the columns of the London press. It was openly declared that it was on

the western front alone that the war would be decided and no discussion of this theory was permitted.

The only public man who seemed to have understood the importance of the Saloniki front was John Dillon, the leader of the Irish Party in the House of Commons. He delivered an admirable speech on the subject in the House, but so rigid was the "taboo" on everything concerning Saloniki that the only publication which had the courage to publish it was *The New Europe*.

It was notorious that General Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial Staff, and all the men surrounding him were out-and-out "westerners" and refused to listen to any proposals to undertake any offensive elsewhere. As a result the Army of the Orient, its ranks ravaged by malaria due to its failure to advance out of the swampy plains surrounding Saloniki, was melting away uselessly in complete inaction. It was an open secret that in England the military party had completely got the upper hand and had seized not only the military but also the political conduct of the war. The War Office and the Foreign Office were often in conflict. The Imperial General Staff turned a deaf ear to all counsels which did not square with their particular views.

It was at this moment that I had a number of conversations with Lord Northcliffe. I found him strongly imbued with "western" ideas, but I so far shook his confidence in the infallibility of the "western" theory that he gave me permission to state the case for Saloniki in a letter addressed to the editor of *The Times*. This I did in terms of extreme moderation, but was informed a day or two later that it had been suppressed by the censor from the first line to the last and returned to *The Times* with the order "Not to be published" stamped on every page.

UNIFIED COMMAND WINS

It was only after weeks and weeks of sapping and mining that the civil power was able to assert itself once more. Lloyd George planned in secret the organization of the Supreme War Council in Versailles. When its creation was

intimated to General Sir William Robertson he at once in protest tendered his resignation as chief of the Imperial General Staff, which, probably much to his surprise, was promptly accepted. Colonel Rapington, the military critic of *The Times*, also an out-and-out "westerner" to whom the Saloniki front was anathema, rushed to the assistance of his chief with such a want of moderation of language that he was promptly haled before the courts and fined £100 under the Defence of the Realm act. Then General Maurice, Director of Operations, issued the manifesto which cost him his position. A number of subordinates, known to be out-and-out "westerners," were removed, and the power of the Imperial General Staff to impose its will on the statesmen was at an end. Lloyd George triumphed and General Foch was intrusted with the supreme direction of the war.

OFFENSIVE BEGUN AT LAST

The result was a complete change of policy and strategy in the Balkans. General Sarrail was recalled and replaced by General Guillaumat, one of the most brilliant commanders from the western front. As soon as he had the Army of the Orient reorganized and reinforced, General Frenchet d'Esperey, the commander of the Fifth French Army Group, was sent out to take command at Saloniki and an energetic offensive was at once begun.

As before, the chief attack was intrusted to the Serbian contingent of the Army of the Orient. It attacked with splendid élan the Bulgarian intrenchments on the Dobra Polie, drove in their centre, and then rolled the opposing army up right and left. Through the breach thus made poured the French and British contingents; the retreat became a rout, and in five days' time the army of King Ferdinand capitulated.

The Serbs continued their triumphant advance, the Berlin-Constantinople railway was seized and the Danube front reached. In a fortnight's time Turkey collapsed, the Dardanelles were opened and the allied fleets entered the Black Sea. Austria saw the game was up and sued for peace. The German Empire was

therefore menaced from the rear. Field Marshal von Hindenburg saw that under these circumstances nothing could save the situation and begged for an armistice. Thus the war which began in the Balkans, for the Balkans, ended in the Balkans.

That this would be the inevitable result of an energetic offensive had long been clear to every one on the spot, but unfortunately the voices of those who advocated it had long been the "voices of those crying in the wilderness." It is only when the historian begins a detailed study of the world war in all its phases that the astonishing errors of the Entente in its Near Eastern policy will become apparent.

The consequence of these terrible errors was not only to prolong the war for two long years, but it also caused unheard-of sufferings to the victims of these errors. What Serbia suffered is indescribable; over 25 per cent. of her population succumbed, her territory was ruthlessly plundered, and she piled up a war debt that will tax her economic resources to the uttermost for many a day to come. As she had to incur this debt mainly through the incredible blunders of the statesmen of the Entente, who refused to listen to her warnings, the least that the Allies can do is to pass all the credits with which they supplied Serbia to profit and loss.

American Envoy Received in Prague

MR. RICHARD T. CRANE, the American Ambassador to the new Republic of Czechoslovakia, and the first American to enter diplomatically the Czechoslovak seat of Government, presented his credentials to President Masaryk and his Ministers toward the middle of last June. The ceremony, as described by a correspondent present at the time, was both picturesque and symbolic of Austria's vanished power. The American representative was lodged in the palace of the former Cardinal Archbishop,

At midday, under a blazing sun, the ceremony began, with the appearance of the escort of honor. Instead of soldiers, sokols (men of the gymnastic societies that have played so important a part in the progress of many countries) were chosen for this. On their fine horses, in their tan and scarlet costumes, with black, round cap and falcon's feather, but with no weapons, they were splendidly picturesque. The sokols of Bohemia have always stood for their independence; hence they were most suitable to greet a republic's envoy.

The sokols were in two groups, advance and rear guards. As the first group appeared at the great castle gates, the band began playing the American national anthem, following with the

beautiful, mysterious, and even tragical Czech hymn. Following the sokols came a carriage in which Colonel Miles, the Ambassador's secretary, rode alone in his khaki uniform. Then came the Ambassador, accompanied by Lieut. Col. Liska, his attaché, riding in an open coach drawn by six superb white horses, (said to have been those of the whilom Austrian Emperor,) and on the coachman's seat were two white-haired retainers who appeared to have been handed down from the Middle Ages.

In the arched entrance to the castle the coaches stopped, and an American gentleman in simple attire went up the imposing stairway of a mediaeval stronghold to meet, in the name of the American people, another simple gentleman, the President of the Czechoslovak Republic. He was met and accompanied up the stairs by dignitaries of the republic, Dr. Kucera and Lieutenant Seidl, and at the top was greeted by Dr. Jiri Guth, master of ceremonies, who conducted him to the President.

With President Masaryk were the Czech Ministers, Dr. Šámal, Svelha, Stepánek, and Dr. Husak. Introduced by Dr. Guth, Mr. Crane presented his secretary, Colonel Miles, and then made a speech, to which President Masaryk replied, thus ending the ceremony.

Germany as a Full-Fledged Republic

Oath of Office as President Taken With Simple Ceremonies by Friedrich Ebert at Weimar

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 15, 1919]

OUTSTANDING events of the month included Friedrich Ebert's taking the oath as President of Germany before the National Assembly at Weimar, and the official termination of that body's existence, to give place to the new Reichstag in Berlin. Revelations, accusations and personal defenses continued to pour forth from those, on one side or the other, involved in the great after-the-war controversy. Among the latest was Count von Bernstorff's diplomatic apologia. The beginning of a widespread emigration of the middle classes from Germany was commented upon. General conditions were reported to be improved as regards increasing productivity and less turmoil, but the country continued to suffer from a harassing economic situation.

Friedrich Ebert took the oath as President of the German Republic in the National Theatre at Weimar on Aug. 21. A large crowd had gathered in the square before the theatre, where a guard of honor was drawn up and the Land-jäger band played national airs. Herr Ebert arrived in an automobile at 5 P. M. and was received by the Vice President and Secretaries. The organ resounded as he was conducted to the centre of the flower-decked hall, where the President's tribune was situated. It was noted that the places reserved for the German National and Independent Socialists were unoccupied. Herr Fehrenbach, President of the Assembly, handed Herr Ebert the document containing the oath, the formula of which the latter read with a firm voice. Herr Fehrenbach then addressed the German President:

You came from the people, and therefore you will ever be a faithful friend of the working people, to whom you have devoted your life work. You will also ever be a shield to the Fatherland, which you have done your best to serve and for the sake of which you have made a terrible and most painful sacrifice, seeing

that of four sons you sent to the colors two have not returned. It is a thorny office which in the hardest times the Fatherland has laid upon your shoulders, but with an easy conscience you can claim to be free from all blame or responsibility in the country's wretched position.

You sought to attain progress and freedom solely by peaceful development, but with defeat the die was cast regarding the old State form and the dynasty. Even those who preserve their love for the old institutions recognize that fact, and you lead it back in a patriotic mind to order and to work and point the way to the rebirth of the beloved Fatherland.

President Ebert in reply said:

This must remain to us if we desire to rebuild the Fatherland—deep love for the homeland and the tribe out of which each of us sprang, and to this must be joined sacred labor for the whole and the placing of one's self in the republic's service. Every contradiction between the whole and the individual States vanishes there.

The essence of our Constitution shall above all be freedom, but all freedom must have its law. This you have now established. We will jointly hold on to it. It will give us strength to testify for the new vital principle of the German Nation—freedom and right.

After Herr Fehrenbach had bade his farewell to the National Assembly, in which he referred to the task of that passing body as the effort "to build out of a heap of ruins a new edifice," and affirmed his faith in the German people, he conducted President Ebert to the balcony of the theatre. The President then addressed the crowd as follows:

A people equal and with equal rights—that is what this day shall signify to all Germans. I now renew before you my oath of fealty to the people and the people's rights. Let us stand together in our people's hard struggle for life. Join me in a vow of this indissoluble unity, so that from here—from the scene of imperishable deeds—it may ring throughout the German Fatherland. Long live our beloved German people!

Thereupon the crowd broke into deafening cheers, and the band played

"Deutschland über Alles," in which the people joined lustily.

This ceremony officially terminated the German National Assembly, which, unless specially convened before the next regular session of the German Legislature, would be superseded by the new Reichstag. Its labors had occupied seven months in eighty-five sessions, unquestionably of momentous consequence to the future of the German people. Now that Germany had a democratic Constitution, it was the opinion of competent observers that such reforms as the granting of a plebiscite to Upper Silesia, and the rights given to Workers' Councils, though experimental, were of good augury for the eventual establishment of a democratic republic upon the traditional love of order and industry heretofore displayed by the German people. On the other hand, disclosures of the shameless profiteering of industrial magnates during the war, and the Imperial Government's utter incapacity to combat it, together with the ignominious flight of the ex-Kaiser at the supreme crisis, seemed to shatter any dream of a return to power by the reactionaries.

On the last day of the National Assembly it named a committee to investigate war responsibility, with Herr Petersen, a Democrat, as President, and Dr. Peter Spahn, a Centrist, as Vice President. The Assembly also appointed a new Foreign Affairs Committee of five Social Democrats, three Centrists, three Democrats, two German Nationalists, and one member of the People's Party. Philipp Scheidemann was chosen as its President.

PAN-GERMAN REACTIONARIES

On Aug. 31 the Pan-German League held a general meeting at Berlin, in which it openly threw down the gauntlet to the German Republic and pledged itself to the restoration of Kaiserism. Many hundreds of delegates shouted their approval when their leader, Herr Glass, denounced the events of Nov. 9, 1918, as the greatest political crime ever recorded in history. Another leader, Baron von Schel, demanded "preparation for a war of liberation" and the return of the monarchy. The meeting

closed with shouts of "Hail to the German Kaiser!"

A different note, however, was struck by young Baron von Biederhann's juvenile convention at Potsdam on Sept. 1. Chief Delegate Vondervogel of the Boy Scouts made a revolutionary speech, followed by others who declared that their leagues were "thoroughly revolutionary" and unable to countenance the old order of things that led to the disastrous war.

RHINELAND SEPARATISM

Propaganda to establish an independent buffer State between France and Germany was again active in the Rhineland. Dr. Hans Dorten, who sponsored the ill-fated Rhine Republic last June, was reported to be renewing his efforts in the territory on the left bank of the Rhine formerly held by the Americans. Another somewhat similar movement under the leadership of Dr. Haas attained the stage of rioting at Ludwigs-hafen on Aug. 29. In an attack on the Post Office two officials were killed before the "revolt" was suppressed by the French authorities. Coblenz reported that much dissatisfaction had been aroused in the Rhineland owing to the indefinite postponement of the National Convention of the Centre Party at Cologne, at which the question of a Rhineland State was to have been discussed.

A news dispatch of Sept. 14 stated that the proposed withdrawal of the American representative from the Rhineland High Commission would result in a situation which army officers at Coblenz regarded as pregnant with difficulties and dangers for the United States. America, by withdrawing, would leave only the vote of England as opposed to the Rhenish separatist movement against the two votes of France and Belgium, reported to be in its favor. Unless, therefore, American troops in the Rhineland, holding 700 square miles of German territory with a population of 350,000, were withdrawn also, blame in Germany for any success of the separatist movement would fall equally on the United States, together with all its pos-

sibilities of complications and entanglements.

UNION WITH AUSTRIA FORBIDDEN

At the end of August the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference decided to send a forcible note to the German Government pointing out that Article 61 of the new German Constitution conflicted with the Versailles Treaty in providing for the representation of Austria in the German Reichstag. The council demanded the alteration of the article on pain of further occupation of Rhineland territory. Frank I. Polk, the American member of the council, disagreed with the hostile tenor of the note as originally drafted, insisting on milder terms. M. Clemenceau's communication to the German Government on this subject, as finally agreed upon and dispatched Sept. 11, ended with the following diplomatic formula, which the German legislative authorities must ratify within a fortnight after the treaty of peace comes into force:

The undersigned, duly empowered to act in the name of the German Government, recognizes and declares that all prescriptions of the German Constitution which are in contradiction to the Versailles Treaty are not valid; notably, the admission of Austrian representatives can take place only if, conformably with the treaty, the League of Nations gives assent to a modification of Austria's international situation.

In a statement issued in Berlin on Sept. 13 Dr. Hugo Preuss, who had drafted the new German Constitution, denounced the Allies' demand that Germany amend the Constitution so as to prevent Austrian representation in German affairs. This policy, he asserted, ran counter to all the solemn declarations of President Wilson and the Entente.

GENERAL NOSKE'S PLEA

In support of his plea that Germany be allowed to reduce her military forces more gradually than stipulated by the treaty, General Noske said to a correspondent of the Paris *Matin* in Berlin:

There are still some nests of Bolshevism scattered throughout Germany even in the neighborhood of Berlin. A sec-

ond revolution in this country in the coming Winter is entirely possible. The first one I was able to quell, and so saved Central Europe from barbarism. Now it is necessary to leave me the means to do the same thing if the occasion arises.

I now have actually 400,000 men. This is the absolute total, despite the Entente newspapers' charges that I have innumerable armies. According to the treaty, I must reduce these 400,000 to 100,000 before next April. Already I am beginning to reduce the army, but when the treaty becomes effective, probably by the first of October, I must throw out immediately 150,000 to join our masses of unemployed. That will add to our social difficulties.

With only 100,000 men, I will not be able to maintain order in this country. After the shocks which Germany has sustained, and in the midst of an economic crisis, show me the man who in mid-Winter with coal and food lacking will undertake such responsibilities. I will not.

Reports from Coblenz on Aug. 23 dwelt on the organization of 500,000 Home Guards, in reality a reserve army, to evade the Peace Treaty terms. To carry out the plan this force was placed technically under the Ministry of the Interior instead of the Ministry of War. Further, General von Keller, a Russian nobleman of German descent, was said to be at the head of a movement to organize a large German volunteer corps in the Baltic provinces, and, to that end, was working in harmony with the German occupation troops.

ERZBERGER AND FLAME THROWERS

The reactionaries, smarting under revelations made by Mathias Erzberger, Minister of Finance, retaliated by publishing a letter showing that he had been a patron of Herr Fiedler, inventor of the flame thrower. This letter, written by Herr Erzberger to General von Falkenhayn, Minister of War, read:

Berlin, Sept. 17, 1914.

Your Excellency will allow me to submit herewith a memorandum concerning a flame thrower invented by Herr Fiedler. The matter is already known to your Excellency, but I consider the further suggestion to make use of the new invention from airships to be a very happy one. All considerations of international law and humanity, which were all very well in times of peace as a subject for conversation in the salons of Ber-

lin, must now, in my opinion, be absolutely discarded. We must gain victory also over England, and I believe this invention is eminently calculated to realize precisely this aim.

The Germans never used flame throwers on airships because the plan proved impracticable; but Erzberger's advocacy of their use in Zeppelin raids is not without interest.

A Berne message of Aug. 29 stated that in evidence taken before United States Consul Stewart, in connection with charges brought against Dr. Rumely as purchaser of The New York Evening Mail, it was admitted by Dr. Albert, former German Under Secretary of State and German agent in New York, that he had advanced money for the purchase of The Evening Mail from funds in his hands—resulting from the raising of German loans in the United States and certain other sources. Dr. Albert added that he had advanced this money somewhat against his own judgment, but his objection had been overruled by Dr. Dernburg's order. In cross-examination, when confronted with photographic facsimiles and copies of letters, checks, &c., produced by Bielaski before the Overman Committee, Dr. Albert admitted that practically everything which was said about his endeavors to make the American public take the German point of view was substantially correct.

VON BERNSTORFF'S EXPLANATION

What may be termed Count von Bernstorff's diplomatic apologia appeared in *Das Demokratische Deutschland* toward the end of August. After urging that Germany should direct her policy toward a revision of the Peace Treaty by means of the League of Nations, the former German Ambassador at Washington wrote:

During the whole war two minds dwelt within German policy. The one was naval-military and the other civilian-political. All the utterances of our Government which reached Washington during the period of America's neutrality were dictated either by the one tendency or were the result of a compromise between both. Thus one can more justly speak of a split in German policy than of its "two-faced" nature. The one tendency wanted the U-boat war, even if it drove the United States to a breach with

us; the other wanted to join in with President Wilson's policy and so come to peace. The struggle between these two tendencies began with the Lusitania episode and ended with the declaration of the unrestricted U-boat campaign in the defeat of the civilians.

As one of the chief factors in this struggle, I can offer the most binding assurance that the German civil policy always kept the one end in view. It did not carry on negotiations with a view to preparing for the U-boat war in the meantime, as many Americans still believe. Nor did it instigate any conspiracies in America. The German civil administration had absolutely no knowledge of the worst things which were being done by the naval-military tendency over there, such as, for example, the Rintelen mission.

The two chief sins with which we are charged under the heading "two-faced"—the Adlon dinner in honor of Ambassador Gerard and the Mexican telegram—were only committed after the Berlin civil administration had hauled down their sails before the superior force of the naval-military party. Like the astrologer in "Faust," the German Government then only made such declarations as were whispered to it by the naval-military Mephisto. This moment was the climax of the German tragedy. The mediatory action which had just then been begun by President Wilson was rendered worthless by our deed, and the war was lost. All efforts made at the last moment from Washington to alter Berlin's decision came to nought, as will be remembered, on account of "technical difficulties."

EVENTS OF INTEREST

A dispatch of Aug. 28 stated that the Spartacides had made a great coup in plundering a large munition depot and getting possession of several thousand rifles, which they had concealed on the Danish frontier. From Munich it was announced that on Aug. 25 the Bavarian Army had officially ceased to exist and had become part of the national defense army. Considerable public dissatisfaction was manifested. On Sept. 2 Government troops occupied the principal buildings in Munich and patrolled the streets.

A settlement of claims by the French Government against Germany for the murder of Sergeant Paul Mannheim in Berlin last July was agreed upon, Germany paying an indemnity of 1,000,000 marks.

Field Marshal Liman von Sanders,

who had commanded one of the Turkish armies, arrived in Berlin on Sept. 1, after having been arrested and imprisoned at Constantinople and finally repatriated by order of the British Government. He complained of his confinement in a stockade, but admitted he had been treated with every courtesy by the British Admiralty in transit from Malta to Venice.

According to Munich advices, nearly 100,000 officers and men were regarded as wartime deserters from the German Army. Included in this number were many thousands in England and America who were prevented from returning to Germany at the outbreak of war. Switzerland led the neutral countries with 40,000 deserters. A proclamation by the German Government offered amnesty to these men if they returned to Germany this year.

A curious trade plot was uncovered in Switzerland, according to a Geneva dispatch of Sept. 2. Of 500 poor students of Vienna University to whom Switzerland offered hospitality for several months 81 per cent. were officially found by the Swiss Minister at Vienna to be young German-Austrian commercial travelers. Their baggage was composed chiefly of samples, prospectuses and price lists in English, destined for London and New York, and arranged to appear as coming from Switzerland. The Swiss Minister refused to indorse their passports.

Berlin advices of Sept. 14 stated that Rear Admiral Adolf von Trotha would assume charge of the naval forces under the new Ministry of Defense, becoming operative on Oct. 1. Colonel Reinhardt, the Prussian Minister of War, would assume command of the land forces.

The arrival and internment at Saloniki of Field Marshal von Mackensen was reported in State Department dispatches from Greece, according to a Washington message of Sept. 15.

By the middle of September the food situation in Germany had improved to the extent of white bread reappearing in the restaurants, without cards, and the city looked cleaner generally. But in the homes of the people conditions had improved little. Meat of the cheapest sort was rather more plentiful at \$2.25,

but sugar was still at almost forty-five times its pre-war prices. In a large department store a correspondent found lines of china, glassware, and cooking utensils in greater supply and at cheaper prices than in London. Clothes still remained a difficulty.

EX-KAISER'S NEW HOME

From Holland reports indicated that the Hohenzollern family purposed taking up permanent residence in that country. Dispatches stated that the ex-Crown Princess Cecilie, with her two sons, had arrived at the island at Wieringen to visit her husband, and that the Duke and Duchess of Brunswick, the former Kaiser's son-in-law and daughter, had purchased a large house in one of the best neighborhoods at The Hague. The Duchess had already arrived at Scheveningen, where she temporarily occupied a villa which had been used by the Y. M. C. A. as headquarters staff hostel during the internment of British soldiers in Holland.

The announcement was also made of the purchase by the former Kaiser of the estate and house of Doorn, near Utrecht, five miles north of Amerongen, from the Baroness van Heemstra de Beaufort. The ex-Kaiser's new estate is described as magnificently wooded, and the mansion as a beautiful, old, ivy-covered, white house dating from the fourteenth century, and resembling an English country residence. Though rich in historic association and imposing in appearance, it possesses only twelve rooms in addition to small chambers for the servants. The front of the house is approached first by a lodge, then by a long gravel drive and a large round lawn. Next come the formal garden, with handsome stables to the right, and the gravel square in front of the house, with tropical trees and palms in tubs. The hall is of white marble, which leads by a short flight of marble steps to a long sitting room opposite the front door and occupies almost the whole width of the house. The place was said to have been selected originally by the ex-Empress, and it was announced that the former imperial family would take up their residence there in the Fall, after

renovation had been made and furnishings from one of his castles in Germany had been installed.

Meantime the former Emperor was reported as continuing his tree sawing exercise with more zest than that experienced by the medical and other members of his suite invited to participate. His negotiations with the German Government for a settlement of claims "through forced abdication" were stated in a Berlin message of Sept. 5 to have resulted in a plan, still withheld from the press, that would not be dictated "by pettiness or malice, and would

not call forth justified criticism." Investigation by Dr. Suedekum, Prussian Minister of Finance, had failed to indicate that the former imperial family had capital "planted" abroad, while the amount on the ex-Kaiser's person when he fled to Holland was not more than \$160,000.

A message from The Hague of Sept. 10 stated that fifty-one Berlin furniture vans were counted moving along the road between the railway station at Zeist and the village of Doorn transporting the ex-Kaiser's household effects to his new residence.

The Evidences of Germany's Guilt

Masterly Report Summarizing the Proofs of the Berlin Government's Responsibility for the War

By LOUIS BARTHOU

[FORMER PREMIER OF FRANCE]

The Peace Committee of the French Chamber on Aug. 7, 1919, devoted the whole of an afternoon session to the reading of the report of Louis Barthou, Chairman of the committee on the treaty of peace with Germany. Mr. Barthou's report was listened to with the closest attention, and was afterward characterized as a masterly document, "the clearest and most cogent summary of the origin and prosecution of the war by Germany that has yet appeared." Its most important passages are here translated in full:

THE special committee to which you referred the Peace Treaty signed on June 28, 1919, at Versailles, between the allied and associated powers, on the one hand, and the German Empire and its component States, on the other, recommends, by a majority report, the ratification of that treaty. It would neither have understood nor fulfilled the task assigned to it had it confined itself to a mere act of registration under the pretext that it could propose to you, excluding all amendment, only approval or rejection of the treaty. When an international convention so long, so ramified, and so complex pledges for an indefinite time the prosperity and the security of France, the country's representatives would fail to do their duty if they made no effort to determine its general in-

spiration, its conditions, and its consequences. France has the right to know the situation in which a glorious and costly victory has left her, and within what bounds her future will develop. * * *

There is no initial and capital point from which the whole derives and which the negotiations have placed beyond question. By fixing the responsibilities incurred by Germany in her declaration and conduct of the war, the conference, both morally and legally, has laid the strongest possible basis for the conditions of peace which it has dictated to her. Although it applies only to reparations, Article 231 of the treaty lays down a general principle, around which all its provisions are harmoniously grouped. It says that "the aggression of Germany and her allies has imposed war on the

allied and associated Governments." After having striven to deny this charge, the German Government has been obliged to recognize it. Vainly did its partisans, its press, and the orators of its Assembly insist that all authority should be withheld from this judgment on the ground that it was subscribed to under compulsion. Vainly is it still publishing or having published documents tending to palliate the greatest responsibilities. The guilt of Germany, her premeditated will to war, and the support of her whole people in a war criminally unchained by a subservient accomplice are truths now historically established.

GERMANY'S OWN WITNESSES

Public opinion everywhere has given its judgment. To the many irrefutable documents which the diplomatic archives of the belligerent countries have yielded to debate, and of which the German White Book, cynically abridged, is not the least convincing, witnesses have added new and decisive facts. When these witnesses rise up upon her own soil, how may Germany deny the terrible proofs with whose utterance those witnesses have purged their consciences? The memoir of Prince Lichnowsky, the report of Dr. Mühlön, and the documents revealed by Kurt Eisner contain crushing charges. Their origin and their exactness can leave no doubt of the perfidy with which Germany seized on the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo as a pretext to declare the war which she had been preparing for so many years. The opportunity was a good one "to make an end of it," as General von Moltke said to the King of Belgium in 1913. The German General Staff had unceasingly exercised on public opinion that indirect and continuous pressure whose use Colonel von Ludendorff, then battalion commander, had recommended in order "to strengthen and extend Deutschum throughout the whole world." He added:

We must drill into the people the idea that our armaments are a response to the armaments and policy of France. We must accustom them to thinking that an offensive war by us is necessary to combat the provocations of our adversary.

We must act prudently so as to excite no suspicions and avoid all crises that might injure our economic life. We must so guide events that under the heavy pressure of powerful armaments, of considerable sacrifices, and of a strained political situation, a declaration of war shall be considered as deliverance, with the prospect that it will be followed by decades of peace and prosperity, as after 1870.

PRETEXT OF DEFENSE

These tactics succeeded. The measures of defense taken by the French Government were denounced in the German press as a provocation, and, following the assassination at Serajevo, the situation was "strained" enough to permit the German General Staff and the German Government to call the people, by no means averse, to a pretended policy of deliverance. Whatever may be urged by his belated defenders and, above all, by his accomplices, made uneasy by his revelations and threatened with his fate, Emperor William II., from whom one word, a single word, would have sufficed to prevent the conflict, refused to take every step which would have held back Austria on the brink of the fatal precipice. His letter of July 28 to the Chancellor of the Empire, von Bethmann Hollweg, declared, it is true, that the "*capitulation* of Serbia removed every motive for making war." But did he not, at the same time, make that war inevitable by exacting that the promises of Serbia, *to be more than a scrap of paper*, should be followed by the occupation of Belgrade, considered as a necessary pledge?

Moreover, the imperial letter is in flagrant contradiction with the memoir submitted to the Reichstag on Aug. 3, 1914, by von Bethmann Hollweg. It was formally stated in this letter that, though the reply of Serbia yielded—how could it be denied?—*some satisfaction* to the desires of Austria-Hungary, it was, after all, only a source of delay, which the Dual Monarchy was right in ending by a declaration of war. This declaration of war was equivalent to the irrevocable casting of the dice. The memoir of von Bethmann Hollweg admits it, saying:

With all our heart we could say to our ally that we shared her view, and could

assure her that the action which she judged necessary to put an end in Serbia to the agitation directed against the existence of the monarchy would have all our sympathies. We realized that eventual acts of hostility committed by Austria-Hungary against Serbia might involve Russia and lead us into war, together with our ally; but we could not, knowing that the vital interests of Austria-Hungary were at stake, either advise our ally to show an indulgence incompatible with her dignity or refuse to her our support in that difficult moment. We had the less reason for doing so in that our own interests were threatened to the highest degree by the continual underhand procedure of Serbia.

This avowal, imposed by the evidence deriving from the combined facts and also from the documents published, was renewed during the negotiations at Versailles by the German delegation: "If, immediately after the arrival of the Serbian answer of the 27th, the Vienna Cabinet had been prevented from taking irrevocable measures, the result might have been decisive."

The delegation's note added that the Berlin Cabinet "lacked decision." The truth is that it profited by the circumstances to precipitate war. None of the steps taken by the powers to prevent it—the request made by M. Sazonov for extension of the time granted Serbia; the proposal of mediation in a group of four formulated by Sir Edward Grey; the suggestion expressed by the Czar and which the German White Book passed over in silence, to submit the Austro-Serbian conflict to The Hague tribunal; the last hour and supreme appeal addressed by Czar Nicholas to William II. to abstain, as he bound himself to do upon his honor, from every aggressive act during the negotiations—had its support. On the contrary, at the moment when Austria-Hungary on July 31 seemed disposed to open discussion with the Russian Ambassador, Germany made this impossible by charging her Ambassador at St. Petersburg with an ultimatum which she knew would inevitably lead to war. As Prince Lichnowsky expressed it: "We went into war with whip and spur."

History has already declared that Germany wanted war, and documents dated from Berlin, Austrian or German, prove

it. We must record these evidences. On July 25, 1914, Count Szoegeny, the Ambassador of Austria-Hungary at Berlin, telegraphed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Vienna:

It is generally admitted here that, in case of a possible refusal by Serbia, our immediate declaration of war will coincide with the military operations. A delay in the initiation of military operations is considered here as a great danger because of the intervention of other powers. We are urgently advised to begin immediately and to confront the world with an ACCOMPLISHED FACT.

Two days later, when Serbia had replied by what Emperor William called a "capitulation," the same agent sent this message to his Government:

The Secretary of State informs me in a very clear and confidential statement that in the near future possible proposals of mediation on the part of England may be sent to your Excellency by the German Government. The German Government binds itself in the most solemn way not to associate itself in any way with these proposals; on the contrary, it is absolutely opposed to their examination and will transmit them only to comply with England's request.

The German delegation felt the accusatory power of these two telegrams, as issuing from an allied Ambassador and revealing directly the perfidy of the Berlin Government, alarmed lest, either through the weakness of Austria-Hungary or by the calling in of Serbia, the opportunity which it was watching with criminal eagerness might escape it. Consulted by the delegation, von Bethmann Hollweg and von Jagow, both called by the German delegates "men worthy of confidence," opposed a weak and belated contradiction to the statements of Count Szoegeny, transmitted in the very midst of the negotiations. Something else was necessary: the German delegation, in order to nullify the effect of the evidence by the charge of mental weakness, simply and coldly added that "the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador was older than his age."

BAVARIAN MINISTER'S REVELATION

Unfortunately for Germany, other witnesses against the Berlin Government have arisen since 1914 who, without knowing the view imparted to Count Szoegeny, expressed the same sentiment

with equal force. On July 18 the Bavarian Minister, not as an ally, but as a German, informed the Munich Government of the state of mind of Berlin, after a conversation with Herr Zimmermann, then Under Secretary of State for Foreign affairs. He said:

The step which the Vienna Cabinet has decided to take at Belgrade, and which will consist in the transmission of a note, will occur on the 25th of the present month. The deferring of this action until that time is based on the desire to await the departure of MM. Poincaré and Viviani from St. Petersburg in order to make an agreement between the Dual Alliance Powers (France and Russia) for counteraction more difficult. Until that time the appearance of pacific intentions will be feigned in Vienna by the simultaneous granting of leave of absence to the Minister of War and the head of the General Staff. The press and the Stock Exchange have also been influenced. It is recognized here that in these respects the Vienna Cabinet has acted skillfully, and it is only regretted that Count Tisza, who at first was opposed to energetic action, raised the veil of secrecy somewhat by his statement before the Chamber of Deputies.

According to what was told me by Herr Zimmermann, the note will contain the following demands:

"1. Publication by the King of Serbia of a proclamation declaring that the Serbian Government has kept itself entirely aloof from the Pan-Serbian movement, and does not approve of it.

"2. Opening of an investigation concerning the accomplices in the murder at Serajevo and participation in this investigation by an Austrian official.

"3. Official action against all those who have taken part in the Pan-Serb movement."

For the acceptance of these demands, a period of forty-eight hours will be fixed. It goes without saying that Serbia cannot accept these demands, which are incompatible with her dignity as an independent State. War will consequently result. There is complete agreement here that Austria should profit by this favorable moment, even at the risk of later complications. It is believed therefore that this is Austria's hour of destiny, and it was in this belief that without hesitation the reply was sent to Vienna that Germany approved any action decided on there, even at the risk of war with Russia.

The origin, the date, and the specific nature of this telegram make it a document of capital importance. It is sufficient to establish the responsibility of

the Berlin Government; its premeditation, hypocritically concealed by exterior precautions; its approval of the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum, which it knew to be incompatible with the dignity and independence of Serbia; its fear of losing the opportunity for a war coolly determined on; its pressure on the Vienna Cabinet to hasten what Count Szoegeny called "the accomplished fact."

The German delegation asserted that the "so-called revelations of Kurt Eisner added nothing new, granting that they contained nothing erroneous," but, with the exception of two alleged errors of detail, it prudently refrained from discussing a document whose crushing truthfulness has been confirmed by the events themselves, as they developed, and whose author, Kurt Eisner, paid for its publication with his life.

In declaring war on France, Germany on Aug. 3 abandoned the game which she had so cleverly played forty-four years before. In 1870 she succeeded, by the fraudulent alteration of a dispatch, in giving to France, at least apparently, the rôle of an aggressor. On Aug. 3, 1914, she assumed before the world and before history the responsibility for aggression. Innocent of the declaration of war, France has no self-reproaches to make for the events that led to the bloody conflict. Her Government, her diplomacy, and her military command pushed prudence and patience to the extreme. France, who had counseled Serbia to make all concessions compatible with the sovereignty of an independent State, rejected no attempt at conciliation or mediation. She escaped all the traps laid for her by Germany. Questioned by Herr von Schoen on the attitude that France would take in case of a conflict between Germany and Russia, M. Viviani did not make an "unsatisfactory and ambiguous answer," as von Bethmann Hollweg characterized it; he made the sober and dignified reply that France would be guided by her own interests. The withdrawal of French troops to a point ten kilometers from the German frontier, as ordered by the Government, proved to the world the peaceful intentions of our country, and at the same time made impossible the incidents from

which Germany beyond doubt sought to draw advantage. Against such wise and prudent procedure only a pretext based upon falsehood could prevail. Germany had recourse to both.

FALSE PRETEXTS EXPOSED

Concerning the declaration of war on Aug. 3, Herr von Schoen said:

The administrative and military authorities of Germany have recorded a certain number of hostile acts committed on German territory by French military aviators. Several of these manifestly violated the neutrality of Belgium by flying over the territory of that country; one of them tried to destroy constructions near Wesel; others were perceived over the Eiffel region; another threw bombs on the railway near Karlsruhe and Nuremburg.

None of these assertions was proved, none was true. In contradicting these alleged "aggressions" the head of the French Government anticipated the contradictions of the Germans themselves. On April 3, 1916, the municipal authorities of Nuremburg published a decisive statement:

The temporary commander of the 3d Bavarian Army Corps, stationed here, has no knowledge that before or after the declaration of war any bombs were thrown by enemy aviators on the lines of Nuremburg-Kissingen or Nuremburg-Ansbach. All allegations and dispatches of newspapers to this effect are manifestly false.

This denial, coming from German military authorities, has such evidential force that the German delegation, far from repeating the pretext inscribed in the declaration of war, was itself compelled to recognize its falseness:

It is regrettable that in the declaration of war on France use should have been made without due consideration of certain information concerning attacks by French aviators, which the Government did not take the trouble to verify.

History, severe as it is, will deliver no judgment more terrible than this German phrase of comment on the German lie that served as pretext, as sole pretext, for the declaration of war on France by Germany. It is true that the delegation tried indirectly to modify its avowal by imputing to France on Aug. 2, in a note referred to the addenda, "at least fifty violations of the frontier";

and on Aug. 3 "to the beginning of the state of war at 6 o'clock in the evening, sixteen further violations of the frontier established certainly, four probable, and one possible." To support these belated charges, no specific evidence, no fact, no proof. When France in 1914 accused the German soldiers or aviators of having passed the frontier or flown over French territory it cited the places where these violations of international rights had occurred. The Yellow Book need only be opened to find them. The German White Book is silent, and it is thereby evident how vague are the allegations of the German delegation.

France had the war forced on her, she did not wish it. Germany wished the war, and despite the efforts of the German Republic, which continued up to the last moment to evade the fundamental tenor of Article 31 of the treaty, this article enunciates a decisive and irrefutable truth in affirming that the aggression by Germany and her allies forced war on the allied and associated Governments. No country better than France can testify to the truth of this historic fact.

TWO TREATIES VIOLATED

There is another truth, accepted also by history, and based on Article 227, in which William Hohenzollern II. is indicted "for supreme offense against international authority and the sacredness of treaties." Germany deliberately violated two treaties in which she was the contracting party. A guarantor by the terms of the Treaty of London of May 11, 1867, assuring the neutrality of Luxemburg, Germany on the morning of Aug. 2 sent troops and armored trains over that neutral territory on the pretext of protecting, without resort to violence, the railways which were under German administration. Against the protest of the Minister of State of the Grand Duchy, the Berlin Government alleges that "reliable information" had announced the march of French troops on Luxemburg. This was a lie.

The same lie and the same formula were to serve her as a pretext to justify the invasion by German troops on Aug. 4 of the territory of Belgium, whose neu-

trality Prussia had guaranteed by the Treaty of London of April 19, 1839. The German Government, after vainly trying to intimidate or bribe the Belgian Government, alleged that "reliable information" had removed all doubt of France's intention to occupy the Belgian territory. A pretext was necessary; German imagination had little trouble in finding it, but German premeditation had long been brewing, and it is German documents, again, that prove it. In his report of 1913 Colonel Ludendorff wrote on behalf of the Berlin Headquarters:

In the next European war the small States will be compelled to join us or be conquered. Under certain conditions their armies and fortresses can be rapidly conquered or neutralized. This would probably be the case for Belgium and Holland, and thereby a territory could be put beyond the reach of our enemy in the west which could serve as a base of operations against our flank.

After having spoken of the certainty of Swiss neutrality and of Germany's safety in the south, the report added:

We cannot apply the same criterion to the situation presented by the small States of our northwestern frontier. A vital problem will confront us there, and the object which we must pursue is to take the offensive with great superiority of numbers from the first days. To this end we must concentrate a great army, followed by strong formations of Landwehr, which will impel the armies of the small States to follow us, or at least to remain inactive in the field of operations, and which would crush them in case of armed resistance.

The execution of the plan of invasion of Belgium was pursued in August, 1914, by the Prussian staff, as appears from a report of the Bavarian Legation in Berlin published by Kurt Eisner:

Germany cannot respect the neutrality of Belgium. The head of the General Staff has declared that even the neutrality of England would be too great a price to pay for respecting Belgian neutrality, for an offensive war against France is possible only along the line of Belgium.

BETHMANN'S CONFESSION

To these documents may be added the notorious confession made before the Reichstag by the Imperial Chancellor, the "scrap of paper" man:

Gentlemen, we have been compelled to defend ourselves, and necessity knows no

law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg, and already, perhaps, are treading Belgian soil. Gentlemen, this is contrary to the decrees of international law. We have been obliged to ignore the justified protests of Belgium and Luxemburg. This injustice—I say it candidly—we will make good as soon as our military objective has been attained. When a nation is involved as we are, and is struggling for a momentous gage, it must think only of triumphing as best it can.

These confessions decide the question. After the discovery in Brussels of certain documents relating to negotiations between England and Belgium, the German Government, after deliberately perverting their spirit, tried to find therein a justification of the crime which it had committed to the perjury of its pledged word and in transgression of the law of nations. But the German delegation took from it even this resource:

As for the violation of Belgian and Luxemburg territory, the undersigned share completely the point of view defended by the Imperial Chancellor of Germany on Aug. 4, 1914, amid the applause of the Reichstag, when he declared that there was "an injustice to be made good." They deplore the fact that this view was momentarily abandoned during the war, and that an attempt was made subsequently to justify the German invasion.

INTELLECTUALS DISCREDITED

We should show ourselves ignorant of the true character of Germany, to which country as a whole Prussia has transmitted its policy and its traditions, if we were not sure that, had she been victorious, she would have taken up again and emphasized that justification. Frederick II. began "by taking," and when his troops had fulfilled his orders he left to the scholars of the nation the task of demonstrating the legality of his action. The German scholars did not fail the successor of Frederick II. The manifesto of the ninety-three intellectuals said:

It is not true that we have criminally violated the neutrality of Belgium. We have irrefutable proof that France and England, sure of the connivance of Belgium, had resolved to violate that neutrality themselves. It would have been suicide for our country not to anticipate them.

The German delegation, composed, ac-

according to Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, of independent men, gave the lie to this audacious statement when it accepted without protest Article 232 of the treaty, which imposes on Germany, held to complete restoration and restitution, the costs of the unjust war of aggression waged on Belgium.

"It is not true," said again the manifesto of the intellectuals, "that we wage war in contempt of international law. Our soldiers commit neither acts of indiscipline nor cruelties." The German delegation did not dare to take upon itself the denial of a fact whose truth the whole world knows today. It has even made confession. Count Brockdorff-Rantzau said at Versailles on May 7:

In all enemy countries public opinion resounds with crimes which Germany is charged with having committed during the war. On this point, also, we are ready to confess the injustices which we have wrought. We have not come here to palliate the responsibility of the men who have conducted the war politically and economically, nor to deny the crimes committed against the laws of nations.

In this confession there would be an undeniable element of pride if the head plenipotentiary had not immediately sought to nullify its effect by imputing to Germany's adversaries deeds and transgressions similar to those whose responsibility he accepted for the armies of his country. This position, perhaps, is cleverly taken; it is, from any legal or factitive standpoint, unacceptable. No comparison is possible, and less still any compensation, between isolated, individual, accidental acts and a systematically barbarous waging of war. The Germans have erected cruelty into a system. Faithful to the doctrines of Clausewitz, von Hartmann, von Bernhardi, von Haeseler, they oppose to the law of nations the unlimited use of brute force. Herr Erzberger has declared that "war, a harsh, rough instrument, must be as pitiless as possible." And we know whether the German armies have been accessible to pity!

The Peace Conference has drawn up under thirty-two heads the summary of the crimes against the laws and customs

of war and against the laws of humanity with which Germany and her allies may be charged:

1. Murders and massacres, systematic terrorism.
2. Putting to death of hostages.
3. Tortures inflicted on civilians.
4. Starvation of civilians.
5. Violations of women.
6. Seduction of young women to force them into prostitution.
7. Deportation of civilians.
8. Internment of civilians under barbarous conditions.
9. Forced labor of civilians compelled to do work connected with military operations.
10. Usurpation of sovereign rights of the State during military occupation.
11. Compulsory enrollment of soldiers taken from among the inhabitants of the occupied countries.
12. Attempts made to denationalize the inhabitants of the occupied territories.
13. Pillage.
14. Confiscation of property.
15. Illegal or exorbitant taxes and requisitions.
16. Depreciation of the monetary system and emission of false money.
17. Impositions of collective penalties.
18. Devastation and destruction of property without cause.
19. Intentional bombardments of unfortified places.
20. Destruction, without cause, of monuments and religious, charitable, educational, and historical edifices.
21. Destruction of merchant ships and passenger ships without warning or the taking of measures to secure the safety of the crews and passengers.
22. Destruction of fishing boats and food trains.
23. Intentional bombardment of hospitals.
24. Attacks on and destruction of hospital ships.
25. Infractions of the regulations of the Geneva Cross.
26. Use of noxious and asphyxiating gases.
27. Use of explosive and expanding bullets and other inhuman weapons.
28. Order to give no quarter.
29. Bad treatment inflicted on wounded and prisoners of war.
30. Use of prisoners of war on unjustified labor.
31. Abuse of the white flag.
32. Poisoning of wells.

This list, long and precise as it is, is not complete; it would be possible to add new transgressions to the terrible list of crimes committed by the Germans. This list, based on innumerable facts, justifies only too well the condemnation expressed by the allied and associated

powers in their letter of June 16, 1919, for "the savage and inhuman manner" in which Germany had conducted the war. The allied and associated powers were right in saying that "the conduct of Germany is almost unexampled in the history of the human race."

DEPORTATIONS NOT FORGOTTEN

If France has not been the victim of all the violations of right, accidental or systematic, which the summary drawn up by the conference contains, it has perhaps known those which most violently conflict with the laws of nations and with the most sacred sentiments of humanity. Though it is impossible to examine them one by one, it is also impossible to pass over the wholesale abduction, in April, 1916, and the deportation of 25,000 women, young girls, or men of Lille, Roubaix, and Turcoing. * * *

Our colleagues MM. Delory and Ragheboom narrated to us in the session of Oct. 22, 1918, amid almost unanimous emotion, the brutality of the mode of execution of this order, which aggravated a measure more than odious in itself. M. Delory concluded by protesting against a peace without reparations. He said:

It is impossible to pass the sponge over such acts. Not to demand a peace of justice would be a crime against France, a crime against humanity.

These words expressed the national

sentiment. Germany deliberately sought to assassinate France, to destroy her industry, her land, her race. Paul Deschanel has said: "To forget would be treachery and supreme peril." The whole Chamber applauded these words. But it is insufficient not to forget; the criminals must expiate their crimes. The German delegation itself has recognized the necessity of "giving satisfaction to the legitimate claims of moral justice where an injustice has really been committed." It would be impossible, alas! to repair all the injustices from which the moral conscience has suffered. But justice, to be efficacious, cannot content itself with a mere condemnation which, despite all its solemnity, would be derivative. * * *

[The report of M. Barthou concluded with a chapter on the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine. When the reading was completed, M. Viviani, on behalf of the Chamber, thanked M. Barthou for the important work which he had accomplished, especially for having brought out into strong relief the advantages secured by the treaty, and, at the same time, for having underlined some of its imperfections. He added: "This is the first time that a complete study of the treaty has issued from any Parliament. The committee had high expectations of your talents and authority; it has not been disappointed."]

German ex-Crown Prince's Memoirs

LATE in July the ex-Crown Prince wrote a letter to Captain Kurt Anker, formerly an intelligence officer in the Crown Prince's Army Group, in which he said that he has refused all invitations from publishers to print his memoirs, as it was repugnant to him to assert his claim for justice too hastily. The letter continued as follows:

In the war I endeavored, according to my knowledge and my ability, to do my duty. I tried to spare the blood of the German soldiers committed to my care, where I could, and to make life better for them so far as lay in my extremely limited power. Today most will disown me. I bear them no grudge for that, but

thousands of my brave fellows, whose hands I have shaken, will in their hearts recognize the truth that I finally left the scene of my activities when my person might cause further confusion for our poor and severely tried Fatherland. Whether I acted rightly, who will today decide?

Events have taken their course, and we must now concentrate our thoughts on raising again our shattered German Nation and restoring to outward and inward health our Fatherland, which is bleeding from a thousand wounds. I personally am by no means in a state of deep despair or indifferent apathy. Under the entirely changed conditions, I shall build up a new life for myself and my family.

Constitution of the German Republic

Full Text of New Basic Law of the Nation, Adopted by the National Assembly at Weimar

THE National Constituent Assembly of Germany, elected on Jan. 19, 1919, after many months of deliberation adopted the following Constitution for the new republic on July 31, and it became effective on Aug. 13. During this whole period the Constituent Assembly fulfilled the functions of the Reichstag. Under the Constitution the Reichstag, elected in accordance with the new basic law, will resume its functions. The National Council forms a sort of upper house, corresponding largely to the Federal Council of the Empire. The revision of Article 61, which provides for the admission of Austrian delegates to the National Council, has been formally demanded by the Peace Conference at Paris. The text of the Constitution is as follows:

Preamble.—The German people, united in all its branches and with the determination to build up and strengthen its domain in liberty and justice, to preserve peace, both at home and abroad, and to foster social progress, has adopted the following Constitution:

COMPOSITION AND FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE 1.—The German National State is a Republic. The power of the State is derived from the people.

ARTICLE 2.—The territory of the nation consists of the territories of the German States. Other territories may be taken into the Government by national law, when their inhabitants, by a vote of self-determination, express such a desire.

ARTICLE 3.—The national colors are black-red-gold. The trade flag is black-white-red, with the national colors on the upper inside corner.

ARTICLE 4.—The universally recognized principles of the laws of nations are accepted as binding elements of the laws of the German Nation.

ARTICLE 5.—The power of the National State shall be exercised through the agencies of the Government on the basis of the Constitution in all matters affecting the nation, and in all matters affecting the respective States through the agencies of such

States on the basis of their respective Constitutions.

ARTICLE 6.—The Government has the exclusive right of legislation over:

1. Foreign relations.
2. Colonial matters.
3. State property, right of changing residence, immigration and emigration, and extradition.
4. Military organization.
5. Coinage.
6. Customs, including the unification of customs and trade districts and the free circulation of wares.
7. Posts, telegraphs, and telephones.

ARTICLE 7.—The Government has right of legislation over:

1. Civil law.
2. Criminal law.
3. Judicial proceedings, including the execution of penalties and co-operation between departments.
4. Passports and police for aliens.
5. Poor laws and vagrancy.
6. Press, associations, and assemblies.
7. Population policy; provisions affecting maternity, nurslings, young children and adolescents.
8. National health, veterinaries, protection of plants from disease and pests.
9. Labor law, insurance, and protection of workmen and employes and employment agencies.
10. The organization of trade representation in the nation.
11. Provision for war veterans and their survivors.
12. The right of alienation of property.
13. The socialization of natural treasures and economic undertakings, as well as the production, organization, distribution, and evaluation of economic goods for the community.
14. Trade, weights and measures, issue of paper money, banks and stock exchanges.
15. Traffic in food articles and luxuries, as well as objects of daily need.
16. Industrial pursuits and mining.
17. Insurance.
18. Navigation, fishing on the high sea and along the coasts.
19. Railways, internal navigation, communication by vehicles propelled by power on land, on sea, and in the air, construction of highways, in so far as general communications and national defense are concerned.
20. Theatres and cinematographs.

ARTICLE 8.—The Government further pos-

sesses legislative power over taxes and other sources of income, in so far as they may be claimed in whole or in part for its purposes. In the event that the Government claims taxes or other forms of income which formerly belonged to its confederated States, it will be bound to consider the maintenance of such States' vital means of support.

ARTICLE 9.—Whenever a need for centralized control occurs the Government has a right of legislation over:

1. Community welfare.
2. Protection of public order and security.

ARTICLE 10.—The Government in respect to legislation may lay down principles for:

1. The rights and duties of religious associations.
2. Schools, high schools, and scientific publications.
3. The official rights of all public bodies.
4. Land rights, land divisions, settlements and homesteads, title or landed property, habitations, and distribution of inhabitants.
5. Interments.

ARTICLE 11.—The Government in respect to legislation may lay down principles for the permissibility and mode of collection of taxes, in order to prevent:

1. Injury to income or to trade relations of the nation.
2. Double taxation.
3. Excessive and burdensome taxes on the use of public ways of communication which hinder traffic, and of tollways.
4. Tax disadvantages of imported wares as compared with domestic products in trade between the various States and State districts, or,
5. To exclude or to conserve important communal interests.

ARTICLE 12.—So long and in so far as the Government makes no use of its right of legislation, the confederated States possess the right of legislation. This does not apply to the exclusive legislation of the Government.

The Government has the right, wherever the welfare of the community is involved, to veto laws of confederated States related to the objects of Article 7, Section 13.

ARTICLE 13.—Government law transcends States' law. In case there should arise doubt or difference of opinion as to whether State legislation is in harmony with Government legislation, the proper officials of the Government or the central State officials, according to the specific prescription of a Government law, may resort to the decision of a highest national court.

ARTICLE 14.—The laws of the Government will be exercised through the State officials, unless the national laws provide otherwise.

ARTICLE 15.—The Government administration exercises supervision in matters over which the nation has the right of legislation.

In so far as the laws of the Government are to be exercised by State officials, the Government Administration may issue general directions. It has the power to send commissioners to the central State authorities, and, with their approval, also to subordinate officials, to supervise the fulfillment of the Government laws.

The State Administrations are charged, at the request of the Government Administration, to eliminate defects in the execution of the national laws. In case of differences of opinion, the Government Administration, as well as the State Administration, may resort to the decision of the Supreme Court, in case another court is not prescribed by Government law.

ARTICLE 16.—Those officials charged with the direct administration of Government in the different States shall, as a rule, be appointed from citizens of the given State. The officials, employees, and workmen of the Government Administration will, when desired, be employed in their home districts as far as proves possible, and whenever consideration of their training or of the demands of the service present no objection.

ARTICLE 17.—Every State must have a republican Constitution. The people's representatives must be chosen in universal, equal, direct and secret vote cast by all German men and women citizens on the basis of proportional representation. The State Administration shall require the confidence of the people's representatives.

The election basis for popular representation applies also for the community elections. Through State law, however, the right to vote may be made to depend on the length of residence in the community to the extent of one year.

ARTICLE 18.—The division of the Government into States shall serve the highest economic and cultural interests of the people after most thorough consideration of the will of the population involved. Changes in State boundaries and the reconstruction of States within the nation may occur on the passing of a national law changing the Constitution.

If the States directly involved agree, a simple Government law will suffice.

A simple Government law will be sufficient, further, if one of the States involved does not agree but the territorial change or reconstruction is demanded by the will of the population and a predominating national interest requires it.

The will of the population is to be determined by referendum. The National Administration will sanction such a vote when a third of the inhabitants qualified to vote for the Reichstag, and who belong to the territory whose separation is opposed, demand it.

To determine a territorial change or reconstruction three-fifths of the votes cast, or at least a majority of votes cast by qualified voters, shall be required. Even when a

separation of only a part of a Prussian administrative district, a Bavarian circle, or, in other States, a corresponding administrative district, is involved, the will of the population of the whole district under consideration must be determined. If a considerable dependence of the district to be separated on the whole region does not exist, the will of the population of the district to be separated may be pronounced sufficient on the basis of a special Government law.

After the consent of the population has been manifested by vote, the Government Administration must lay before the Reichstag a corresponding law for enactment.

In case dispute arises over financial or property details when such union or separation is accomplished, the Supreme Court of Germany, if charged therewith by one of the parties, may give a decision.

ARTICLE 19.—In the case of constitutional disputes within a State in which no court exists that may resolve them, as well as in the case of disputes of a non-private nature between different States or between the Government and a State, the National Supreme Court, at the request of one of the parties in dispute, shall decide, in case another court of the Government does not have jurisdiction.

The National President executes the decision of the Supreme Court.

THE REICHSTAG

ARTICLE 20.—The Reichstag shall consist of the deputies of the German people.

ARTICLE 21.—The delegates are representatives of the whole people. They are subject only to their own conscience and shall not be bound by any orders.

ARTICLE 22.—The delegates shall be chosen on the basis of universal, equal, direct and secret vote by all men and women over the age of 20, in accordance with the principles of proportional representation. The day for elections must be a Sunday or a public day of rest.

Other details will be determined by the Government election law.

ARTICLE 23.—The Reichstag will be elected for four years. New elections must occur at latest after the expiration of sixty days following its expiration.

The Reichstag will convene at latest on the thirtieth day after election.

ARTICLE 24.—The Reichstag will meet each year on the first Wednesday in November at the seat of the National Government. The President of the Reichstag must call it earlier, if the President of the Republic, or at least a third of the members of the Reichstag demand it.

The Reichstag shall determine the close of session and the day of reconvention.

ARTICLE 25.—The President of the Republic may dissolve the Reichstag, but only once for the same cause.

New elections shall occur at latest on the sixtieth day after such dissolution.

ARTICLE 26.—The Reichstag shall choose its President, as well as his representative, and its secretary. It shall determine its own order of business.

ARTICLE 27.—Between two adjournments or election periods the President and his representative of the last session shall continue all necessary business.

ARTICLE 28.—The President shall exercise the power of law and police duty in the Reichstag building. The management of the House is subject to him; he shall have power over the incomes and disbursements of the House, in accordance with the standard of Government economy, and shall represent the Government in all legal business and litigation arising in his administration.

ARTICLE 29.—The Reichstag's proceedings will be public. At the request of fifty members the public may be excluded on a two-thirds majority vote.

ARTICLE 30.—Truthful reports of the proceedings in open sessions of the Reichstag, of a Provincial Parliament or of their committees shall carry no responsibility.

ARTICLE 31.—A Court of Election Control shall be formed in the Reichstag. This court shall decide the question whether a delegate shall lose membership or not.

This Court of Election Control shall consist of members of the Reichstag, which the latter chooses for the election period, and of members of the Government Court of Administration, to be appointed by the President of the Republic at the suggestion of the President of this court.

This Court of Election Control shall form its decisions on the basis of public oral discussions conducted by three members of the Reichstag and two judicial members.

Besides the proceedings of the Court of Election Control, other proceedings will be instituted by a Government Commissioner appointed by the President of the Republic. These proceedings, however, shall be regulated by the Court of Election Control.

ARTICLE 32.—To make any decision of the Reichstag valid, a simple majority vote shall be required, in so far as the Constitution does not prescribe a different ratio of voting. For elections to be undertaken by the Reichstag the Committee on Rules may admit exceptions.

The determination of a decision will be regulated by the Committee on Rules.

ARTICLE 33.—The Reichstag and its committee may demand the presence of the National Chancellor and of any other Government Minister.

The Chancellor, the Government Ministers, and their duly appointed representatives shall have access to the sessions of the Reichstag and of its committees. The confederated States shall possess the right to send their plenipotentiaries to these sessions

to interpret the views of their State Governments regarding the object of discussion.

At their request the representatives of the State Government must receive a hearing during the discussion, and the representatives of the National Government must be heard also outside the order of the day.

They shall, however, be subject to the control of the Chairman in matters of order.

ARTICLE 34.—The Reichstag has the right and, at the request of one-fifth of its members, the duty of appointing committees of investigation. These committees in open session shall bring to light the evidence which they, or the members proffering the request, shall consider required. Publicity may be excluded by the committee of investigation by a two-thirds majority vote. The Committee on Rules shall regulate the proceedings of the committee and determine the number of its members.

The judicial and administrative officials shall comply with requests made by these committees for information evidence, and the records of these officials shall on request be laid before them. The prescriptions of the penal code shall have application to the investigations of these committees and of the officials by them petitioned, but the secrecy of letter and parcel post, telegraph, and telephone services shall be undisturbed.

ARTICLE 35.—The Reichstag shall appoint a standing committee for outside matters, whose activity shall exist also outside the session and after the close of the election period until the reconvention of the new Reichstag. The sittings of this committee shall not be public, unless the committee by a two-thirds majority vote decides for publicity.

The Reichstag further shall appoint a standing committee to maintain the rights of the popular representatives as against the Government Administration outside of session and after the close of the election period.

These committees shall have the rights of investigating committees.

ARTICLE 36.—No member of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament shall at any time, because of his vote or because of any opinions expressed in the fulfillment of his duty, be judicially or officially prosecuted or in any way be held for responsibility outside the Assembly.

ARTICLE 37.—No member of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament shall, without approval of the house to which the delegate belongs, be subjected to investigation or arrest during the session on account of any action involving penalty, unless the member is arrested in the act, or, at latest, on the following day.

The same approval is required in the case of every other limitation of personal freedom which hinders the fulfillment of the delegate's legislative duties.

Every criminal proceeding against a mem-

ber of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament and every arrest or other limitation of his personal freedom shall, at the demand of the house to which the delegate belongs, be revoked for the period of the session.

ARTICLE 38.—The members of the Reichstag and the Provincial Parliaments are empowered to refuse evidence concerning persons who have given them information in their capacity as delegates, or to whom, in the fulfillment of their duties as delegates, they have given such information, as well as to testify concerning such information. In regard also to the seizure of documents their position shall be the same as that of all persons who by law are given the right of refusal of evidence.

A search or seizure may be undertaken in the precincts of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament only with the consent of the President.

ARTICLE 39.—Officials and members of the army need no leave to fulfill their office as members of the Reichstag or of a Provincial Parliament.

If they become candidates for a seat in these bodies the necessary leave shall be granted them to prepare for their election.

ARTICLE 40.—The members of the Reichstag shall have the right of free transport over all German railway lines, and also compensation as prescribed by a national law.

THE NATIONAL PRESIDENT AND THE GOVERNMENT

ARTICLE 41.—The President of the Republic shall be chosen by the whole German people. Every German who has completed his thirty-fifth year is qualified for election. Further details are determined by a national law.

ARTICLE 42.—The National President, on assuming his office before the Reichstag, shall take the following oath:

I swear to consecrate all my energy to the welfare of the German people, to increase its advantages, to avert its injury, to preserve the Constitution and the laws of the nation, to fulfill my duties conscientiously, and to deal justly with all.

The addition of a religious declaration shall be permissible.

ARTICLE 43.—The duration of the President's tenure of office shall be seven years. Re-election shall be permissible.

Before the expiration of his term the President may be deposed by a referendum, at the request of the Reichstag. The decision of the Reichstag shall require a two-thirds majority vote. Through such decision the President shall be prohibited from further exercise of his office. Rejection of his deposition by a referendum shall count as a new election and entail the dissolution of the Reichstag.

The National President shall not be subject

to prosecution without the sanction of the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 44.—The President may not at the same time be a member of the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 45.—The President shall represent the nation in matters of international law. He shall in the nation's name conclude alliances and other treaties with foreign powers. He shall accredit and receive Ambassadors.

Declaration of war and conclusion of peace shall be subject to national law.

Alliances and treaties with foreign States, related to subjects covered by national law, shall require the approval of the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 46.—The President shall appoint and dismiss Government officials and military officers, if not otherwise provided by law. He can exercise this right of appointment or dismissal through other officials.

ARTICLE 47.—The President has supreme command over all the military forces of the nation.

ARTICLE 48.—If any State shall not fulfill the duties prescribed for it by the Constitution or by Government laws the President of the Republic may hold it to such fulfillment with the aid of armed power.

The President, in the event that public security and order in the German Nation should be considerably disturbed or endangered, may take all necessary measures to re-establish such public security and order, and, if required, to intervene with the aid of armed power. To this end he may provisionally abrogate, in whole or in part, the fundamental laws established in Articles 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124, and 153.

The President must immediately inform the Reichstag of all measures provided for by Paragraphs 1 or 2 of this article. These measures may be revoked at the demand of the Reichstag.

In case of danger from delay the Provincial Government may take provisional measures of the kind mentioned in Paragraph 2 for its own territory. These measures may be revoked at the demand of the President of the republic or of the Reichstag. Details are provided by a Government law.

ARTICLE 49.—The President of the Republic shall exercise for the Government the right of pardon. Government amnesties require a national law.

ARTICLE 50.—All arrangements and dispositions of the President of the Republic, including those concerning the army, to become valid must be countersigned by the Prime Minister or by duly qualified Government Ministers. Responsibility shall ensue upon this countersigning.

ARTICLE 51.—The President of the Republic, in case he is incapacitated, shall be represented by the National Chancellor. If such incapacity last for any considerable time, this representation shall be regulated by a Government law. The same provision shall

apply in case of a premature vacancy of the Presidency until the new elections are completed.

ARTICLE 52.—The administration of the Government shall consist of the (National Chancellor and the Government Ministers.

ARTICLE 53.—The Chancellor, and at his suggestion the Ministers of the Government, shall be appointed and dismissed by the President of the republic.

ARTICLE 54.—The Chancellor and the Government Ministers shall require the confidence of the Reichstag for the fulfillment of their office. Any of them must withdraw in the event that the Reichstag by explicit resolution withholds its confidence.

ARTICLE 55.—The Chancellor shall preside in the Government Administration and shall conduct its affairs in accordance with an order of business, which shall be determined by the Administration and approved by the President of the Republic.

ARTICLE 56.—The Prime Minister shall determine the line of policy and shall assume responsibility therefor to the Reichstag. Within this line each and every Government Minister shall conduct independently the field of activity allotted to him, assuming his own responsibility to the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 57.—The Ministers of Government are charged to lay before the Government Administration for discussion and decision all drafts of law, all matters so prescribed by Constitution or law, and all differences of opinion over various questions which concern the functions of several Government Ministers.

ARTICLE 58.—The Government Administration shall ratify its decisions on the basis of majority vote. In case of a tie the vote of the presiding officer shall be decisive.

ARTICLE 59.—The Reichstag is empowered to enter a complaint before the Supreme Court of the German Nation against the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and the Government Ministers, on the ground of their having violated the Constitution or a Government law. The proposal to initiate this complaint must be signed by at least 100 members of the Reichstag and requires the approval of the majority prescribed for alteration of the Constitution. Other details will be regulated by the Government law applying to the National Supreme Court.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

ARTICLE 60.—A National Council [Reichsrat] shall be formed for representation of the German States in national legislation and administration.

ARTICLE 61.—In the National Council every State shall have at least one vote. In the case of the larger States one vote will be accorded to every million inhabitants. Any excess equal at least to the population of the

smallest State will be estimated as equal to a full million. No State shall be represented by more than two-fifths of all votes.

German-Austria, after its union with the German Nation, shall receive the right of participation in the National Council with the number of votes corresponding to its population. Until that time the representatives of German-Austria shall have a deliberative voice.

The number of votes shall be newly determined through the National Council after every general census.

ARTICLE 62.—In committees formed by the National Council from its own members, no State shall have more than one voice.

ARTICLE 63.—The States shall be represented in the National Council through members of their respective Governments. But half of the Prussian votes will be disposed of according to a State law, by the Prussian Provincial Administrations.

The States shall have the right to send as many representatives to the National Council as they have votes.

ARTICLE 64.—The Government Administration shall be bound to summon the National Council at the demand of one-third of its members.

ARTICLE 65.—The Presidency of the National Council and of its committees shall be filled by a member of the Government Administration. The members of the Government Administration shall have the right, and, on demand, the duty, to participate in the dealings of the National Council and its committees. During its sittings they shall, if they so desire, be given a hearing at any time.

ARTICLE 66.—The Government Administration, as well as every member of the State Council, are authorized to make proposals in the National Council. The National Council shall regulate the conduct of its proceedings through an order of business. The plenary sessions of the National Council shall be public. According to the order of business, the public may be excluded for special objects of discussion. A simple majority of the voters shall be decisive in voting.

ARTICLE 67.—The National Council shall be kept informed by the National Ministries of the conduct of national business. The proper committees of the National Council shall be summoned by the National Ministries for deliberations over important subjects.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

ARTICLE 68.—Projects of legislation shall be introduced by the Government or from the body of the Reichstag. The laws of the nation shall be determined by the Reichstag.

ARTICLE 69.—The introduction of legislative projects by the Government Administration shall require the assent of the National Council. In the event that the Gov-

ernment Administration and the National Council shall not agree, the Government Administration may nevertheless introduce the project, but shall be bound to record the dissent of the National Council.

In case the National Council approve a project of legislation and the Government Administration disapprove it, the latter shall introduce the project in the Reichstag with an exposition of its own standpoint.

ARTICLE 70.—The National President shall make a compilation of all laws created according to the Constitution and within one month publish it in the Government Legislative Record.

ARTICLE 71.—All Government laws shall come into force, unless otherwise specified, on the fourteenth day following the date of the issue of the Government Legislative Record in the nation's capital.

ARTICLE 72.—The publication of a Government law may be deferred for two months, if so demanded by one-third of the Reichstag. Laws which the Reichstag and the National Council declare as urgent may be published by the President of the Republic without regard to such demand.

ARTICLE 73.—A law approved by the Reichstag must be referred to the people before its publication if the President of the Republic so decrees within a month. A law whose publication is deferred at the demand of at least one-third of the Reichstag must be laid before the people for decision, if one-twentieth of qualified voters make such proposal.

A referendum shall further be resorted to if one-tenth of qualified voters express the desire that a project of law shall be proposed. A fully elaborated project of law must be the basis of such desire. The Government must lay this project of law before the Reichstag and explain its own stand regarding it. The referendum shall not occur if the desired project of law is accepted by the Reichstag without alteration. Only the President of the Republic may call a referendum for matters concerning the budget, tax laws, and salary payments. A national law shall regulate the procedure to be followed in a referendum or a project of law desired by the people.

ARTICLE 74.—The National Council shall have the right of veto against laws approved by the Reichstag. This veto must be entered before the Reichstag by the Government within two weeks after ratification, and within two further weeks at the latest must be circumstantiated.

In the event of such veto the law shall be laid before the Reichstag for a second decision. If the Reichstag and the National Council do not agree, the President of the Republic may within three months refer the subject of dispute to a referendum. In case the President does not avail himself of this right, the law will be considered not to have been passed. If the Reichstag rejects the

protest of the National Council on the basis of a two-thirds majority vote, the President shall publish the law in the form accepted by the Reichstag within three months, or else decree a referendum.

ARTICLE 75.—Through a referendum a Reichstag decision may be nullified only when a majority of the qualified voters participate in the voting.

ARTICLE 76.—In respect to legislation the Constitution may be altered. But decisions of the Reichstag on alteration of the Constitution shall be valid only when two-thirds of the lawful membership are present, and at least two-thirds of those present give their assent. Decisions of the National Council on alteration shall also require a two-thirds majority of all votes cast. In case a change of Constitution is determined by popular desire through a referendum, the assent of a majority of qualified voters shall be required.

In the event that the Reichstag determine on an alteration of the Constitution against the protest of the National Council, the President of the Republic need not publish this law, if the National Council demand a referendum within two weeks.

ARTICLE 77.—The Government shall issue the general administrative decrees required for the execution of the national laws where no other provision is made by law. The assent of the National Council is necessary when the execution of the laws is incumbent on State officials.

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

ARTICLE 78.—Relations with foreign States concern the nation exclusively.

In matters regulated by provincial law the confederated States may conclude treaties with foreign States. These treaties require the consent of the nation.

Agreements with foreign States regarding change of national boundaries may be concluded by the nation on consent of the State involved. Alterations of the boundaries may occur only on the basis of a Government law, except in cases where mere correction of the boundaries of uninhabited districts is in question.

To assure the representation of interests arising for special States through their special economic relations or their proximity to foreign countries, the Government shall decide on the measures and arrangements required in concert with the States involved.

ARTICLE 79.—The defense of the nation concerns the nation. The military organization of the German people shall be placed under unified control by a Government law in which the special provincial institutions shall be given due consideration.

ARTICLE 80.—Colonial administration concerns the nation exclusively.

ARTICLE 81.—All German merchant ships shall constitute a unified trade fleet.

ARTICLE 82.—Germany forms a customs

and trade territory surrounded by a common customs boundary. This customs boundary shall be identical with the frontier boundary. On the coast the shore line of the mainland and of the islands belonging to the national territory constitute the customs boundary. Exceptions may be determined for the customs line running along the seacoast and other waters. Foreign territories or parts of territories may be annexed to the customs territory by national treaties or agreements.

Parts of the customs territory may be excluded on special request. In the case of free ports this exclusion may occur only through a law altering the Constitution. Customs districts excluded may be annexed to a foreign customs district through national treaties or agreements.

All natural products, as well as arts and crafts products, may in the free intercourse of the nation be transported into, out of, or across the boundaries of the various States and communities. Exceptions may be permitted by a Government law.

ARTICLE 83.—Customs and excise of articles of consumption shall be administered through Government officials. Measures shall be provided for the administration of Government taxes through Government officials which shall enable the confederated States to maintain special State interests in the spheres of agriculture, trade, crafts, and industry.

ARTICLE 84.—The Government shall provide by law for:

1. The organization of the administration of taxes in the different States so far as shall be required for the unified and regular fulfillment of the national tax laws.

2. The organization and functions of the officials charged with supervision of the execution of the national tax laws.

3. Balance accounts with the confederated States.

4. The reimbursement of the costs of administration in the execution of the national tax laws.

ARTICLE 85.—All revenues and disbursements of the nation must be computed for every fiscal year and entered in the budget. The budget shall be confirmed before the beginning of the fiscal year by law. The expenses shall regularly be appropriated for one year; in special cases they may be approved for a longer period. In other cases provision in the budget law extending beyond the fiscal year or not relating to the revenues and expenses of the nation or its administration shall be prohibited.

The Reichstag, in the drawing up of the budget, may not increase or add new expenses without the consent of the National Council. The consent of the National Council may be replaced according to the provisions of Article 74.

ARTICLE 86.—For the employment of all national revenue the Minister of Finance

shall in the following fiscal year, to cover the responsibility of the administration, submit an account of reckoning to the National Council and to the Reichstag. The auditing of this account shall be regulated by national law.

ARTICLE 87.—In the matter of credit, moneys shall be procured only in case of extraordinary need and regularly only for expenses connected with promotion. Such procuring of moneys, as well as the assumption by the Government of a security obligation, may occur on the strength of a Government law.

ARTICLE 88.—The post and telegraph services, together with the telephone service, concern the nation exclusively. The postage stamp symbols shall be the same for the whole nation.

The Government Administration shall, with the consent of the National Council, issue decrees laying down principles and duties in the use of means of communication. With the consent of the National Council it may extend this authority to the Postmaster General.

The Government Administration, with the consent of the State Council, shall appoint a supplementary council for advisory co-operation in postal, telegraph, telephone communications, and the regulation of prices.

Only the Government shall conclude treaties dealing with communications with foreign countries.

ARTICLE 89.—It is the nation's duty to take over railroads serving general traffic, with all their property, and to manage them as a unified system of communication.

ARTICLE 90.—With the taking over of the railroads the Government shall also take over the right of property alienation and the supreme State rights relating to railway organization. The National Supreme Court shall decide the scope of such rights in case of disputes.

ARTICLE 91.—The Government Administration, with the consent of the State Council, shall issue decrees regulating the construction, the management, and the traffic of railways. With the consent of the National Council it may extend this authority to the proper Government Minister.

ARTICLE 92.—The Government railways, irrespective of their budget and their accounts in the general budget and general accounts of the nation, shall be administered as an independent economic undertaking, which shall defray its own expenses, including interest and cancellation of the railway debt, and shall set aside a railway sinking fund. The amount of the cancellation and of the sinking fund, as well as the objects for which money shall be applied, shall be regulated by special laws.

ARTICLE 93.—Acting for the Government railways, with the consent of the National Council, the Government Administration shall appoint supplementary councils for ad-

visory co-operation in matters of railway traffic and transportation charges.

ARTICLE 94.—In the event that the Government has taken over into its administration the railways of a certain district which serve general transport needs, within that district new railways serving such general transportation needs may be built only by the Government or by its consent. In case such construction of new railways, or alterations of existing railway organizations, concern the sphere of authority of the State police, the Railway Administration, before decision, must grant a hearing to the State officials.

In case the Government has not yet taken over the railways, it may administer on its own account railways considered essential for general transportation, or for national defense, by virtue of Government laws and despite the opposition of the States which they traverse, yet without infringing sovereign State rights, or it may give over construction rights to another, if necessary, also according to right of alienation.

Every Railway Administration must consent to connection with other railway lines at the latter's expense.

ARTICLE 95.—Railways for general traffic not administered by the Government are subject to the supervision of the Government.

The railways thus subjected to Government supervision are to be controlled and equipped according to the same principles, to be determined by the Government. They shall be maintained in safe condition and to be extended as necessity demands. Transportation of persons and goods shall, as need arises, be provided for and equipment furnished.

In the supervision of the cost of transportation, the supervisors shall work toward a uniform and a low railway rate.

ARTICLE 96.—All railways, including those not serving general traffic needs, must comply with the demands of the Government for use of the railways for the purpose of national defense.

ARTICLE 97.—It is the duty of the Government to take over for administration all waterways serving general communications. After such taking over, such waterways serving general communications may be applied or extended only by the Government or with its consent. In administering, extending, or reconstructing such waterways the needs of agriculture and irrigation shall be preserved in co-operation with the States affected. The claims of the latter shall also be regarded.

Every administration of waterways must agree to amalgamation with other inner waterways at the cost of the undertakers. The same obligation exists for the construction of a connecting way between inner waterways and railways.

In taking over the waterways the Government shall assume the right of alienation and

authority over transportation cost and the policing of waters and navigation.

The task of building water communications in connection with the extension of natural waterways in the Rhine, Weser, and Elbe regions is to be undertaken by the Government.

ARTICLE 98.—Supplementary councils shall be formed with the consent of the National Council by specific decree of the Government Administration for co-operation in matters affecting waterways and national waterways.

ARTICLE 99.—Expenses on natural waterways shall be incurred only for such works, establishments, and other institutions as are destined to facilitate communication. In the case of State and community institutions they must not exceed the expenses required for repair and maintenance. The costs of repair and maintenance for institutions not intended exclusively to facilitate communication, but also to further other purposes, may be increased by navigation expenses only to a relative degree. Sums paid for interest and debt cancellation shall be included in costs for maintenance.

The provisions of the preceding clause apply to the disbursements incurred for artificial waterways as well as for constructions on such and in harbors.

The total costs of a waterway, a river district, or a system of waterways may be reckoned as fundamental in matters of inner navigation for the estimation of navigation expenses.

These provisions apply also to timber floating on navigable waterways.

Only the Government may impose other or higher taxes on foreign ships and their cargoes than on German ships and their cargoes.

For the procuring of means for the maintenance and equipment of the German system of waterways the Government may call on the participants in navigation for contributions in other ways.

ARTICLE 100.—To cover the cost of maintenance and construction of inner navigation routes any person who in any other way than through navigation derives profit from the construction of dams that shut off valleys may also be called upon for contribution, whenever several States are involved, or the Government bears the cost of the outlay.

ARTICLE 101.—It is the duty of the Government to take over as its own property and into its own administration all sea signals, especially lighthouses, lightships, buoys, floats, and beacons. After such taking over sea signals may be repaired or improved only by the Government or with its consent.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

ARTICLE 102.—Judges shall be independent and subject only to the law.

ARTICLE 103.—Regular justice shall be administered through the national courts and through the State courts.

ARTICLE 104.—Judges administering regular justice shall be appointed for life. They may be permanently or temporarily removed from office, or transferred to another office, or retired against their will, only by virtue of judicial decision and for the grounds and in the forms provided by law. The law code may fix age limitations, on reaching which Judges may be retired. The temporary relief from office consequent on law is not affected by this article.

In case of a change in the organization of the courts or their jurisdiction districts the administration of justice in the provinces may decree transfer against desire to another court or removals from office, but only under allowances of full salary.

These provisions have no application to commercial Judges, rural Justices, and jurymen.

ARTICLE 105.—Extraordinary courts are illegal. No one shall be removed from the jurisdiction of his legal Judge. Provisions made by law for martial courts and military courts are not affected hereby. Military courts of honor are suspended.

ARTICLE 106.—Military justice is to be suspended, except in time of war or on board warships. Further details are regulated by national law.

ARTICLE 107.—Administrative courts both of the nation and the States must, according to law, protect the individual against dispositions and provisions of administrative officials.

ARTICLE 108.—According to national law a National Supreme Court is established for the German Nation.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE GERMANS—THE INDIVIDUAL

ARTICLE 109.—All Germans are equal before the law. Men and women have fundamentally the same civil rights and duties. Public advantages or disadvantages of birth or rank are to be suspended. Titles of nobility shall be accepted only as part of a name and may not be conferred any longer. Titles may be conferred only when they designate an office or a profession; academic degrees are not affected by this provision. Orders and insignias of orders may not be conferred by the State. No German may accept a title or order from a foreign Government.

ARTICLE 110.—Citizenship in the nation and the States may be acquired or lost, according to the provisions of national law. Every citizen of a State is at the same time a citizen of the nation. Every German in every State of the nation has the same rights and duties as the citizens of the State itself.

ARTICLE 111.—All Germans enjoy the right of free travel throughout the whole nation. Every one has the right of sojourn and settlement in any place within the na-

tion, the right to acquire real estate and to pursue every means of livelihood. Limitations require the issuance of a Government decree.

ARTICLE 112.—Every German has the right to emigrate to countries outside Germany. Emigration may be limited only by national law. All citizens of the nation have right of protection by the Government both within and without the national boundaries as against foreign countries. No German may be delivered over to a foreign Government for prosecution or punishment.

ARTICLE 113.—Those elements of the nation speaking a foreign language may not be impaired judicially or administratively in their free and popular development, especially in the use of their mother tongue for instruction, or in matters of internal administration and the administration of justice.

ARTICLE 114.—Freedom of the person cannot be impaired. An impairment or withdrawal of personal liberty through public power is admissible only as prescribed by law. Persons, whose freedom is taken from them, are to be informed at latest on the following day by what official and on what grounds their liberty was taken from them, and they shall immediately receive an opportunity to present objections against this loss of freedom.

ARTICLE 115.—The home of every German is his place of refuge and cannot be violated. Exceptions are admissible only as prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 116.—No action can be penalized, if penalty is provided by law, before the action has been committed.

ARTICLE 117.—Secrecy of letters and of postal, telegraph and telephone services cannot be impaired. Exceptions may be admissible only as prescribed by national law.

ARTICLE 118.—Every German has the right within the limits of the general laws to express his opinion by word, in writing, printing, by picture, or in any other way. No connection with his labor or employment shall hinder him in the exercise of this right, and no one may injure him if he makes use of this right.

No censorship exists, though different provisions may be passed by law in the case of moving pictures. Legal measures are also permissible for combating obscene and indecent literature, as well as for the protection of youth at public plays and spectacles.

THE SOCIAL LIFE

ARTICLE 119.—Marriage, as the foundation of family life and of the maintenance and increasing of the nation, is under the particular protection of the Constitution. It is based upon the equal rights of both sexes. The maintaining of the purity, the health, and the social advancement of the family is the task of the State and the communities. Families with numerous children have a

claim for compensating care. Motherhood has a claim upon the protection and care of the State.

ARTICLE 120.—The education of offspring to physical, mental, and social efficiency is the highest duty and natural right of parents, whose activities are watched over by the political community.

ARTICLE 121.—Illegitimate children are to be provided by legislation with the same conditions for their physical, mental, and social development as those of legitimate children.

ARTICLE 122.—Youth is to be protected against exploitation, as well as against a lack of moral, mental, or physical guarantees. The State and the communities are to take the necessary steps to this end. Compulsory measures for welfare can be ordered only on the basis of the law.

ARTICLE 123.—All Germans have the right to gather in meetings peaceably and unarmed without announcement or particular permission. Meetings in the open may be made liable to previous announcement by a national law and, in the presence of immediate danger to the public order, may be forbidden.

ARTICLE 124.—All Germans have the right to form societies or associations for purposes not contrary to the penal law. This right cannot be limited through preventive measures. The same provisions apply to religious societies and unions.

Every association has the right to acquire legal character in accordance with the civil law. No society may be refused this right because it pursues a political, social-political, or religious object.

ARTICLE 125.—Liberty of the suffrage and its secrecy are guaranteed. Details will be laid down by the election laws.

ARTICLE 126.—Every German has the right to appeal to the competent authorities or to the representatives of the people with written requests or grievances. This right may be exercised by individuals as well as by several persons together.

ARTICLE 127.—Communities and community associations have the right of self-administration within the limits of the law.

ARTICLE 128.—All citizens of the State, without distinction, are to be admitted to public office according to the provisions of the law and their abilities. All exceptional regulations against female officials and employes are set aside. The principles of official relations are to be regulated by a national law.

ARTICLE 129.—The employment of State officials is for life, in so far as it is not provided differently by law. Pension-salaries and pensions for relatives and dependents are regulated by law. The legally acquired rights of the officials are inviolable. The legal way is open to officials for their property-claims. The officials can be suspended, either temporarily or definitely, or trans-

ferred to another position with smaller salary, only under legal provisions.

Against every demand for punishment in the service a form of appeal and the possibility for a reopening of the trial are to be provided. In the investigation of the person of an official, facts against the official are to be recorded only when the official has had the opportunity to express himself as to the complaint. The official is to be permitted to inspect the complaint.

The inviolability of the acquired rights and the maintenance of the legal way for property complaints are especially assured to the professional soldier. For the rest, their position is regulated by national law.

ARTICLE 130.—The officials are servants of the whole community, not of a party. To all officials freedom of their political beliefs and right of association is assured. The officials receive, according to special provisions in the national law, special representation as officials.

ARTICLE 131.—In case an official during the exercise of his public duties violates the duties which he owes to a third person, the responsibility comes upon the State or the authority in whose services the official is. The right to take counteraction against the official is reserved by the State. The regular lawful way shall not be excluded. The detail regulation comes under the apportioning legislation.

ARTICLE 132.—Every German, according to the provision of the law, has the duty to accept honorary offices.

ARTICLE 133.—All citizens are obliged, according to law, to perform personal service for the State and the community. The duty of military service is regulated according to the National Army law. This determines also how far certain fundamental provisions are to be restricted for the members of the army in order that they may fulfill their duties and that military discipline may be preserved.

ARTICLE 134.—All citizens, without any distinction, shall contribute according to their means to carrying all public burdens, according to the provisions of the law.

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES

ARTICLE 135.—All inhabitants of the nation shall enjoy complete liberty of worship and conscience. Undisturbed enjoyment of religious liberties is assured by the Constitution and is under national protection. This provision leaves the general national laws untouched.

ARTICLE 136.—Civic rights, State rights and duties are neither conditioned nor limited by the enjoyment of religious liberties. The enjoyment of civic and State rights as well as admission to public office are independent of religious beliefs. No one is bound to reveal his religious belief. The authorities have the right to ask for the

affiliation to a religious society in so far as rights and duties depend thereon, or in case a lawfully organized census demands such information.

No one is to be forced to participate in church duties or church festivities, or to take part in religious exercises, or be compelled to give a religious oath.

ARTICLE 137.—No State Church is recognized. Freedom of organization for religious purposes is assured. The union of religious societies within the nation is not restricted. Every religious society regulates and administers its affairs independently within the limits of the law. It appoints its officers without the co-operation of the State or the municipality. Religious societies acquire legality according to the prescriptions of the civic laws. The religious societies remain organizations of public law, in so far as they were such before. To other religious societies at their request the same rights are to be accorded, if by their constitution and the number of their members they give the guarantee of permanency. An amalgamation into a federation of a number of such public religious societies makes of such federation a public corporation.

Religious societies, which are recognized public corporations, are entitled, on the basis of the civic tax lists, to raise taxes according to the provisions of the respective State laws.

Societies which have as their aim the cultivation of a world conception of life are put on an equal footing with religious societies.

In so far as the carrying out of this provision requires a further regulation, it comes under the respective State laws.

ARTICLE 138.—State contributions to religious societies based on public law, contract or special legal titles are abrogated by State legislation. The fundamental laws pertaining to this come under national laws.

The right of property and other rights of public religious societies and religious assemblies in connection with institutions devoted to purposes of worship, teaching and charity purpose, as well as religious foundations and other forms of property, are guaranteed.

ARTICLE 139.—Sunday and national holidays remain lawfully protected as days of rest and spiritual elevation.

ARTICLE 140.—To the members of the army is given the necessary time for the fulfilling of their religious duties.

ARTICLE 141.—In so far as the need of worship and spiritual advice exists in hospitals, Houses of Correction, or other public institutions, religious societies are permitted to hold religious meetings. No compulsion shall obtain.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS

ARTICLE 142.—Art, science, and their teachings are free. The State accords them

protection and takes part in their promotion.

ARTICLE 143.—The education of the young is to be provided for through public institutions. In their establishment the nation, States, and communities work together.

The instruction of teachers is to be regulated on a uniform basis for the nation according to the generally recognized principles of higher education.

The teachers in the public schools have the rights and duties of State officials.

ARTICLE 144.—The entire school system is under the supervision of the State; it can accord participation therein to the communities. The school supervision will be exercised by technically trained central officials.

ARTICLE 145.—There shall be general compulsory attendance at school. This duty will be principally attended to by the popular school with at least eight years of instruction, and the following continuation schools up to the completion of the eighteenth year. Instruction books and other apparatus in the popular and continuation schools are free.

ARTICLE 146.—The public school system is to be organically constructed. Upon a basic school for every one is erected the intermediate and high school system. For this superstructure the rule for guidance is the multiplicity of life's callings, and the acceptance of a child in a particular school depends upon his qualifications and inclinations, not upon the economic and social position or the religion of his parents.

Nevertheless, within the communities, upon the proposal of those entitled to instruction, there shall be erected popular schools of their faith or view of the universe, in so far as this does not interfere with a regulated conduct of the schools in the sense of Paragraph 1. Details will be laid down in the State legislation, according to the principles of a national law.

For the attendance of those in poor circumstances at the intermediate and higher schools, public means are to be supplied by the nation, States, and communities, with especial assistance to the parents of children regarded as adapted for education in the intermediate and higher schools, until the instruction period is ended.

ARTICLE 147.—Private schools as a substitute for public schools require the approval of the State and are subject to the provincial laws. Approval is to be given if the private schools are not inferior to the public schools in their objects, their equipment, and the scientific competency of their teaching staffs; and when a division of the pupils according to the amount of property possessed by their parents is not demanded. Approval is to be withheld when the economic and legal status of the teachers is not sufficiently guaranteed.

Private popular schools are to be allowed only when, for a minority entitled to instruction, whose desires must be considered ac-

cording to Article 146, Paragraph 2, there exists in a community no public school of a given faith or world conception; or when the educational administration recognizes a particular pedagogical interest. Private preparatory schools are to be abolished. The existing law for private schools that do not serve as substitutes for the public schools remains in force.

ARTICLE 148.—Moral education, civic sentiment, and personal and professional ability in the spirit of popular Germanism and of international reconciliation are to be striven for in all the schools. In giving instruction in public schools care must be taken not to hurt the feelings of those who think differently. Civics and labor instruction are branches of instruction in the schools. Every pupil will receive a copy of the Constitution upon completing his school duties. The system of popular education, inclusive of the popular high schools, is to be promoted by nation, States, and communities.

ARTICLE 149.—Religious instruction is a regular branch of school instruction, except in the case of schools acknowledging no creed, or worldly schools. The imparting of religious instruction will be regulated by school legislation. It will be given in accord with the principles of the religious societies concerned, without prejudice to the State's right of supervision.

The imparting of religious instruction and the using of church forms are left to the desire of the teachers, and the participation of the pupils in religious studies and in church solemnities and acts is left to those who have the right of determining the child's religious education.

The theological Faculties of the colleges are maintained.

ARTICLE 150.—The monuments of art, history, and nature, as well as the landscape, enjoy the protection and care of the State. It is the affair of the nation to prevent the removal of German art possessions to foreign lands.

ECONOMIC LIFE

ARTICLE 151.—The regulation of economic life must correspond to the principles of justice, with the object of assuring to all a life worth living. Within these bounds the economic liberty of the individual is to be assured.

Legal compulsion is admissible only for the safeguarding of threatened rights or in the service of predominant demands of the public good.

The freedom of trade and industry is safeguarded according to the national laws.

ARTICLE 152.—There is freedom of contract in economic relations within the limits of the law. Usury is forbidden. Legal arrangements that are in conflict with decent customs are null and void.

ARTICLE 153.—Property is safeguarded by

the Constitution. Its composition and limits are defined by the laws.

Confiscation can be carried out only for the benefit of the community as a whole and with due process of law. There will be appropriate compensation, as far as a national law may not otherwise prescribe. In the case of dispute as to the amount of the compensation the ordinary courts may be appealed to in so far as national laws do not provide otherwise. Confiscation by the nation from States, communities, and societies organized for the public welfare may be effected only with compensation. Property implies a duty. Its use should at the same time be a service to the general welfare.

ARTICLE 154.—The right of inheritance is safeguarded according to the civil law.

The State's part in the inheritance will be provided for by law.

ARTICLE 155.—The division and use of the land will be checked over by the State in such a way as to prevent its misuse and to promote the object of insuring to every German a healthful dwelling and to all German families, especially those with numerous children, a dwelling and economic homestead corresponding to their needs. War veterans are to be specially considered in the home-stead law to be created.

Real estate, the acquisition of which is necessary to meet housing needs, to encourage settling and bringing of land under cultivation, or to promote agriculture, may be expropriated. Entailments are to be dissolved.

The working and exploitation of the land is a duty of the land owner toward the community. An increase of value of land arising without the applying of labor or capital to the property is to be made to serve the community as a whole.

All mineral treasures and all economically useful forces of nature are under the control of the State. Private rights are to be turned over to the State through legislation.

ARTICLE 156.—The nation may through law, without detriment to compensation, and with a proper application of the regulations covering expropriation, transfer to public ownership private economic enterprises adapted for socialization. The nation may itself take part in the administration of economic undertakings and societies, or transfer such right to States or communities, or insure itself a dominating influence in some other way.

Furthermore, the nation, in case of pressing necessity for the purpose of public business, may combine through law economic enterprises and societies on the basis of self-administration, with the object of insuring the co-operation of all the working sections of the people, of allowing employers and employees to participate in the administration, and of regulating the production, preparation, distribution, use and prices, as well as the import and export of economic goods, according to general economic principles.

The co-operatives of industry and husbandry and their associations, upon their request and with consideration for their composition and peculiarities, may be embodied in the common system of economics.

ARTICLE 157.—Labor power is under the special protection of the nation. The nation will create uniform labor laws.

ARTICLE 158.—Intellectual labor, the rights of the discoverer, the inventor and the artist, enjoy the protection and care of the nation.

The creations of German science, art and technique are to be protected and promoted abroad through international agreement.

ARTICLE 159.—The right of combination for the defense and promotion of labor and economic conditions is guaranteed to everybody and to all professions. All agreements and measures which attempt to limit or impede this liberty are illegal.

ARTICLE 160.—Any one employed as an office employee or a worker has the right to the time off necessary to exercise his civic rights and, so far as it does not materially injure the business, to fill public honorary offices conferred upon him. The law will define how far he may demand compensation.

ARTICLE 161.—For the purpose of conserving health and the ability to work, of protecting motherhood and of guarding against the economic effects of age, debilities and the vicissitudes of life, the nation will create a comprehensive system of insurance, with the authoritative co-operation of the insured.

ARTICLE 162.—The nation favors an international regulation of the legal status of the workers that strives for a general minimum measure of social rights for the whole working class of the world.

ARTICLE 163.—It is the moral duty of every German, without prejudice to his personal liberty, so to use his intellectual and physical powers as is demanded by the welfare of the community.

Every German shall receive the possibility of earning his living through economic labor. In so far as the appropriate opportunity to work cannot be given to him his necessary maintenance will be looked after. Details will be arranged through special national laws.

ARTICLE 164.—The independent middle class in agriculture, industry, and trade is to be favored in legislation and administration, and is to be protected against being overburdened and made victims of extortion.

ARTICLE 165.—The workers and office employees are qualified to take part with equal rights and in co-operation with the employers in the regulation of wage and labor conditions, as well as in the entire economic development of the productive forces. The organizations on both sides and their unions are recognized.

The workers and office employees receive legal representation in the Factory Workers' Councils, as well as in the District Workers' Councils grouped according to economic districts, and in a National Workers' Council, for the purpose of looking after their social and economic interests.

The District Workers' Councils and the National Workers' Council meet together with the representatives of the employers and of other interested circles of people in District Economic Councils and a National Economic Council for the purpose of carrying out the joint economic tasks and for co-operating in the putting into effect of the laws of socialization. The District Economic Councils and the National Economic Council are to be formed so as to provide for the proper representation therein of all the important trade groups according to their economic and social importance.

Social political and economic political drafts of laws of fundamental importance are to be submitted by the National Government to the National Economic Council for its opinion before presentation. The National Economic Council has the right itself to propose such plans of laws. If the National Government does not agree with it, it has the right, nevertheless, to present the proposal to the Reichstag with an exposition of its standpoint. The National Economic Council may have its proposal represented by one of its members before the Reichstag.

The Workers' and Economic Councils may have conferred upon them the powers of control and administration in the fields turned over to them.

The building up of the Workers' and Economic Councils and the defining of their duties, as well as their relations to other social self-administrative bodies, are exclusively matters of the nation.

TRANSITORY AND FINAL REGULATIONS

ARTICLE 166.—Until the establishment of the National Administrative Court the National Court will take its place in forming the Court for Examining Elections.

ARTICLE 167.—The regulations of Article 18, Paragraphs 3 to 6, become effective two years after the announcement that the Constitution has gone into force.

ARTICLE 168.—Until the promulgation of the State law provided for in Article 63, but at the most for only one year, all the Prussian votes in the National Council may be cast by members of the Government.

ARTICLE 169.—The National Government will determine when the regulation laid down in Article 83, Paragraph 1, is to become effective.

ARTICLE 170.—The Postal and Telegraph Administrations of Bavaria and Württemberg will be taken over by the nation not later than April 1, 1921.

If no understanding has been reached over

the terms of their taking over by Oct. 1, 1920, the matter will be decided by the Supreme Court.

The former rights and duties of Bavaria and Württemberg remain in force until the act of taking over. Nevertheless, the postal and telegraph traffic with neighboring foreign countries will be regulated exclusively by the nation.

ARTICLE 171.—The State railroads, waterways, and ocean signal systems are to be taken over by the nation not later than April 1, 1921.

If no understanding has been reached over the terms of their taking over by Oct. 1, 1920, the matter will be decided by the Supreme Court.

ARTICLE 172.—Until the national law regarding the Supreme Court becomes effective its powers will be exercised by a Senate of seven members, four of whom are to be elected from among its members by the Reichstag and three by the National High Court. This Senate will arrange its own methods of procedure.

ARTICLE 173.—Until the enactment of a national law according to Article 138, the existing State contributions to the religious societies based upon law, agreement, or special legal titles will continue.

ARTICLE 174.—Until the enactment of the national law provided for in Article 146, Paragraph 2, the legal status existing will continue. The law will pay special attention to districts of the nation where a system of schools not separated according to faiths legally exists.

ARTICLE 175.—The regulations of Article 109 do not apply to orders and decorations conferred for services in the war years of 1914-1919.

ARTICLE 176.—All public officials and members of the army are to be sworn upon this Constitution. The details will be fixed by an order of the national President.

ARTICLE 177.—Where in the existing laws it is provided that the oath be taken in connection with a religious form, the taking of the oath can be made legal by having the swearer say, leaving out the religious form, "I swear." For the rest the contents of the oath provided for in the laws remains undisturbed.

ARTICLE 178.—The Constitution of the German Empire of April 16, 1871, and the law covering the temporary exercise of the national authority of Feb. 10, 1919, are annulled.

The other laws and regulations of the nation remain in force, in so far as they are not in contradiction with this Constitution. The arrangements contained in the Peace Treaty signed on June 28, 1919, at Versailles, are not affected by the Constitution.

Ordinances of the authorities legally issued on the strength of previously existing laws retain their power until annulled through other ordinances or legislation.

ARTICLE 179.—In so far as reference is made in laws or ordinances to regulations and institutions which are abolished by this Constitution their places will be taken by the corresponding regulations and institutions of this Constitution. In particular the place of the National Assembly will be taken by the Reichstag, that of the Committee of States by the National Council, and the place of national President elected on the strength of the law covering the temporary exercise of the national authority, by the national President elected under the authority of this Constitution.

The power to issue ordinances conferred upon the Committee of States through the former provisions is transferred to the na-

tional Government; the Government in issuing ordinances requires the approval of the National Council as laid down in this Constitution.

ARTICLE 180.—Until the convening of the first Reichstag the National Assembly will function as the Reichstag. Until the installing of the first national President his office will be filled by the national President elected on the strength of the law covering the temporary exercise of the national authority.

ARTICLE 181.—The German people have adopted and decreed this Constitution through its National Assembly. It goes into effect upon the day of its publication.

Weimar, July 31, 1919.

Depositing the Peace Treaty

Solemn Ceremony in Which Premier Clemenceau Placed the Original Document in the French Archives

IN an impressive ceremony, Premier Clemenceau, soon after the signing of peace with Germany, deposited the momentous Treaty of Versailles in the archives of the French Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber was crowded, many persons being unable even to find standing room. M. Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, sat on the ministerial bench, surrounded by his colleagues. Before him lay the thick volume of the Peace Treaty. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the main actors in this historic ceremony had arrived, followed by M. Pichon bearing the treaty. On entering, the French Premier was immediately surrounded by a throng of Deputies seeking to shake his hand. At ten minutes after the hour M. Paul Deschanel, President of the French Chamber, opened the sitting. In a few sentences he proclaimed the act which had been accomplished in the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles, where "Bismarck, forty years before, had consummated his crime."

The Deputies rose three times in approval of his words when he declared that the thoughts of all in that memorable moment went forth toward Alsace and Lorraine, "our dear provinces, which have suffered so much," * * * to "our fallen" * * * and to the soldiers, "the greatest in history."

As President of the Chamber he then announced that "Conformably with the last will of Jules Grosjean, who, on Feb. 28, 1871, brought to the tribune of the National Assembly the protest of the Deputies of Alsace-Lorraine, I deposit in the archives of the Chamber the original text of this immortal document. And in your name I address to his daughter, who has transmitted it to us, the homage of our gratitude."

M. Clemenceau then entered the tribune; he drew a few sheets of paper from his pocket. Meantime the usher had placed the volume of the treaty before him and M. Clemenceau then read the following statement:

I have the honor of placing on the bureau of the Chamber for ratification the treaty which on the 28th of June in Versailles received the signatures of the allied Governments and associates after those of the plenipotentiaries of the German Empire. I add to these the Anglo-French and Franco-American conventions.

It was easy to see that M. Clemenceau was very much moved. He said that he did not wish to anticipate the discussion of the treaty, but that at the "hour when the greatest drama of history was closing, when we are still quivering from the strain of supreme duties magnificently accomplished, the first outburst of our feelings must be

toward French as toward humanitarian hope." He continued as follows:

What unlimited joy it is that this definitive declaration can be made from this tribune! The work of salvation which placed the world in such danger has been accomplished by France and her allies. Only on the condition that we remain conscious of our duty can the old spirit of warlike dominion be forever overcome. The day has come when force and right, which were terribly separated, must be reunited for the peace of the peoples and for work. May humanity rise to live its full life.

These words were greeted with long continued applause by the whole Chamber.

M. Clemenceau went on to say that this peace would be achieved with a will which could never be made to flinch, as the war had been pursued without weakness or theatrical pride, but with the infrangible resolution to carry ever higher that France which was the very frontier of liberty.

"We have given our all," cried M. Clemenceau, with a gesture which thrilled the whole assembly, "and now right is standing again triumphant, and the peace of right is setting out on its course."

The conclusion of the Premier's address was as follows:

And now, let all get to work for the accomplishment of the duties of tomorrow, and of today, above all for the necessary reparations. Social union, no less indispensable in peace than in war, remains the very foundation of the country. On one side there must be concessions in the organization of modern labor. On the other hand, there must be learned the lesson of moderation, of self-government. There must be mutual sacrifices springing from a better comprehension.

The Government must set the example. They must not be asked for any coups de théâtre. A people could not pass suddenly, without any transition period, from the upheavals of a defense to the orderly life for which they all longed.

Rhineland Occupation Terms Modified

Details of High Commission's Powers

AS the result of two formal protests by the German Government against some of the provisions for the administration of the Rhine Provinces to be occupied by allied troops during the fifteen years expected to elapse before Germany shall have made her last indemnity payment, the Paris Council sent a reply apparently intended to be the last word in the controversy, and containing slight modifications of the terms of occupation as printed in the September issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. The answer, as given in the *Berliner Tageblatt* of Aug. 2, reads as follows:

1 and 2. Introductory remarks: The allied and associated Governments have always had the intention so to shape the occupation as to make it the least oppressive possible for the population of the district on the left bank of the Rhine under the proviso that Germany will closely observe the conditions of peace.

3. Articles 3 and 5 of the agreement. The application of German laws: In the agreement the German Government declared its acceptance of the condition providing that the High Commission should have the right

to issue regulations having legal force for the purpose of assuring the support, the security, and the supplying of the needs of the military forces of the allied and associated powers.

It is agreed that, under this reservation, the present and future laws enacted by the German Nation and the Federal States, inclusive of those enacted since the German revolution, are to be effective in the occupied territory. It will be the task of the High Commission to examine these laws in each individual case in order to see to what degree they may be detrimental to the security and needs of the military forces of the allied and associated powers.

4. Exercise of the legislative power of the High Commission: It can be unhesitatingly recognized that, with the above reservation, the population will enjoy the free exercise of its personal and civic rights, religious liberty, freedom of the press, elections and meetings, and that the political, legal, administrative, and economic relations of the occupied districts with unoccupied Germany will not be hampered nor will freedom of traffic between occupied and unoccupied Germany.

Nevertheless, the allied and associated powers cannot undertake the obligation of making the issuing of regulations dependent upon a previous agreement between the High Commission and the representative of Ger-

many. The latter will be able to be heard, if it is a matter falling within his jurisdiction, except in urgent cases.

5. Establishment of a national commission:

(a) The establishment of a civilian national commission, representing the national authority, can be admitted by the allied and associated Governments.

(b) Nevertheless, it must be observed that this body is not provided for in the text of the agreement and that the person named needs the previous and revokable approval of the allied and associated Governments.

(c) The competence of the National Commissioner will only extend to those matters which, under the provisions of the German Constitution, are national affairs.

In fact, the allied and associated Governments cannot accept in the text a provision that the National Commissioner is, under all circumstances, the representative of the States, republics or provinces, because their internal legislation, which is subject to changes and alterations, must be respected.

If, however, the competent authorities of the different Federal States agree to appoint one and the same Commissioner, the allied and associated Governments will raise no objection; nevertheless, the High Commission will always reserve the right to enter into relations with all the local authorities, in so far as matters within their jurisdiction are concerned.

6. Number of the troops of occupation: The allied and associated Governments reserve the right to give information as to the effective strength of the troops that they maintain in the occupied territory.

7. Strength of the police troops: There is nothing in the way of the High Commission taking counsel with the German authorities concerned, but it has the right of regulating the organization of the police troops.

8. The drawing up of the commission's regulations: The High Commission can with profit, except in pressing cases, previously obtain the opinion of the National Commissioner, or of the competent German authorities, but without the existence of any obligation to do so. No such obligation is provided for in the agreement.

9. The conferring of a privileged legal status by the army commanders: It is true that the conditions under which this status is to be conferred can be still more closely described. It is recognized, in principle, that the privilege is not to be granted to German citizens.

On the other hand, the allied and associated Governments, which do not wish to see disturbances brought into the occupied districts, cannot allow the competent German authorities to institute legal actions on account of political or industrial acts occurring during the armistice period, if these acts have not already given the allied and associated Governments occasion for legal measures.

10. Privileges, administration of civilian affairs: The text of the agreement expressly

provides that military persons, or persons accredited by the military commanders, are to be subject exclusively to the military justice of the allied and associated powers, in civil as well as criminal cases.

So far as the private contracts concluded by military persons or their families are concerned, it may be allowed, as demanded in the memorandum, that these affairs be brought before the German courts. The High Commission will, nevertheless, retain the right of countermanding in case of abuse. This observation does not apply in the case provided for in Article 3 (b) of the agreement. All cases having both a criminal and a civil character must be tried by the military courts.

11. Penal law: The German courts will apply the German penal code in the cases falling within their jurisdiction; but, in accord with the principles of international law, the military courts of the Allies and associates can only apply the laws that have been enacted in their native States.

12. Extradition of accused persons: The proposal in the German memorandum is not acceptable. The text of the agreement is exact and logical. It demands that accused persons charged with crimes or offenses against the person or property of the allied and associated military forces must be handed over to the allied and associated authorities, even if the accused persons have sought refuge in unoccupied territory. Besides, it is not a matter of extraditions in a legal sense, as the occupied districts are parts of German territory.

13. Administrative districts and political districts: The memorandum of the German Government is anxious to know if the ordinances of the commission will alter the administrative districts and the political districts for the needs of occupation. The agreement provides for nothing of the kind. It has not been the intention of the associated and allied Governments to enable the commission to alter the political and administrative boundaries.

14. Finances: It is agreed that the civil administration also includes the administration of the finances and that the revenues of the nation and of the Federal States in the occupied districts may be received and administered by the competent German authorities.

15. Right of recall of officials: The German memorandum's request would signify an alteration of the text of the agreement. Nevertheless, it may be understood that the work of recalling officials upon the orders of the High Commission without delay is promised to the National Commissioner, or to the competent German authorities, except in urgent cases. In all circumstances the High Commission reserves the right to recall officials itself in case of necessity.

16. Payment for requisitions: The allied and associated Governments intend to retain the right given to them by Article 6 of the

agreement, but they do not decline to consult with the competent German authorities over a ruling for its application.

17. Quartering of the troops and officials: This is a question of fact that can only be arranged through the examining of concrete cases, and the Allies and associates will carry on this examination in a spirit of reconciliation in order to satisfy the legitimate needs of the public administrations.

18. Tax exemption: It is understood that the tax exemptions cannot be extended to cover national taxes originating through private business or deals and having no connection with the service. On the other hand, it is recognized that the High Allied Commission must institute a method of keeping check on the exercise of the privileges and tax exemptions granted to the troops of occupation and its civilian and military personnel by Article 9.

19. Customs regulations: At the present time the allied and associated Governments do not believe that they ought to make use of the provisions of Article 270; but they expressly reserve for the future their decision as to the seasonableness of the application of this article.

[Paragraph 20 missing from text in Berliner Tageblatt.]

21. Postal and telegraph service: It is possible, as suggested by the German memorandum, to alter the present regulations. This will be effected through an ordinance of the High Commission. The freedom of communication by letters, telegrams, and telephones between the occupied and unoccupied districts will be restored under a general reservation of the rights of the High Commission, or of the consequences of the state of siege, if this should be proclaimed.

22. As the state of siege is a function directly concerning the security of the army, the obligation of consulting with the National Commissioner in all cases, and especially in urgent cases, cannot be assumed. It is a matter of course that the allied and associated Governments, which count upon the loyal co-operation of the German authorities, will not fail to consult them in every case, when the circumstances permit it.

[Paragraph 23 missing.]

24. Ordinances of the different military offices: As a matter of principle and in accord with the request expressed in the German memorandum, it is the intention of the allied and associated authorities to annul the various ordinances issued by the military offices of the occupying forces for the period of the armistice after the treaty of peace shall have become effective; nevertheless, it is the exclusive task of the High Commission to arrange the necessary transitional regulations. The High Commission will announce the abolition or modification of these regulations through an ordinance. This ordinance will be issued as soon as possible after the treaty has gone into effect.

25. Expulsions: The orders forbidding resi-

dence in the occupied territory have been issued for reasons involving the maintenance of public security and for the purpose of making the regulations legally laid down during the armistice by the military authorities of the allied and associated Governments respected. It cannot be admitted that the expelled persons may return to their homes merely because of the fact that the Peace Treaty has gone into effect. Those who wish to return will have to apply to the High Commission, which will examine each individual case in a spirit of reconciliation.

26. Jurisdiction: Reference is made to the observations above to Paragraphs 9, 10, and 11 of the German memorandum.

27. Administrative districts: The agreement provides that the local German administrations, as well as the administrations of the districts and provinces, shall retain their legal competence.

28. Sovereignty of the Federal State Governments: It is absolutely impossible to agree with the proposal contained in this paragraph, i. e., that the expression "under the sovereignty of the Central German Government" be explained to mean "under the sovereignty of the Central German Government and of the Governments of the German Federal States."

Article 3 of the agreement, which forms an annex to the Peace Treaty, leaves no room for a more far-reaching interpretation. Of course the legal division of authority will be respected, but it is impossible for the allied and associated Governments, which have concluded peace with the Central German Government, and which have no intention of meddling with the internal organization of Germany, to sustain by force the organization of States whose possible alterations are provided for by the Constitution itself. So, as has been said above in connection with paragraph 5 regarding the "establishment of a national commission," the allied and associated Governments cannot, without violating international law, embody anything in the text obligating themselves to maintain the internal organization and legislation which the German population might see themselves induced to change.

29. Officials: As is observed in the German memorandum, after the Peace Treaty becomes effective there will be no more agents charged with the supervision of the German authorities in the circles, &c. But the High Commission has the power, in the interest of the population, to maintain permanent representatives, charged with the work of establishing connections between the local German administrations, the local military authorities, and the High Commission itself. Regarding the officials, the German memorandum recognizes the right of the High Commission to recall them. Hence it follows that the High Commission has the option of not agreeing to the appointment of officials whose presence might cause disturbances.

30. Instruction: The public instruction constitutes, as is noted in the German memorandum, a constituent part of the German civic administration and will be guided by German laws. Therefore, the German Government has no occasion to fear that instruction in foreign languages will be introduced by order of the occupying powers.

31. Legislation: This question has been handled above in connection with Paragraph 3 of the German memorandum.

32. Collections: The German Government requests that the exercise of the right of making forced collections (*Beitreibung*) be restricted as much as possible. The allied and associated Governments are fully in accord with the German Government in the opinion that collections are rarely to be made and are to be justified by special circumstances. In this connection the High Commission will be able to listen to all observations made to it, and it will issue a regulation in the spirit of fairness and reconciliation. Nevertheless, it is not possible to accede to the request presented in the German memorandum at the end of this paragraph, i. e., that the collection is only to be made through the National Commissioner.

33. Distribution of troops and quartering: The distribution of the troops and the examination of the questions relating to the quartering of the officers and their families will be made the object of a thorough examination by the commission. The result will be communicated shortly.

All the previous observations are composed under reservation of the rights given to the High Commission, of the possibility of declaring a state of siege, and of the exact carrying out of the terms of the Peace Treaty by Germany.

PASSPORT REGULATIONS

Following a conference of the Inter-allied Commissioners at Wiesbaden, definite regulations for governing the movement of Germans and others between occupied and unoccupied Germany were made public in Berlin. As found in the *Koelnische Zeitung* of Aug. 20, these regulations are as follows:

1. Germans, or other former enemies, and neutrals living in unoccupied Germany, will be permitted to enter the occupied territory upon presentation of a German passport provided with a visé by the allied military authorities of the Army of Occupation.

2. Citizens of the allied powers may enter occupied Germany with a permit issued by the military authorities of the Allies at the point where they enter, and, with a visé, by the German civil authorities.

3. Germans, or other foreign enemies, and neutrals who wish to go from occupied into unoccupied Germany need nothing but a permit from the military authorities of the Army of Occupation.

4. Passport bureaus are to be established on both sides of the frontier. They will be under the military control of the allied army in occupied Germany and under civilian control in the unoccupied districts. It is planned to set up such bureaus in the following cities: In occupied Germany at Neuss in the Belgian zone, at Cologne in the British zone, at Coblenz in the American zone, and at Ludwigshafen, Mayen and Landau in the French zone; in unoccupied Germany at Düsseldorf for the Belgian and British zones; at Limburg for the American zone, and at Karlsruhe, Frankfurt and Mannheim for the French zone.

5. For the purpose of delivering passports an automobile service will be established between the corresponding bureaus in occupied and unoccupied Germany.

6. Members of the German army in active service must wear civilian clothing when entering occupied Germany.

7. Personal permits good for three months will be issued to deputies from the occupied districts. Temporary special permits are to be issued to German civilian officials who enter occupied Germany in the exercise of their functions. Through the instrumentality of the Armistice Commission steps will be taken at once to announce the date for the establishment of the civilian pass bureaus in unoccupied Germany.



German Property in the Allied Countries

Berlin to Reimburse Its Own Nationals

ACCORDING to the terms of the Peace Treaty, the method of dealing with property belonging to German nationals in allied countries and debts incurred between allied and German nationals was defined as follows:

Two Clearing Houses are to be established in either country for the settlement of debts, to be known respectively as the Creditor Clearing House and the Debtor Clearing House, provided that within one month after the deposit of ratification of the treaty Great Britain (or another allied country) give Germany notice of its intention to adopt this scheme.

The Creditor Clearing House will ascertain and give notice to the Debtor Clearing House of all debts claimed by the respective nationals, and in common with this supplementary organization reach an agreement on the exact amount due. Dispute is to be settled by (a) arbitration, (b) the decision of a mixed tribunal, composed of a representative of each Government and a third member selected by agreement who is to act as President; in case of disagreement this third member is to be selected by the President of the Swiss Confederation; (c) at the instance of the Creditor Clearing Office the dispute may be referred to the courts of the place of domicile of the debtor; thus, if the British Creditor Office claims a sum as being due from a German national in the German Debtor Clearing Office, the amount due will be determined by the German courts. Conversely, if the German Creditor Clearing Office claims on behalf of a German national a sum due from an allied national through the allied Debtor Clearing Office, then the question of the amount due will be determined by the allied courts. Where the respective nationals were solvent at the date when the debts were incurred, the Governments of the allied national and Germany respectively undertake to see that such debts are duly paid and

they are vested with the right of obtaining the amount due from their respective nationals.

Where this scheme is adopted there is no other method by which creditors can obtain payment of their debts except through the Clearing Office scheme. Each month a balance is to be struck, and where the balance is in favor of the allied national the Germans must pay over through their Clearing Office the amount shown due to such creditors. Where, however, the balance is shown due to German nationals, then the amount of such balance is to be retained by the allied Clearing Office until complete payment has been effected of the sums due to that country and its nationals on account of the war.

Germany undertakes to compensate its nationals in respect of the sale or retention of their property rights or interest in allied States, and in that way the doctrine of the inviolability of private property is preserved.

The effect of the treaty is to appropriate toward the indemnification of allied subjects all property rights and interest and all debts owing to Germans by allied subjects, and that in so far as there is any balance over, such balance will be applied in satisfying pro tanto the indebtedness of Germany to the respective allied country on account of claims of its nationals for reparation.

These principles will be applied through all British colonies and throughout the territories of every allied and associated power. German nationals will, as a consequence, be stripped of all their wealth, whether in the shape of property rights or interests, or of debts due to them, and their only remedy will be against their Government, from whom they can claim compensation for property rights and interests, and probably also for debts. Such property can only be restored to its rightful owners by the German Government taxing its subjects generally—that is to say, by making all

its subjects contribute on an equitable basis to the loss sustained by the particular subjects whose property has been appropriated by the Allies.

Valuable privileges are also conferred on the Allies in connection with trade marks and secret processes. Where such were used in connection with a subsidiary company operating in an allied

country, although the product of German brains, the subsidiary company, which will have expelled all German interests, is to have the exclusive use of such trade marks and processes in all countries other than Germany itself, and the right of Germany to make use of such inventions outside its own territory is expressly prohibited.

Stages of the German Collapse

History of the Peace Offer

THE German White Book published at Weimar on July 31, 1919, contains all official documents relating to the period from Aug. 13 to Nov. 11, 1918, in so far as they refer to the peace offer of Oct. 3 and the armistice agreement of Nov. 11. The German Government says in the preface that it has decided on the publication of all the material because the people wanted to know the truth.

The council of Aug. 14, under the Presidency of the Kaiser, was the beginning of the peace action. Whereas in the middle of July General Ludendorff had maintained that the enemy would be definitely and decisively defeated in the offensive then proceeding, it was now assumed to be impossible to win the war militarily. But the Kaiser decided to await an opportune moment to try to come to an understanding with the enemy through neutral mediation, which moment, in the Chancellor's words, would be the moment of the next German success in the west.

On Sept. 3 Count Hertling, in the Prussian Cabinet, rejected the idea of an immediate peace offer, and when Austria, notwithstanding Germany's opposition, issued a direct appeal to the belligerents, Germany decided still to adhere to neutral mediation, which, however, failed in its purpose.

Then came Bulgaria's collapse, and on Sept. 21 the idea of a direct appeal to America appears in the documents for the first time. A few days later the Foreign Office was ordered to communi-

cate this proposal to Turkey, and if Turkey agreed the new Government which was being formed in Germany was to dispatch a peace offer to President Wilson, "so that the proposal would emanate from a new Government."

Admiral von Hintze's communication adds: The peace action then entered upon a new phase. Changing its attitude, the Supreme Army Command requested the urgent dispatch of the peace offer owing to the acute danger of the military situation. Quite a number of telegrams and telephone messages from Main Army Headquarters reached Berlin on Oct. 1 to the effect that a breakthrough might occur at any moment. In the evening of the same day General Ludendorff declared that the army could not wait another forty-eight hours. Prince Max of Baden, however, offered energetic objections to such peace action being taken at a moment of military distress, and he records this in his report of Oct. 11, in which he remarks incidentally, "The Chancellorship was offered to me on the evening of Oct. 3 along with a request that I should immediately ask President Wilson for his peace mediation."

On the evening of Oct. 2 General Ludendorff telephoned to Berlin the draft of a note to America, which in its main features accorded with the note subsequently dispatched. On Oct. 3 Prince Max asked Main Army Headquarters whether they were aware that a peace action under pressure of military distress involved the loss of the

German colonies and German territory, especially Alsace-Lorraine and parts of Poland. Marshal von Hindenburg replied that the Army Command insisted on its demand for an immediate offer of peace. Under this pressure, the White Book says, the note to America was dispatched on the night of Oct. 3. On Oct. 6 Prince Max declared that he considered the dispatch of the note premature, and added, "We must now find out how things are at the front."

The idea of Prince Max and the Secretaries of State obviously was that General Ludendorff, owing to his nervous breakdown, had come to an exaggerated conclusion as regards the situation at the front. The result was a conflict with the Supreme Army Command which ran right through all the negotiations till Oct. 26. Dr. Rathenau's plan of a *levée en masse* was discussed, but rejected.

Following President Wilson's reply on Oct. 5, General Ludendorff at a conference held on Oct. 9 represented that Germany was not obliged to accept all the demands, but he gave only vague replies to the question of how long the army could hold out. On President Wilson's second reply, on Oct. 15, opposition broke forth on all sides in the army. The Supreme Command wanted to break off the peace attempts.

The rejection of the armistice, the White Book adds, was impossible. Since the Allies had agreed to President Wilson's Fourteen Points as the basis of peace, the German people considered the war as terminated. Wherever an attempt to delay the conclusion of the armistice was suspected the troops rose up against it. All differences with the Supreme Army Command were dropped. On Nov. 11 the armistice came into force.

COUNT CZERNIN'S PREMONITIONS

The Austro-Hungarian Premier, Count Czernin, had forecast the coming collapse of the Central Powers many months before Ludendorff and the German military leaders had admitted its possibility. Among the numerous revelations published in the German press in August, 1919, was a confidential report made by Count Czernin to Emperor Charles on April 12, 1917, in which he said:

It is perfectly clear that our military strength is approaching its end. * * * I need only point to the decline in raw material for the production of munitions, to the completely exhausted human material, and, above all, to the dull despair, mainly due to underfeeding, that has overpowered all classes of people and renders it impossible for them to bear the sufferings of war much longer.

Although I hope that we shall succeed in holding out during the next few months and pursue a successful defensive, I am perfectly clear that another Winter campaign is entirely out of the question—in other words, that an end must be made at all costs in the late Summer or in the Autumn. It is certainly most important that peace negotiations should begin at a moment when our fading strength has not become apparent to the enemy. * * *

Painful as it is to me, I cannot ignore the theme that gives force to my entire argument. It is the revolutionary danger that is rising on the horizon of all Europe. * * * The astonishing ease with which the most powerful monarchy has just been overthrown may help to produce serious reflection. Let no one reply that things are different in Germany or Austria-Hungary. Let no one reply that the firm roots of the monarchical idea in Berlin or Vienna exclude such an event. This war has begun a new era in the history of the world; * * * the world is not the same as it was three years ago. The statesman who is not blind or deaf must surely realize the dull anger that rages among the broad masses. * * *



Hungary in the Grip of Rumania

Conflict Between the Peace Conference and the Rumanian Army of Occupation—Fall of Archduke Joseph

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 15, 1919]

THE disputed question as to who was responsible for the setting up of the Government of Archduke Joseph in Budapest was clarified to some extent by an official British statement issued in Paris on Aug. 22, which declared not only that the Archduke, on exposing his plan of effecting a coup d'état to the British military representative, General Gordon, received no sanction of this project, but that General Gordon and Colonel Causey, the American representative, went to the Rumanian commander, General Holban, and obtained from him a guarantee that the Peidl Cabinet would be protected. The inference from the ensuing forcible expulsion of this Cabinet—that the Austrian Archduke effected his coup d'état with the approval of the Rumanian Army—was confirmed by statements made by Herbert Hoover on his return to Paris from Budapest, in which he categorically charged that the arrest of the Peidl Cabinet while in session was supported by Rumanian guns trained on the windows of the Ministry in Parliament Square.

Soon after the establishment of the Archduke's dictatorship it was reported from Budapest that 7,000 men and women, including former Ministers Garbai and Janosek, had been arrested as a result of anti-Bolshevist raids made by the Rumanians, assisted by the new Hungarian police force. Many aristocrats personally aided in ferreting out the Bolsheviki. The reciprocal exchange between Rumania and Hungary of all hostages up to the age of 14 recommended by the Swiss Red Cross was agreed upon. Austria, in reply to a request for extradition of refugee Hungarian Communists, had declared that these men were being carefully watched, and that extradition was not necessary. The body of Tibor Szamuely, a member of the

former governing triumvirate in Budapest, had been exhumed at the frontier, and the head sent to the capital to determine whether Szamuely had been murdered or had committed suicide. The President of the Interallied Danube Commission had arrived to organize transportation on the Danube and to free the river of mines laid by the Government of Bela Kun. Several British monitors and two patrol boats arrived on Aug. 13 to guard Danube shipping, and their crews received a joyful welcome from the Hungarian populace.

A "DILEMMA" CABINET

The new Cabinet appointed by Archduke Joseph on Aug. 16 included Stephen Friedrich as Premier, Martin Lovassy as Foreign Minister, and Baron Sigismund Perenyi as Minister of the Interior. Three portfolios were reserved for Socialists; the latter, however, headed by Paul Garami, announced that they would refuse to enter the Government of Herr Friedrich unless Archduke Joseph abandoned the regency. The latter's attitude was voiced by Herr Friedrich on announcing the formation of the new Cabinet in the following words: "Archduke Joseph makes no promises now, as his withdrawal would lead to civil war."

Vienna dispatches to Berlin newspapers on Aug. 16 characterized the new Government as a "dilemma makeshift." In Paris on the same date there was not the slightest intimation that the Supreme Council would reply to the Archduke's message announcing that he was head of the new Hungarian Government, and hope was semi-officially expressed that the Archduke's Government would fall of its own weakness. Efforts made by Austrian dignitaries to induce the former Austrian Emperor to take a more active part in Austrian affairs had failed, but the publication of a letter purporting to

have been written by Charles to the Archduke, deputing the latter to hold power in Hungary pending the former's return, had made the position of the Archduke more precarious.

MR. HOOVER TAKES A HAND

The last of the families housed in the Archducal palace on Castle Hill by the Communists moved out on Aug. 16. In a desk in the palace the Archduke found 50,000,000 crowns abandoned by the Communists in their hurried flight from Budapest. At this date the Archduke agreed to resign as temporary dictator because of the Socialists' objection to him, but consented to remain as Governor of Hungary temporarily under pressure of certain peasant and reactionary leaders. The Rumanians had begun to co-operate with the Hungarians to re-establish transportation facilities, in order that Budapest might be adequately fed. The food situation showed some improvement. The arbitrary actions of the Rumanian commanders occupying Budapest, however, especially in the matter of requisitioning food and other supplies, continued, and were bitterly denounced by Herbert Hoover on his return to Paris on Aug. 21.

Mr. Hoover stated both to the Supreme Council and to American correspondents that decisive diplomatic action should be taken at once to displace Archduke Joseph as head of the Hungarian Government, and to give Hungary a chance to establish a popular Government. The new countries of Central Europe, he declared, were being terrorized by the tolerance shown toward the setting up of a Hapsburg Government in Hungary. He intimated that the Archduke's Government could be forced to resign within five days by the taking of a firm stand. The Rumanians, he declared, were still requisitioning Hungarian food. On Aug. 21 the Rumanians, under the eyes of American officers, had seized eight truckloads of medical supplies and food destined for the children's hospitals of Budapest, in defiance of the warnings of the Supreme Council, necessitating the performance of operations without anasthetics; the cutting off of milk supplies had caused the death of eighteen babies

in a single day. Filled with wrath over this situation, Mr. Hoover called for immediate and decisive action.

ALLIES FORCE RESIGNATION

Partly as a consequence of the convinced and aggressive attitude of Mr. Hoover and of the revelations made by him, the Supreme Council drew up and dispatched an ultimatum to Archduke Joseph, demanding that he resign. This ultimatum was delivered by the allied Military Mission in Budapest on Aug. 20, together with a letter announcing that the mission would give the Archduke two hours to take this action. Otherwise, he was notified, the mission would publish the council's telegram broadcast. At 8 o'clock Saturday night, Aug. 20, Premier Friedrich notified the mission that Archduke Joseph and the other members of the Government under him had resigned.

Premier Friedrich, after receiving a request from the mission to manage affairs until a new Cabinet could be formed, declared that a new Ministry would be formed within three days, and that three seats in the new Government would be given to Socialists. Premier Friedrich then bade farewell to Archduke Joseph, thanking him for the services he had rendered. Deeply moved, the Archduke replied that his activities deserved no thanks; he was proud that he could be of some help to his beloved country. He retired, he said, with a serene conscience and the conviction that he had done his duty to his country.

The Allies had thus triumphed in the matter of the reactionary Government of the Hungarian Archduke. But the vexed question of the Rumanian occupation still remained to perplex the council. On Aug. 23 the Supreme Council approved the note drafted by the Reparations Committee, warning the Rumanian Government that retaliatory action would be taken if the Rumanian army in Budapest continued to make requisitions. The note was signed by Premier Clemenceau and forwarded to Bucharest. Referring to reliable information that large supplies of foodstuffs, farming machinery and other materials were being sent into Rumania, the note

stated that all goods taken in Hungary would be deducted from the indemnity accruing to Rumania.

Premier Clemenceau on Aug. 29 moved that a peremptory order be dispatched to the Rumanian Government forbidding it to continue the removal of material from Hungary. The Italian Foreign Minister, Tittoni, however, reminded the conference that its previous message to the Rumanians had only reached Bucharest the day before, and that the Rumanian Government had had no time to examine and reply to it. Further action, consequently, was held in abeyance.

FRIEDRICH CABINET RESIGNS

Meanwhile intimations were received that considerable hostility to the temporary power of Premier Friedrich had developed in Budapest, on the ground that he was more reactionary than the Archduke, and that a new Cabinet had been formed in opposition, headed by Franz Heinrich, a wholesale hardware dealer and business man of Budapest. Friedrich showed an obstinate determination to retain power, but the opposition pressure increased, and on Sept. 1 the Government of Herr Friedrich resigned en bloc. It was stated at this time that it would be succeeded by the Ministry formed by Heinrich, which included Jules Peidl, the former Premier; Paul Garami, Minister of Justice in the Peidl Cabinet; Karl Payer, former Minister of Home Affairs; Martin Lovassy, Foreign Minister in the first Friedrich Cabinet, and Stephen Szabo, Minister of Small Farmers in the existing Friedrich Ministry.

Certain conditions were attached to the resignation of the Friedrich Cabinet. The Entente, it was declared, must recognize and negotiate with the new Government as representing the constituted authority of Hungary, and permit it to organize a new army and police force. It was likewise stipulated that the Rumanians should gradually leave the country, and should discontinue, meanwhile, such acts as disarming Hungarian officers and requisitioning supplies.

Ten days after the dispatch of the allied note to the Rumanians demanding

that such requisitions cease, the lootings complained of were still continuing, and all the notes and radio-telegrams sent by the Supreme Council had been utterly ignored. Time limits, conceded because of the report that telegraph wires had been blown down, and that the difficulties of communication were admittedly great, had passed all reasonable bounds. The council was also disturbed by reports of a possibility that Rumania, defying and ignoring the council, might seek to conclude a separate peace with Hungary. On Sept. 3, in view of these and other considerations, the Supreme Council decided to send an ultimatum to the Rumanian Government regarding its acts in Hungary. The envoy chosen to bring the message to Bucharest was Sir George R. Clerk of the British Foreign Office. Couched in firm but cordial language, the allied note recalled to the Rumanian Cabinet the engagements it had entered into, and set forth the necessity of their being kept. The text of the communication was not officially given out. On his departure from Paris on Sept. 7 this envoy bore with him seventy-five radiograms which had been sent from Paris by the council, but which the Rumanian Government declared had never been received.

RUMANIAN PROBLEM ACUTE

On Sept. 5, however, J. J. C. Bratiano, Rumanian Premier, advised Nicholas Misu, Rumanian representative in Paris, of the receipt of the latter's dispatch advising him that the Supreme Council had prohibited shipment of arms and war material from Hungary to Rumania. M. Bratiano's telegram declared that notes sent to Bucharest by the Supreme Council had not been received, and asked M. Misu especially to call the attention of the Supreme Council to "the dangerous and pernicious character of the policy it has adopted toward Rumania." The telegram continued as follows:

The Rumanian Government is absolutely convinced that in destroying Bolshevism in Hungary it has rendered eminent service to the allied cause. As a consequence of the conditions imposed upon Rumania, without taking account of her sacrifices of men and materials, the Rumanian Government may be obliged to consider the

advantages of withdrawing her troops across the Dvina, in Southern Russia, and declining all responsibility for the chaos to which that part of Europe may be reduced by the dissensions of the Bolsheviks, Royalists, and Reactionaries.

GOODS SEIZED BY RUMANIANS

Later news from Budapest stated that the Szolnok Bridge across the Tisza had been repaired, and that 6,000 Hungarian freight cars laden with material seized by the Rumanians had already crossed this bridge and were en route to Rumania. General Mardaresco, commanding the Rumanian troops occupying Budapest, was reported to have received orders to evacuate the Hungarian capital and to withdraw behind the Tisza River. It was stated at this time that most of the Rumanian troops which had been occupying Hungary would be rushed to the Banat of Temesvar, in which region hos-

tilities between the Serbs and Rumanians were imminent. The British Admiral Trowbridge, meanwhile, with ships at Budapest, was prepared if necessary to take naval action against the Rumanians.

The Rumanian Bureau at Berne stated on Sept. 6 that the Rumanian troops, after their entry into Budapest, discovered 270 bodies of victims of the Communists under the Parliament Building. Among champagne bottles in a factory sixty more bodies were discovered, while in a Catholic monastery eighty priests were found who had been imprisoned and starved to death. The worst case of Bolshevik brutality, said this report, was that of a Magyar priest and orator named Hoch, who was found crucified before his church. All these crimes were committed on written orders of the notorious Tibor Szamuely.

Poland and the Silesian Conflict

Germans and Poles at War in Disputed Province

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 15, 1919]

THE outstanding feature of the events in Poland during the month was the armed clash between the Germans and the Poles in Upper Silesia, which began on Aug. 18 and continued into September. In the Silesian district, whose essential industry is coal mining and where the mine-owning class is made up almost wholly of Germans, the Polish element representing the miners, a lockout in a single mine precipitated a general mining strike which had been brewing for some months. The workers in other mines were at once called out, and numerous armed conflicts occurred between the Germans and Poles, intensified by mutual hatred, due to the possibilities of the coming plebiscite decreed by the Treaty of Versailles.

The German method of repression, according to dispatches, was ruthless; many Poles were arrested and executed, others badly beaten; the wounded were allowed to die in preference to calling in doctors, who, by examination, would

learn of what had occurred; wives and families of Polish "insurrectionists" who had fled across the frontier were deported in gangs. Meanwhile some 100,000 Polish nationals massed at the frontier could with difficulty be restrained from crossing the boundary line and going, arms in hand, to the aid of their mistreated compatriots in Silesia.

To complicate the situation, the Polish delegates negotiating with the Germans in Berlin over the boundaries of the disputed territory broke off all discussions quite unexpectedly, on the ground of a state of civil war in Silesia. The next day, however, (Aug. 21,) the following resolutions were adopted at a conference of the German and Polish Commissioners attended by Herr Noske, Minister of Defense, and the French representative General Dupont:

1. The Germans will refrain from further executions.
2. The interallied mission shall start for Upper Silesia on Aug. 22.
3. The Polish mission now in Berlin will go to Warsaw and remain there un-

til the interallied mission has made a report on the situation in Upper Silesia.

ALLIED COMMISSION DISPATCHED

On the same date the Allied Council, alarmed by the ominous trend of events in Silesia, one of the great coaling purveyors of Central Europe, and by the possibility that the Central European railway systems would be tied up because of lack of coal, decided to send the Interallied Commission referred to in the resolution cited above, with members from at least four powers, to study and control the dangerous situation in Silesia pending the taking of the popular vote. The possibility that each of the main allied powers might send troops to maintain order in the disaffected province until after the plebiscite was seriously considered.

On Aug. 25 Germany officially declined such intervention until the expiration of the fifteen days following the plebiscite prescribed by the terms of the Peace Treaty. Allied occupation, however, was foreshadowed by General Dupont, representing France, on Sept. 9. Protest was made in the United States Senate on Aug. 27 against American participation in such a policing project. Fighting at this time was still continuing in Silesia. In food riots that occurred on Sept. 10 some ten persons were killed by machine guns turned by the German authorities on the protesting populace.

The dispute between Poland and Czechoslovakia over possession of the Teschen coal mine district, a quarrel that had long vexed the Peace Conference, and which the Czechs and Poles seemed to be unable to settle for themselves, despite negotiations lasting through many months, was brought one step nearer solution by the agreement reached in Paris on Sept. 11 between the Polish and Czechoslovak delegates to refer the disputed territory to a plebiscite. This decision was taken to mean in Paris that the district would go to Poland, inasmuch as the majority of the people in this region are Polish.

Food conditions in Poland continued to be deplorable. The country was overrun with homeless refugees, moving about in freight cars and subsisting on

charity. The city of Minsk was captured from the Bolsheviks early in August, and was thus saved from starvation, as the Bolsheviks had been about to requisition the crops of that region. Herbert Hoover ended his investigations in Warsaw on Aug. 14. On that date men and women representing the Socialist Party in Poland, accompanied by the Minister of Labor, called upon Mr. Hoover and presented him with a memorial expressing Poland's gratitude to America for her aid in sending food and supplies. Before his departure Mr. Hoover reviewed a parade of 5,000 Polish children, representative of the million fed by the American Relief Administration.

MR. HOOVER ON POLAND

The whole situation in Poland was graphically described by Mr. Hoover when he returned to the United States on Sept. 13. Urging the necessity of immediate ratification of the Peace Treaty, he said:

Consider one single instance out of the eighteen countries that could be cited in Europe—the instance of Poland. Here is a Government, spread over 35,000,000 people, now only six months old, a country devastated by famine and destruction. A third of their land is out of cultivation because their agricultural implements have been destroyed. Their people are cold and underclad.

These people have been under repression for a century to the extent that there is scarcely a living Pole with experience in government. Yet these people have put down Bolshevism. They have restored order. They have established all the normal functions of democratic government. They have an organized and disciplined army.

We have taken the lead in all the world in demanding the restoration of the independence of Poland and we have some moral responsibility in this matter. What do we find this new Government struggling against? First, they are holding a line 1,500 miles long against the Russian Bolsheviks. In this service they are the outposts of civilization. It is a service they must perform for the rest of the world.

They have even greater burdens. The German Army is gradually pulling itself together in discipline and reorganization. It has certainly an effective body of 400,000 men under arms with large equipment. It has a large number of troops massed in Silesia. These troops are per-

secuting the Poles to influence the conditions under which the plebiscite is to be taken that will determine whether their territory goes to Poland. Nothing can be done until peace is complete. * * * When I left Europe the Germans were busy hauling the entire harvest out of this section into Germany, and there is no possibility of intervention until peace.

REHABILITATION MARKING TIME

The boundary lines between Poland and Czechoslovakia and Poland and Lithuania are not to be determined until after peace is ratified. There is a good deal of friction along these lines and this has demoralized coal production in that area until railway services are being suspended for lack of fuel.

Again, the Peace Treaty calls for the division of the railway rolling stock and the river craft in Europe. This cannot take place until after the ratification. In the meantime, every State is holding its material with the hope of keeping it. The result is that traffic between States is fearfully impeded.

Again, until peace, Poland has no outlet to the sea except through German territory, and the Germans do not facilitate traffic. The treaty provides that Danzig is to become a free port under the League of Nations. The Germans are refusing to feed Danzig because they do not wish to exhaust their foodstuffs on a city that will become non-German. The only way Danzig is being fed is by draining the slender food resources of Poland.

With all these pressures, it is impossible for Poland to arrange foreign loans. She is unable to provide raw material; her textile mills are idle and her people are in rags. There can be no hope of rehabilitating economic life and of assuring the political independence or stability of these people until peace is completed. This is typical of fifteen other States in Europe. The whole economic and political life is in a state of suspension that in many particulars is even more disastrous than war.

Charges that the Germans, in their evacuation of Lithuania, were sacking the country, stripping the towns, houses, farms, removing metal door knobs, window glass, furniture, bedding, beds, horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, knives, forks, machinery, sawed lumber, motors, wires, fruits, grains, and that they were even desecrating the coffins of the dead near Kovno, were made by Thomas Nareuchevitch, a well-known engineer and member of the Lithuanian delegation to the Peace

Conference, who returned from a tour of Lithuania on Aug. 19.

The Polish Diet sitting in Warsaw on Aug. 5 voted unanimously the breaking up of all landed estates exceeding from 750 to 1,000 acres of land.

Under the agreement concluded between the Petlura Government of Ukraine and Poland, according to a Moscow wireless of Aug. 29, the former renounced all claims to Eastern Galicia, and Poland undertook not to enter territory occupied by the Petlura troops: both Governments were to combine military operations against the Bolsheviki.

An official announcement was made by the Polish Consulate in New York on Aug. 29 to the effect that Prince Casimir Lubomirski, who was at the head of the State Council in Poland during the German régime, was on his way to Washington with a legation to take up his duties as Polish Ambassador to the United States. In the official party was Francis Pulaski, a grandson of General Pulaski of American Revolutionary fame, who is to set as First Secretary for the legation.

Paderewski, who stands as the symbol of all that Poland has fought for, will be the commanding figure in the monument which the natives of Poland in this country are to erect in Warsaw to commemorate the rebirth of the Polish Nation. Gutzon Borglum, the sculptor, is now working on the sketches. The figures for the monument will be taken from life and will include those prominent here and abroad in obtaining Poland's freedom. Mr. Borglum said:

The statue is to embody all the heroism and ideals of Paderewski, the truly great figure of the great war, and it is to be made the commanding object of the new Warsaw. All the other figures, important as they may be, will give place to this towering personality, whose impulse has been the cleanest in the world.

Paderewski is the one man of the present time who has not been governed by the military class, the capitalist, or anything sordid. Today he stands triumphant—the symbol of the practical accomplishment of ideals. He is as near the Utopian figure as you can get and stands unswervingly for principle and justice. * * * During the Winter I will go to Warsaw to complete the plans for the monument.

Russia's Struggle With Bolshevism

Withdrawal of British Forces From Archangel and Increasing Gains by the Soviet Government

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 15, 1919]

THE fluctuation in the struggle of anti-Bolshevist Russia against the Soviet Government continued throughout August and September, with a general trend in favor of the Reds. A new Government was formed at Reval on Aug. 10, at which General Marsh, on behalf of the allied and associated powers, convened a meeting of Russian political notabilities of all parties, pointing out that the position of the Russian Army was critical, and that it was essential that the Russians should form a democratic Government capable of undertaking the administration of the northwestern provinces when freed, and restoring general confidence in the democratic intentions of the Russian leaders. He especially recommended recognition of the independence of Esthonia, as without that recognition the Esthonians refused to move on Petrograd.

The outcome of this meeting was that a new northwest Government was organized, including Pskov, Novgorod, and Petrograd Provinces, under General Judenitch and Premier Lianozov. The new Government at once began to print 350,000,000 rubles in banknotes bearing the signature of General Judenitch to replace interim notes. Large quantities of munitions and supplies were sent to Reval by the British Government; British warships were active in the Baltic, and a powerful British fleet was reported on its way, foreshadowing a coming offensive on Petrograd in combination with the Russian and Esthonian Armies.

In the south, meanwhile, the victories of Denikin and Petlura on the west continued; through Denikin's loss of Kamyshin, however, the possibility of his linking forces with Kolchak's western army was destroyed, and the Bolshevik advance into Siberia continued. Reports

that Kolchak had been ousted from Omsk proved false, but on Sept. 12 a Bolshevik wireless announced the capture of 45,000 of Kolchak's men, practically the whole of his southern army in the region of Aktiubinsk.

Meanwhile Ambassador Roland S. Morris, after a thorough investigation of the conditions prevailing under the Kolchak régime, reported favorably on recognition and aid by the United States, and a large loan was being negotiated in London. An interview given by Lenin to a representative of The Associated Press depicted life in Soviet Russia in roseate colors, but reports brought by Norwegian and American investigators developed a very different picture. A war council held in Stockholm by representatives of the new anti-Bolshevistic North Russian Government was joined by the Grand Duke Nicholas, former Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies of the Czar against the Germans, who, after two years' disappearance, had returned as from the dead.

THE NORTHERN FRONT

The North Russian allied army won brilliant successes under General Ironsides on Aug. 5 at Lake Onega. The first news from the Archangel front after Aug. 11, when the municipality of Archangel and the Zemstvos of Archangel Province issued an earnest appeal to the allied nations not to withdraw their troops, came in the form of an official dispatch to the British War Office from General Ironsides, who announced the recapture by Russian and Australian troops of the town of Emptsa, south of Obozerskaya, on the Archangel-Volga front, in which ten guns and 500 prisoners were taken.

On the Petrograd and western front an advance on Petrograd by Russian vol-

unteer forces under General Judenitch, supported by Esthonians, was officially announced on Aug. 15. The Bolsheviki suffered some reverses along the south coast of the Gulf of Finland, and were driven back to the Luga River. Several battalions of Soviet troops were annihilated, and large quantities of supplies captured. Other local engagements of minor importance occurred in this region and east of Pskov.

Naval engagements in the Gulf of Finland on Aug. 18 resulted in the sinking of the Bolshevik battle cruiser *Petrovavlovsk* and a Bolshevik destroyer by British naval forces. This naval battle was connected with the offensive by General Judenitch referred to above, and coincided with the arrival at Reval, where the new Government for Northwest Russia was being formed, of a large number of British tanks and quantities of munitions. Following the defeat of the Red squadron and the sinking of the Bolshevik submarine depot ship *Viatka*, the British warships bombarded Kronstadt, the naval port of Petrograd. The Bolshevik battle cruisers were sunk by coastal motor boats, the smallest and speediest units in the British Navy. The Bolsheviki still possessed three dreadnoughts and other craft in the Baltic. Another bombardment of Kronstadt occurred on Aug. 27. On Aug. 30 the British destroyer *Victoria* was torpedoed and sunk. A large British squadron passed Königsberg, East Prussia, bound eastward in the direction of Libau, Riga, and the Gulf of Finland on Aug. 31. On Sept. 3 the British destroyer *S-19* struck a Russian mine and sank. The Captain and 90 men were saved.

BOLSHEVIKI CAPTURE PSKOV

Pskov, the most important city on the Baltic front, was captured by the Bolsheviki on Aug. 27, after several days of heavy bombardment. The Russian White Guard was pushed back 15 versts. The combined Russian and Esthonian troops showed signs of demoralization, the soldiers declaring that their officers were betraying them to the Bolsheviki. A few days previously Colonel Stojakin, Chief of Staff to General Belakhovitch

at Pskov, was found guilty by court-martial of accepting a bribe of 1,000,000 rubles from the Bolsheviki to turn over a part of his line to the Reds. Other officers had deserted to the Bolsheviki. Official reports by the staff of both the Russian and Esthonian armies charged the Bolsheviki with atrocities in the fighting before Pskov. The fall of Pskov was said to have been due to the lack of harmony in the anti-Bolshevist troops, as well as to German intrigues. Peace negotiations between the Esthonian and Bolshevik Governments began in Pskov on Sept. 10. The Bolshevik envoys at Reval had offered to recognize Esthonian independence under certain conditions.

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL

The British troops in North Russia were being gradually withdrawn during the first half of September, and it was conceded that the experiment in that region had proved a failure. Major Gen. Sir Frederick B. Maurice, a London military expert, summed up the case in these words on Sept. 11:

The prime object of the Archangel adventure was to form a nucleus round which the anti-Bolshevist elements in North Russia would rally. It is well known that the British had in the Spring of this year an ambitious program and that it was hoped to organize an army largely composed of Russian troops, which would be able to advance toward Petrograd from the north along and to the east of the Vologda Railway, effect a junction with Kolchak's right, and establish a sure barrier against Bolshevism in the north. It was hoped also to organize a combined advance against Petrograd from the west by uniting the Finns, Letts, and Esthonians and furnishing them with British money and material.

All these plans have broken down from one and the same cause—the incompetence of the various anti-Bolshevist forces which have been supported and the impossibility of organizing any effective military forces from the elements which the British have tried to rally around them. The policy of attempting to set them on their legs has broken down, and as regards Archangel the only result of allied interference is likely to be that the last state of that part of Russia will be worse than the first.

A statement published on Sept. 12 by order of Winston Churchill, British War



SCENE OF THE CHIEF OPERATIONS OF GENERAL DENIKIN AND OTHER ANTI-BOLSHEVIST LEADERS IN RUSSIA

Secretary, said concerning the withdrawal:

General Lord Rawlinson has been placed in supreme command of the British forces both in the Archangel and the Murmansk regions, has been supplied with everything he has asked for, and has been accorded the fullest discretionary power as to the time and method of evacuation. There is no reason to suppose he will not succeed in his task at an early date. At the same time the peculiar difficulty of the operation of withdrawal must be realized.

The Russian national forces both at Archangel and Murmansk are much more numerous than the British. The forces of the enemy on those fronts may well be equal to the British and National Russians combined. The attitude of the National Russians as well as that of the civil population must inevitably be affected by the impending British withdrawal and by the fact that after we are gone they will be left to continue the struggle alone. Thus the task of extricating the British troops, while doing the least possible injury to the chances of the Russian National forces, is one of great complexity.

Further, his Majesty's Government have considered it their duty to offer means of refuge to all those Russians who, having compromised themselves by helping us since we landed in North Russia, might now, otherwise, find themselves exposed to Bolshevik vengeance. Considerable numbers of persons, including women and children, in addition to the British troops, have therefore to be evacuated by sea. Yet all the time the front has to be maintained largely by Russian troops against

an enemy who is well informed of all that is taking place.

Mr. Churchill added that the decision to evacuate Archangel and Murmansk had been reached last February on the advice of the General Staff, but when Admiral Kolchak's advance offered new hope of success General William E. Ironsides had been instructed, with the approval of the Cabinet, to prepare a plan for the junction of the British and Kolchak forces. But by September the Kolchak armies had been driven so far back that all hope of such a junction was abandoned, and the British Government was compelled to return to "the difficult and painful alternative" of evacuation.

GERMAN-BALTIC SITUATION

A complication in the Baltic provinces was the continued presence of the German troops of General von der Goltz, who had refused to evacuate. Various German papers extenuated the refusal of these German Baltic troops to leave Russia, but Vorwärts, which is a Government organ, declared that the German Baltic policy showed political intrigue and was "all wrong." The initial mistake was made, it asserted, when the Baltic junkers were allowed to raise a volunteer army for the defense of the Baltic provinces. This army was recruited simultaneously with the imperial

army, and the junkers were using their troops for purposes which did not harmonize with the interests of the German Government. The advantage of retaining possession of the Baltic lands was openly admitted by the German press, the *Berliner Tageblatt* advising the evacuation only because of the possibility of civil war. A secret army order issued by von der Goltz on July 31 and published in *Freiheit* had advocated combination with the Russian counter-revolutionary armies operating in the Baltic region. All sections of the German press appreciated the dangerous situation engendered by von der Goltz's schemings, and some inveighed against him.

On Aug. 28 reports reaching Paris from Lithuanian sources said that a German army of 40,000 well-equipped troops was concentrating in Lithuania, nominally under command of the Russian General Bergman, but in reality subject to the supreme control of von der Goltz himself. This large force, made up of 37,000 Germans and 3,000 Russians, all in German uniforms, claimed allegiance to the All-Russian Government of Admiral Kolchak, thus exempting themselves from orders issued by Marshal Foch or the Interallied Council. Numerous Russian prisoners were being sent from Germany to join this army at Shavli, while in the way of equipment the Germans had brought 680 airplanes, 100 automobiles, and one armored train into the territory. Although the Lithuanian Government at Kovno had sent many notes to the Germans demanding their withdrawal, and although the allied officials had ordered them out, they had paid no attention to these demands.

General von der Goltz himself, on his return to Mitau from Berlin on Aug. 29, declared to allied representatives that the evacuation would be carried out, but could not be completed before Sept. 1. Meanwhile high-handed proceedings by his troops continued; Lettish headquarters in Mitau were attacked by them, and 50,000 rubles seized; three members of the British Mission to Lithuania in Mitau were arrested by them, but subsequently released. It was alleged that the Germans were also conducting intrigues with

the Bolsheviks, who have overrun all territory abandoned by the Germans in the southern part of Lettland.

GERMAN OFFICIAL ATTITUDE

The official attitude of the German Government to all these proceedings was explicitly stated on Sept. 7 in a note addressed by it to the Entente powers. This note expressed regret that the evacuation ordered by the Peace Conference was impossible, owing to the insubordination of the German troops still in Courland. The note continued as follows:

In consequence of the restrictions imposed by the allied Governments Germany is not in a position to compel the obedience of its troops by military means. There is nothing the German Government can do but try by persuasion to bring the troops to reason. As a result of the extremely excited feeling among the men it is impossible now to prepare a plan of evacuation and return the troops to the sea.

On the Lithuanian and Polish fronts some successes against the Bolsheviks were gained. On Sept. 2 the Reds asserted that they had captured the outer fortifications of Dvinsk, on the right bank of the Dvina, where it was crossed by the railway from Petrograd to Warsaw; the Lithuanians, however, declared that the Bolshevik force on that front had been surrounded and had made overtures of peace. An American brigade for service in the Lithuanian Army had been formed of demobilized American officers and discharged enlisted men. The Lithuanian Government had taken steps to protect these men, and to insure them along the lines followed by the American Army's War Insurance Bureau. The American Red Cross had cabled for permission to form a medical and welfare unit to serve with this brigade. Meanwhile Lettish and Lithuanian troops drove the Bolsheviks from Novoalexandrovsk, fifteen miles southwest of Dvinsk, pursuing successes won on Aug. 15, capturing large numbers of prisoners and guns; on Sept. 1 the Poles took the fortified town of Bobruisk, eighty-five miles southeast of Minsk, capturing 500 prisoners, with the

aid of tanks, the first they had used in their campaign.

THE SOUTHERN FRONT

According to the observations of General Holman of the British Army, the anti-Bolshevist forces of General Denikin were in great need of equipment, clothing, medical supplies. The population of the Don district was also in great need, especially of British manufactured goods. Poltava, recaptured from the Bolsheviks by Denikin, showed scenes of desolation and ruin. The population had been compelled to do forced labor, as in the times of serfdom; miserable and half starved, they welcomed the forces of Denikin joyously, and prepared a great celebration, including a church parade in the cathedral square of all troops in the garrison.

On Aug. 18 the Bolsheviks were driven from Odessa, the most important port on the Black Sea. At this time the non-Bolshevist Ukrainians were inviting the Poles to help them capture Kiev, in consideration of the delivery to the latter of crops which otherwise the Bolsheviks would seize.

Stories of atrocities inflicted by the Bolsheviks on the population of the Upper Don were received by London on Aug. 21. Continuing their victorious advance, Denikin's forces took Kherson and Nikolaiev, and marched on Kiev. East of Kiev they occupied all the important railway centres as far as the Volga, a distance of 650 miles. Along the Volga they were moving north toward Saratov. Denikin thus gained control of a great section of European Russia, and held the sources of the chief coal and oil supplies. On Aug. 24 it was reported that Petlura had taken the whole of Podolia, large parts of Volhynia, and the Government of Kiev, and that the Ukrainian armies were approaching the Dnieper River along the entire line. The peasants were everywhere rising in support of the Ukrainian anti-Bolshevist forces. By arrangement the Poles had handed over to Petlura the recaptured town of Bovno and two other cities.

Three days later the Bolsheviks gained successes on the Volga in General Denikin's territory. On Aug. 27 they con-

firmed their reported capture of Kamyshin, 120 miles southwest of Saratov; at this time their forces were advancing toward Tsaritsin, 100 miles further south on the Volga. They admitted, however, that Cossack forces under General Kamentov had broken through their front, and a message from that leader himself stated on Aug. 28 that 13,000 Bolshevik soldiers had been captured, and that a Red regiment had joined his forces, which were marching northward of Tambov.

At this date General Denikin was advancing rapidly and had reached a point within ten miles of Kiev and twelve miles from Petlura's forces. Denikin's cavalry and armored trains were leading an advance to the northeast. On Sept. 4 the occupation of Kiev, after two days of heavy fighting, was officially confirmed. This capture not only threw open the 600-mile road between Lemberg and Kharkov, but also uncovered the most promising base from which operations could be made against Moscow, the Bolshevik capital.

KOLCHAK'S REVERSES

The reverses of the southern army, however, continued, and on Sept. 11 a Bolshevik wireless dispatch announced the capture of 12,000 prisoners from Kolchak's forces in the region of Aktubinsk and Orsk. The next day the capture of the remainder of that army was claimed by the Reds, who declared that they had taken a total of 45,000 men from the Kolchak forces within a week.

The Admiral continued to press his offensive, however, and an official dispatch of Sept. 15 stated that he had broken the Bolshevik front in three places and was threatening to outflank the Red forces advancing from Tobolsk.

The continuance of American forces in Siberia elicited strong protests before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Aug. 23. After listening to a delegation of nine Chicagoans, parents of soldiers on service in Siberia, who urged President Wilson to recall the drafted men at once, the committee decided to summon Secretary of State Lansing and Secretary of War Baker before it to elicit information on the Government's

plans for withdrawal. In Washington, two days later, Secretary Baker, in an interview, stated that the 6,500 American troops in Siberia would be recalled before Winter; the next day President Wilson, in a letter made public on that date, gave assurance that the drafted men would be brought home as soon as possible; volunteers, however, would take their place, as the Government had no intention of withdrawing American forces at this time.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Under the Bolshevik Government the policy of repression of labor continued through July and August. On Aug. 11 a report of the execution of 150 strike leaders by the Bolshevik authorities was received in Copenhagen. From a report made to the Norwegian Socialists by Mr. Puntervold and Mr. Stang, who had investigated conditions in Soviet Russia, confirmation was received of accounts of bloody conflicts developing out of the insistence of Lenin and Trotzky upon increased production of the civilian and military supplies so sorely needed by their followers. As a logical consequence of this attitude strikes were forbidden by a decree reading in part as follows: "The system of production is no longer a matter of indifference to the proletariat, and must no longer be disturbed by means of strikes." Puntervold, however, noted that strikes had occurred despite this decree, while measures taken against them had become more and more drastic. Nevertheless, production had increased, but so had the cost of production. Efforts were being made to apply the highest technical and business knowledge to the task of simplifying production, and avoiding useless transportation and labor. All the capitalistic incentive measures, including piecework and bonuses, were being used to increase production.

Living conditions in Petrograd were depicted as extremely bad by David S. Aronson, an engineer in the Russian Army in the early days of the war, on his arrival in New York toward the end of August. Mr. Aronson left Petrograd on July 14. At that time the former capital's population, from two and a half

million, had been reduced to a million. Finland and Sweden swarmed with refugees. The railroad system was badly disorganized. The food shortage was severe, and horse meat was being publicly sold. Illegitimate traffic in food at high prices continued. Garbage rotted in the grass-grown streets. The sewer system was disorganized and pestilence raged; there was neither food nor medicine available in the hospitals. Few physicians remained. There occurred an average of 600 executions daily for all sorts of offenses, many relating to the illegal handling of food. Clothing was worn threadbare. A concluding statement intimated that the influence of Trotzky had grown immensely during the last few months; that Trotzky had virtually become sole dictator, and that Lenin was rarely seen in public.

Colonel John Ward, M. P., of the British Army, who returned to London on Sept. 4 after three years' sojourn in Siberia, declared that the horrors of the Bolshevik rule had been in no wise exaggerated. The Red Army, he declared, had munitions enough to last for years. Every one was in fear of denunciation. The Bolsheviks dominated the richest manufacturing districts. Anti-Bolshevik attacks had to be made from sparsely populated agricultural districts. The importance of sending munitions and supplies to the armies of Denikin and Kolchak, he stated, could not be overestimated.

BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDA

The triumphant onward march of the Red Army in August was described in a manifesto sent by the Soviet Government to China. It read in part as follows:

The People's Commissaries address fraternal words to all the peoples of China on the day when the Soviet troops, having crushed the counter-revolutionary despot Kolchak, victoriously enter Siberia. Soviet Russia's Red Army, after two years of struggle and incredible strain, is marching onward to the east across the Urals. Not in order to enforce their will on other nationals, not to enslave them nor conquer them—we are bringing freedom to the people, liberation from foreign bayonets and from the yoke of foreign gold, which is throttling the enslaved peoples of the East, particularly the great Chinese na-

tion. We are bringing help not only to our own working masses, but to the Chinese.

General Denikin had sent a commercial attaché to Stockholm to aid the Russian Legation in stimulating trade between Sweden and the section of Southern Russia controlled by the Denikin forces, where farming equipment was urgently needed. The extent of British aid to Denikin as published in the British White Paper was estimated at £69,000,000. The London Chronicle pointed out that this value of stores and other equipment sent to Denikin was three times that sent to Admiral Kolchak, and that with their aid Denikin had won brilliant successes. The Daily News, however, declared that "never within living memory have the British people been required to foot a bill involving responsibility so obscure or an adventure more deplorable than this immense expenditure, already approaching half the cost of the South African war."

THE SIBERIAN FRONT

Early in August the Kolchak Government at Omsk was still engaged in reorganizing its armies in the field. Large quantities of supplies were sent by it to Archangel and to the army of General Judenitch in the west, including nearly 10,000 tons of wheat.

The Carpathian Russians in Siberia had formed a volunteer corps and joined the Siberian Army. Many Czechoslovaks likewise had joined the volunteer forces and had asked to be dispatched immediately to the front.

More than 200 delegates attended the fifth extraordinary congress of the Siberian Cossacks. The congress approved the mobilization of the Cossacks up to the age of 55 years, and expressed its readiness to make all sacrifices necessary for final victory over Bolshevism. It adopted the following declaration unanimously:

In this time of great trial for our native country we, the Siberian Cossacks, are placing all our strength at the disposal of Admiral Kolchak, who is leading the Russian armies against the enemies of the Russian people and under whose leadership the Russian armies are fighting for

the regeneration of a united, great and democratic Russia.

Admiral Kolchak, the head of the Omsk Government, appeared before the congress and in an address thanked the representatives of the Siberian Cossacks for their display of patriotism.

Refugees who arrived from Turkestan, on which the Soviet offensive had concentrated, declared that the country had been thoroughly devastated by the Bolsheviks. They reported the cotton plantations destroyed and the population impoverished.

Answering the protest of the allied Governments against the interference of General Semenov with the operation of the railways in the trans-Baikal region, the Omsk Government stopped all supplies to the recalcitrant Cossack General and expressed a desire to co-operate with the allied attempts at reorganization of the railroads, even waiving the Russian laws interfering with the allied program. The General Staff of the Siberian Army on Aug. 15 issued a proclamation to the rank and file of the army and to the Siberian population expressing cordial support of Admiral Kolchak's régime and the fixed determination to fight to victory against the Bolsheviks. The Russ, the organ of the Agricultural Co-operative Societies, declared that in this critical period of the Siberian struggle new evidences of patriotism were multiplied upon all hands; volunteers were flocking to the Kolchak standard, and parties were uniting to support the army in its fight for the regeneration of Russia.

RECOGNITION DELAYED

On Aug. 18 Roland S. Morris, American Ambassador to Japan, concluded his investigation of the Omsk Government after a long conference with Admiral Kolchak. It was announced from Washington on Aug. 25 that he had recommended favorable action by the United States in the matter of recognition and immediate tangible aid to the Kolchak Government. In the conferences held at Omsk the British, French, Japanese, and American Governments had been represented. A far-reaching and comprehensive plan was drawn up covering all the features of the situation, including pro-

vision for operation of railroads, economic assistance, supplies for the anti-Bolshevist armies, financial aid, Red Cross relief and other matters. In following cables Mr. Morris recommended immediate recognition to save the situation, on the ground of the great moral effect the announcement would have on the soldiers and population of Siberia. Admiral Kolchak's armies by that time, however, had suffered such serious reverses that recognition of his Government was postponed indefinitely.

The Red Army had been pushing its successes vigorously. The anti-Bolsheviks were forced to abandon Tiumen, east of the Siberian border, and the Bolsheviks captured Iletsk, forty miles southwest of Orenburg, after fierce fighting. Petrograd reports stated that the Bolsheviks, determined to follow up their successes closely, had even sent cadet school reserves against the Kolchak forces. An explosion of the main ammunition dump of the Kolchak army at Nizhny-Novgorod was said to have been instigated by the Bolsheviks. A dispatch from Omsk on Sept. 3 said that the leader of the All-Russian Government had issued a stirring appeal to all Russians capable of bearing arms to join the ranks, and declared that the destiny of Russia was at stake.

The official organ of the Bolsheviks, the *Pravda* (Truth) of Moscow, edited by N. Bukharin, has taken an attitude of violent opposition to the League of

Nations. The League is represented as a great capitalistic scheme to strangle the proletariat revolution, to establish an international "White Guard," and to exploit the colonies and weaker countries. A virulent attack was made by this publication on President Wilson and Americans in general.

It was stated on Aug. 27 that the Soviet Government had nationalized the estate of the late Count Tolstoy at Yasnaya Polyana, in order to preserve the great writer's memory. The Government had invited the members of the Tolstoy family to enter the service of the administration and manage a projected institution for the enlightenment of the people.

Like a ghost from the grave the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch, uncle of the late Czar, arrived in Stockholm from London on Aug. 20. The Grand Duke, one of the most picturesque figures of the first three years of the war, was sent to the Crimea by the Bolsheviks after their accession to power. For the last two years he has been in hiding and has repeatedly been reported killed. Gathered with the Grand Duke at Stockholm were General Judenitch, Premier Lianozov of the new anti-Bolshevist Government of Northwest Russia, and General Skoropadsky, former Hetman of the Ukraine. The watchword of these members of the War Council at Stockholm was reported to be "Down Lenin first; let the future take care of itself."

Mr. Bullitt's Report to the Peace Commission

WILLIAM C. BULLITT, who, as an attaché of the American Peace Commission at Paris, submitted a report to President Wilson upon conditions in Russia studied by him during a brief trip to that country in company with Lincoln Steffens, informed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Sept. 12 that the President had never acted on this report, and laid the document before the committee, together with reports and records of conversations held by him with the President, Mr. Lansing and other promi-

nent members of the American Commission.

In his report Mr. Bullitt said that only a Socialist Government could "save Russia." The element of the Communist Party, headed by Lenin, he declared, was as "moderate as any Socialist Government that can govern that country." He advocated accepting the proposal of the Lenin Soviets to make peace. Along with his report, Mr. Bullitt submitted to the President a proposal for peace between the Soviet Government and the allied and associated powers, which, he

said, represented the minimum terms that Lenin and his followers would accept.

Embraced in the proposed terms of peace were provisions that the existing *de facto* Governments of the territories of Russia and Finland were to remain in control, and to hold those territories, excepting such as might otherwise be disposed of by the peace conferees. The Soviet Government would have control of all railroad lines, and all economic blockades would be lifted. Amnesty would be granted to all political prisoners.

Mr. Bullitt pictured Lenin as having "gained on the imagination of the Russian people," making his position almost that of a dictator. The Russians, he said, had confidence in him and a peace made with the Lenin element would be a tangible one. Dwelling on the advisability of making peace with this element, Mr. Bullitt, in summing up his conclusions, wrote:

1. No Government save a Socialist Government can be set up in Russia today, except by foreign bayonets, and any Government so set up will fall the moment such support is withdrawn. The Lenin wing of the Communist Party is today as moderate as any Socialist Government which can control Russia.

2. No real peace can be established in Europe or the world until peace is made with the revolution. This proposal of the Soviet Government presents an opportunity to make peace with the revolution on a just and reasonable basis—perhaps a unique opportunity.

3. If the blockade is lifted and supplies begin to be delivered regularly to Soviet Russia, a more powerful hold over the Russian people will be established than that given by the blockade itself—the hold given by fear that this delivery of supplies may be stopped. Furthermore, the parties which oppose the Communists in principle, but are supporting them at present, will be able to begin to fight against them.

4. It is, therefore, respectfully recommended that a proposal following the

general lines of the suggestions of the Soviet Government should be made at the earliest possible moment.

Going into general conditions of Russia in his report, Mr. Bullitt wrote that the country was in a state of "acute economic distress." The blockade by land and sea, he said, together with the lack of essentials for transportation, was the cause. As a result of the hindrance to transportation, it was possible to bring from the grain centres to Moscow only twenty-five carloads of food a day, instead of the 100 that were needed, while Petrograd was cut down from the customary fifty carloads to fifteen.

The energy of the Russian Government, he said, was being brought to bear upon constructive work, the destructive phase of the revolution being over. He wrote further as follows:

Good order has been established. The streets are safe. Shooting has ceased. There are few robberies. Prostitution has disappeared from sight. Family life has been unchanged by the revolution. The theatres, opera, and ballet are performing as in peace. Thousands of new schools have been opened in all parts of Russia. The Soviet Government seems to have done more for the education of the Russian people in a year and a half than Czarism did in fifty years.

All efforts to induce President Wilson to act on this report and open negotiations with the Soviet Government were unavailing, and Mr. Bullitt later resigned from the minor position which he held with the American Commission.

The most sensational feature of Mr. Bullitt's testimony before the Senate Committee was his revelation of conversations held with Mr. Lansing in Paris, in which the latter was said to have declared himself opposed both to the treaty with Germany and to the League of Nations. Mr. Lansing declined to comment on Mr. Bullitt's disclosures of his attitude. The Russian Soviet bureau in New York confirmed the making of the proposals by the Soviet Government embodied in Mr. Bullitt's report.

Ukraine's Fight for Freedom

By K. VISHEVICH

The following article, rewritten from the Russian and vouched for by the Ukrainian National Committee of the United States, makes clear the Ukrainian nationalists' attitude toward Russia, Bolshevism, Germany, the Poles of Galicia, and the Entente. Ukraine, with General Petlura as its military leader, is fighting Soviet Russia for independence. Regarded as a separate nation, it is the largest new State created by the war, the second largest country in Europe, in population the fifth, and in national resources one of the richest.

NONE of the peoples ground down by the iron heel of the Imperial Russian Government suffered more than did the Ukrainians.

From the time of Peter the Great they had been marked out for extinction, and a determined, continuous effort was made to convert them into Muscovite serfs. Their culture was destroyed; their schools were abolished; books in their native language were forbidden. Especially severe was the persecution in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Intellectuals who spoke in Ukrainian were exiled to Siberia as criminals. Only the peasants were allowed to use the Ukrainian language, and that was because they knew no other.

To some degree the efforts of the Muscovite oppressors were successful. The landed gentry, the Government officials, and the priests became Russified. The peasantry, rendered stubborn by oppression, began raising a new Ukrainian intelligentsia. The Government persecuted these intellectuals, jailed them, exiled them en masse to Siberia, but always the gaps in the ranks were filled by more and more devotees of Ukrainian culture. Ukrainian literature, its growth stifled in Russia, began to flower in Galicia, the Austrian part of Ukraine, from where books and periodicals were smuggled to the eager Ukrainian masses in Russia.

The revolution of 1905 gave only temporary relief. The uprising, conducted under the shibboleth of political freedom, at once acquired in Ukraine a purely national character. Newspapers in the Ukrainian language appeared, and demands were made for Ukrainian schools. But the Russian Duma was

obdurate. The Ukrainian intelligentsia, clashing with the Russian intelligentsia, saw that not alone the imperialists, but the Russians of all parties, were opposed to the growth of Ukrainian culture.

Soon freedom of speech and of the press began to be stifled anew. With all its might the Government strove to deprive the Ukrainians of the few small privileges they had gained by the revolution. Heavy fines were imposed upon the newspapers for every word about which there could be the slightest question. Ukrainian schools were closed upon the flimsiest pretexts. Government officials who spoke to the people in Ukrainian were removed from Ukraine. The complete edition of "Kobsar," by Shevchenko, the greatest poet of Ukraine, was confiscated, new books were rigorously censored, and the importation of Ukrainian books from Galicia was taxed prohibitively. Educational societies were disbanded.

CLIMAX OF RUSSIAN OPPRESSION

At the outbreak of the world war the oppression reached its height, for it was realized that the Ukrainians, conscious of their nationality, could have no desire for victory to the arms of Russian imperialism. Victorious Russia would acquire Galicia and stamp out the sole remaining centre of Ukrainian culture. As soon as war was declared Ukrainian newspapers were suppressed and all the leading Ukrainian patriots, including Professor Hrushevsky, the eminent historian, were arrested and exiled far into the interior of Russia.

Soon the Russian armies occupied Galicia and began their repressive measures there. More than 100,000 Ukrainian in-

tellecuals, unable to escape, were hanged, shot or exiled to Siberia. The fifteen Ukrainian gymnasiums and the 500 lower grade schools were closed. The Ukrainian libraries and book stores were pillaged. The Uniate clergy were supplanted by Russian Orthodox priests, who were paid enormous salaries by the Russian Government to Russify the people. The Ukrainian national spirit seemed crushed forever.

With the first gust of freedom afforded by the Russian revolution of 1917 the spirit of the Ukrainian people flamed up again. The Ukrainians were the first to declare themselves a separate people with full rights to self-determination. Unaided by capitalists or outside Governments, they raised a national fund. The first Ukrainian National Convention, meeting in Kiev, elected a Central Rada, or Parliament.

From neither the Coalition Government of Prince Lvoff nor the Socialist Government of Kerensky was any encouragement received. Unable to control the powerful national movement in Ukraine, they strove to hinder it. The Provisional Government opposed the nationalization of a Ukrainian army. For several months it delayed recognition of the General Secretariat the Ukrainians had organized as an executive governmental organ, and even then stripped the Secretariat of practically all its functions. All the old Russian institutions were retained and were kept wholly independent of the Secretariat. Permission was granted for the teaching of the Ukrainian language in the public schools, but in the first year only.

FIRM AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

To the vigorous protests made by the Ukrainians the invariable reply of the Provisional Government was that the final decision on all questions could be made only by the Constituent Assembly. The Assembly, however, opposed and attempted to discredit the Ukrainians at every step. Here was one more instance where the great Russian people, no matter what their Government, were determined to stifle every Ukrainian national aspiration.

When Bolshevism swept over Russia in

October, 1917, and plunged the country into anarchy, Ukraine alone stood firm. This was to be expected, for the Ukrainian people are and always have been thoroughly nationalistic. Their age-long traditions are such that the radical principles of socialism and internationalism can never find a foothold among them. Such evidences of Bolshevism as may appear in Ukraine are confined to the newcomers in the large cities. The vast majority of the Ukrainians are farm workers, among whom the mob spirit never has been aroused by the emissaries of organized lawlessness.

When nearly the whole of Russia was covered with the Soviets of workers' and soldiers' delegates Ukraine remained aloof. Face to face with anarchy, she unhesitatingly chose independence and orderly government. Even the most confirmed federalists abandoned their idea of a federation with Russia.

UKRAINIAN STATE ORGANIZED

Difficulties in organizing the Ukrainian Government were many. Few of the intellectuals had escaped exile by the Russian Government, and there were not leaders enough to fight the people's battles or fill the necessary State offices. Great Russian intellectuals and Russified Ukrainian renegades insidiously opposed the Government at every step. They gave unexpected support to the Bolsheviks, who began to carry on a vigorous campaign of propaganda among the masses of the cities not racially Ukrainian, and among the soldiery.

In spite of the Bolshevik propaganda, the Government established order and received recognition from France and from England, both of whom sent diplomatic representatives to Kiev.

Then came news that Bolshevik Russia had made peace with Germany. The Ukrainian people were war weary; the Bolshevik propaganda had been of some effect among the soldiers; they realized that the German armies, withdrawn from the Russian front, would soon annihilate them. The Central Rada was faced with the choice of negotiating peace with Germany or delivering the country into the hands of the Bolsheviks.

Hardly had the peace negotiations

begun when the Soviet armies invaded Ukraine. The Kiev Bolsheviks, composed of men not racially Ukrainian, revolted and pledged their allegiance to the invaders. This revolt was quelled in five days by 200 Galician volunteers.

The main body of the Ukrainian troops, under their great leader, Petlura, advanced to meet the Soviet armies. Against his few hundred men and scanty light artillery were tens of thousands of Bolsheviks with heavy siege guns. The Ukrainians were gradually forced back to Kiev with severe losses. In Kiev Petlura held out for nine days against heavy bombardment. Then the Central Rada, unwilling to sacrifice the lives and property of the peaceful citizens, removed to Zhitomir with the troops.

Now began a record of Bolshevik rule written in innocent blood. Every intelligent man and woman who uttered a word in Ukrainian was shot; everything Ukrainian was destroyed. In the three days the Bolsheviks remained in Kiev about 5,000 persons perished. For three weeks the Bolsheviks ruled in Kiev and their sway was a continuous mockery of the rights of humanity. The railroads were filled with freight cars bound for Russia and carrying millions of pounds of flour requisitioned by force of arms, but the population of Kiev was near starvation.

THE BREST-LITOVSK PEACE

Peace negotiations having been completed at Brest-Litovsk, the German and Austrian troops undertook, in return for food supplies, to assist in ejecting the Bolsheviks. The campaign was successful, and it was only a short time before the Bolshevik forces were driven back in disorder. The Bolshevik Government at Kiev fled to Kharkov and then to Great Russia as victorious Petlura pressed forward and entered Kiev.

But the radical element of the population had been growing and it was only a short time before the moderate Government was overthrown and the Social Revolutionaries took command. Holubovich was placed at their head. The task of reconstruction, however, proved too much for these radicals and the Germans began to take advantage of them.

It was not long before the German troops began to requisition food.

Discontent grew fast. A new Landowners' Party was organized. The ancient Ukrainian title of Hetman was revived and given to Skoropadsky, a wealthy land owner and a former General in the Russian Imperial Army. The Russian and Polish land owners joined with the Germans in supporting him, for it was felt that his rule alone would preserve the big estates intact and would insure a supply of food to the Germans. Russian officers, supported by German soldiers, arrested members of the Government, dispersed the Central Rada, and placed Hetman Skoropadsky in power.

Skoropadsky failed in his efforts to organize a combined Russian Ukrainian Government. Patriotic Ukrainians refused to accept the positions he offered them, or to work with the Russians he placed in the most important offices, or with the Germans who were supporting him. Only one real Ukrainian, Doroshenko, was placed at the head of a department, and he was obliged to leave his party in order to accept the post.

Soon the Ukrainian employees were discharged from practically all the Government departments. Ukrainian newspapers were censored. Ukrainians were imprisoned in great numbers on the ground that they were Socialists. The Russians declared the arrests were due to the Germans, while the Germans asserted they were merely performing guard duty and that the Hetman's Government was doing the arresting.

NATIONAL UKRAINIAN UNION

To oppose the oppressive tactics of Skoropadsky's régime, the Ukrainian political parties formed the Ukrainian National Union. Nikovsky, a Socialist-Federalist editor, was placed at the head of this union. When illness forced him to resign he was succeeded by Vinnichenko, a well-known writer and member of the Social Democratic Party.

As the discontent grew and Skoropadsky saw that his Government was doomed to fall as soon as the supporting German bayonets should leave him, he began to make overtures to the Ukrainian National Union, promising to con-

voke a Diet as soon as possible. The union called for a national conference to decide what kind of co-operation, if any, there should be.

Then came the revolution in Germany. Victory for the Entente was assured and the Russians and Russophiles began to denounce their former German friends. Skoropadsky, believing the Entente stood for a single undivided Russia which should include Ukraine, forbade the convocation of the national conference. The Government offices were filled only by Great Russians—no Ukrainian was tolerated. A fictitious federation of Ukraine with Russia was declared, and a new so-called South Volunteer Army of Russian officers was formed to renew oppression on everything Ukrainian.

That the National Union should gain in strength by such oppression was natural. It elected a Directorate, organized a People's Army of 60,000 men, and declared war on the Hetman's Government. Skoropadsky was overthrown and the National Union became master of Ukraine.

QUESTION OF RECOGNITION

Russian agitation alone is responsible for the failure of the Entente to recognize the Ukrainian Government. These Russians, whose chief desire is to incorporate Ukraine as a part of Great Russia, are endeavoring through every conceivable kind of propaganda to make it appear that the Ukrainian National Union is Bolshevik, that Petlura's armies are bands of robbers, and that

the bands of Russian officers make up a liberating volunteer army.

No one who has seen these officers' detachments in Kiev could think of them as liberators. These officers are adventurers whose aim is to live without work. They fight the Bolsheviki because the Bolsheviki robbed them of their privileges and easy livelihood. They fight the Ukrainians, Finns, and other nationalities of the former Russian Empire with even greater ardor, for they know that Russia, shorn of these rich territories, will have far too few sinecures with which to reward her adherents. They can make but little impression against the Bolsheviki. Knowing this, they are vainly relying upon the Entente to free them from the Bolsheviki, to restore Ukraine and the other "lost provinces" to an undivided Russian Empire, and to place a new Nicholas upon the throne.

Ukraine is fighting for her national life. The true Ukrainian patriots are standing solidly behind Petlura. On one side they are fighting the Bolsheviki to secure the moderate orderly Government they have set up. On the other they are fighting the Poles to keep their land and their people from the domination of a foreign flag. And always there are the insidious attacks of the Russian monarchists.

Ukraine has declared for liberty, democracy, and independence. For those ideals he will continue to fight until the last drop of true Ukrainian blood has been shed.



Five Months in Moscow Prisons

By LUDOVIC NAUDEAU

[CORRESPONDENT OF THE PARIS TEMPS]

WE were writing in the office of the Journal de Russie in Moscow, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, Tuesday, July 30, 1918, when the echo of heavy boots resounded in the antechamber. Immediately there appeared a young officer of the Red Army and a soldier of colossal stature. The officer was obviously of a race which Russia has persecuted. The soldier was a Lett, with a yellow mustache; bristling with arms, he looked like a Redskin who had dug up his battle axe. The officer greeted no one, sat down without waiting for an invitation, and exhibited a document which I did not read; it was only too easy for me to divine its content. He then declared that by order of the Extraordinary Commission the Journal de Russie was suppressed because of its counter-revolutionary propaganda; our officers were to be searched, and as for the manuscripts which I had just finished before his arrival, he insisted that they be handed over to him forthwith.

"Very good," said I; "and now all we have to do is to go home."

"That depends," rejoined the youthful Maccabeus; "you are, I believe, the chief and responsible editor of this paper. You will therefore not go home, but will come with me. This document is an order of the Extraordinary Commission, by virtue of which I am to place you under arrest."

"The devil!" I thought; "this is going rather far!"

Nevertheless, I tried to show no signs of emotion. The suppression of the Journal de Russie had neither astonished nor displeased me. I saw therein a fortunate opportunity to put an end to a campaign which had become useless, and this without the necessity of taking my own decision. To close up shop and return to France would have seemed to me most desirable; the idea that I must go to prison, on the contrary, was most

unpleasant. I had, of course, many times foreseen during the year 1918 that I might end by being arrested, yet I had inclined to believe that this would not happen, or at least that I would be warned in time and would have an opportunity to disappear. Henceforth, however, it was impossible to turn back, and useless to cherish vain regrets. I was caught!

Walking between the young officer and the athletic Lett, I got into a very correct automobile; they followed me, and the car left immediately for Bolshaia Liubianka Street, where the fear-inspiring Extraordinary Commission had its headquarters. Thus my captivity in Moscow began, a melancholy period; yes, truly the most sombre period of my whole life, which, I must confess, had been quite fertile in adventures. * * *

CAUSE OF ARREST

What had been my crime? It had been set forth, in full detail, on Sunday, July 28, two days before my arrest, in an article in the Pravda signed "Niourine," a pseudonym behind which was concealed a high functionary of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. M. Niourine himself was not a Russian. If I do not say what he was, it is because I do not wish to give the impression of condemning generally a race for crimes whose responsibility the individuals themselves should bear. Although the Journal de Russie had appeared since February, 1918, in Moscow, after having been published for several months in Petrograd, and had been frequently quoted by the Russian press, the article of M. Niourine was in reality the first that contained accusations and violent expressions against me.

In language singularly filled with hatred I was denounced on July 28 as a counter-revolutionary agitator and as an agent of the French bank. Constructing against me, not a polemical article, but a police document, a veritable indict-

ment, the contemptible editor of the Pravda had accumulated, to vilify me, a mass of fragmentary quotations, treacherously chosen from the principal articles in which, for some time, I had defended views which no Frenchman living in Russia could have helped supporting. It was obvious that this sly rascal, for months at a time, had silently drawn up a dossier, with the intention of producing it at a favorable moment. Noteworthy the fact that this Javert, disguised as a journalist, though admitting in his article that my controversy in the Journal de Russie had always been moderate and restrained, heaped the most violent reproaches on my head for my articles published in the Temps, which he denounced as venomous and infamous. The long diatribe ended with this exclamation, printed in French, "Fermez votre crachoire!" (Shut your mouth.)

It has never before happened, I suppose, at any time or in any country, that vehement invectives printed in a newspaper have been equivalent to a kind of writ or warrant issued by a police Judge. If I had seen in M. Niourine what he really was, a police agent, the most elementary prudence would have led me to consider myself sufficiently warned, and to cease immediately the publication of my French paper and take flight. But I was so simple as to think that I ought to reply, with the pen, to one who had attacked me with the pen. It was precisely at the moment when I was drawing up this reply that M. Nourine's acolytes came to take possession of my person. * * *

SUDDEN OFFICIAL CHANGE

The Journal de Russie had never had a clandestine character. They had always granted me permission to issue it. And as it was important to avoid the suppression of our sheet, we did not fear to adopt the most democratic, even the most socialistic policy. * * * Several French people of our colony considered that our paper was too "red." * * * Some weeks before my arrest I had had a long conversation with Tchitcherine, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was very courteous and gave me

no intimation that I was in danger. On July 18, having dined at the French Military Mission, I met there one Captain Sadoul, whom I had known since my arrival in Russia, and in whom I saw a kind of habitual intermediary between the French authorities and the Bolsheviks. Sadoul had asked Leon Trotsky himself if, in case of allied intervention, he would expel the French or persecute them, and Trotsky had returned an emphatic negative. If Sadoul had believed there was danger, I am certain he would loyally have warned me. * * *

The assassination of Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador, and the uprising of the Revolutionary Socialists of the Left which followed it led to the issuing of a decree that all newspapers except those edited directly by the Soviets should cease publication. I obeyed this decree. * * * Three days later a new authorization was delivered to me in good and due form, and we began to print our sheet again. But the Commissariat, after having again authorized all the suspended papers to resume publication, had suddenly revoked this new decision; its emissaries had ordered the printers to cease their work definitively. Our relative insignificance, however, as foreigners had caused us to be forgotten in the general proscription. During the last five days of July the Journal de Russie was the only non-Soviet organ that continued to be sold side by side with the Pravda and the Izvestia. Glory was in our grasp! But on July 28 the indictment of the Pravda came like a cannon shot, and on the 30th I was arrested and suddenly thrown into prison, without definite knowledge of what the police agents of the Soviet accused me of.

PLACE OF CONFINEMENT

I arrived at the den of the famous Extraordinary Commission, whose very name filled Moscow with terror. The huge quadrangular building in which it was located had previously housed the central branch of an insurance company in the time of Nicholas. Thereafter it became a place of terror, before which the passerby, with furtive glance, walked hastily and fearsomely. The automobile which bore me stopped in an in-

terior court incumbered with vehicles piled together, with shrapnel guns, with pieces of cannon and soup caldrons. Sailors whose chests were exposed almost to their waists, soldiers whose hair fell in ringlets almost over their eyes, marched back and forth; all the issues were guarded by watchful sentries. Evidently it was much easier to get into this retreat than to escape from it.

Through dusty corridors I was brought to a kind of antechamber, where a boy less than twenty years old, a sly, suspicious, blonde little chap, took from me the papers and documents I carried on my person, seized my cane and my knife, and absent-mindedly began to question me, while two or three low-browed sailors watched me with sneering smiles. There was no trouble about my age and profession, but a misunderstanding arose when my questioner insisted on knowing to what political party I belonged in my own country. "I am a republican citizen," I said. "Write down 'Republican Party.'" "Republican Party?" repeated the young terrorist, staring at me. Slowly he wrote "Respublikanetz." The sailors began a discussion among themselves, evidently somewhat disconcerted. "Well," said the blonde fellow, "you are a counter-revolutionary, and that's enough."

He made a sign. Some soldiers took me away, and soon, after a door had closed behind me, I found myself definitely separated from the world of reason. I remembered that I went down a corridor, flanked to right and left by a row of improvised cells, whose pine doors were new and unpainted. In the middle of each door was cut out a rectangle, just big enough to frame a human face. Two rows of prisoners gazed at me with feverish eyes while my feet brought me on to the unknown, and I noted the pallor of handsome, pensive faces. Most of them seemed to belong to young naval officers. * * *

WRETCHED FELLOW-PRISONERS

A door opened. What I first beheld was a throng of what seemed to be lunatics crowded together within the four walls of a large square room. It was like the waiting room of some fantastic

station, whence all traffic had been withdrawn and by which no trains ever passed; a waiting room whose ceiling was supported by iron columns, and whose wide windows were grated with iron bars. How many there were here! Why were there so many? Here were people of the middle class wearing dirty linen, yet who still preserved a semblance of respectability. There were soldiers here, workmen, long-haired priests, bewildered old ladies, young men, old men with shaking heads. What were all these nondescript people doing here? And what fate awaited me? Why was I joined to this throng of lunatics? I found out why a little later.

I was startled suddenly by wild cries. An old man, attacked by some mystical madness, was improvising hymns in honor of the saints, or else composing satires, vaguely rhymed, in which he revealed the vices of the members of the Soviet. The other prisoner shrank in terror from the dangerous old man; every one feared the consequences of his heedless audacities, but he continued howling at the top of his voice. Jailers appeared and ordered him to be silent, threatening to shut him up in a cell; but suddenly they withdrew, disconcerted by the inspired fury which took from him all fear and evoked it in others. A terror-stricken woman sobbed in a corner, and beside her a group of men, gravely united in a circle, discussed calmly the news of the day. * * *

NAUSEATING PRISON FOOD

In a corner of the room a hairy young man, who seemed to be a fluent talker, was seated before a table, moving about record books, taking notes, drawing up lists, a whole complicated bookkeeping. He also asked me my name, my age, and the reason for my arrest. * * * I soon learned that he was a prisoner like myself who fulfilled in the room, despite his youth, the functions of *starche*, that is to say, dean or monitor.

The *starche*, with a very important air, gave me a rustic wooden spoon, and I saw that all the other prisoners were getting out a similar instrument. * * * Buckets were brought; each of these receptacles contained food for eight

people. In turn, we plunged our spoons into an insipid liquid where cabbage leaves and shreds of smoked fish were floating; almost all who surrounded me devoured this concoction greedily. Hungry prisoners tried to scoop up more substantial spoonfuls, containing, above all, solid substances. The fish bones and shreds of cabbage, after having been sucked, were ejected upon the table or on the floor, where they soon accumulated in a sticky mass.

Thus, in a few hours, I had passed from civilized life to an atmosphere of degradation. On the morning of July 30 I was still a man possessed with the sentiment of human dignity; on the afternoon of the same day I was nothing but a human beast, condemned to dispute in a trough with other human beasts shreds of nauseating food. A little *kasha*, or barley gruel, ended our miserable repast, but certain prisoners, who had received some provisions from outside, offered me a glass of tea. The mystical madman, despite the exhortations of his neighbors, continued his sinister psalms. Frightened, they warned him that he would get himself shot; he would stop a moment, but immediately again his piercing voice would be upraised.

DESPAIRING PRISONERS

Sobs were heard every moment; some unfortunate wretches gave way to fits of despair; a woman beside me lamented, telling the circumstances of her arrest in a station when she arrived in Moscow with her old father and her children. What would become of these poor people, who were without resources? And when liberated, how could she find them again in the big city? In contrast with these depressed beings, others astonished one by their calm. Some prisoners who had made themselves coffee sipped it quietly around a case transformed into a table; others, stretched on their pallets, seemed to be sleeping quietly. About 5 o'clock some brutal-looking soldiers in the courtyard approached the bars of our windows, and found it amusing to point their guns at us, but withdrew without shooting any of us down. A fat little man who was very shabby and on whose

chin an eight days' beard made a brown smudge slipped up to me and said:

"You see the Russian revolution, Sir. It's splendid, isn't it? What is going on here is madness, pure madness, a monstrous nightmare. All honest, well-educated, respectable men are in prison, while malefactors reign. * * * "

Sometimes, while we were talking together, some improvised police agent appeared, reading with difficulty some document while all were silent. He would call out a family name, followed by a Christian name, and, according to Russian custom, the father's name. Usually it meant a summons to one of those examinations, both terrible and burlesque, so many of whose incidents had been commented on all over Moscow. Some unhappy wretch would then rise and depart, with pale face and bent head.

The sinister vagabonds, the ignorant heroes who had accepted the post of inquisitors, the very Judge of the commission, were mostly men of limited intelligence and of evil temper. Strangers to the most elementary principle of justice, almost always incapable of understanding the very questions which they were charged to clarify, they overwhelmed the prisoner with shouts and insults, and it was sometimes at the point of a revolver that they ordered him to confess and to reveal his accomplices. What was the destination of the prisoner thus summoned by one of them? Death, perhaps. How many had already departed after such a summons, and had never again been seen? But sometimes, also—Oh, very rarely!—resounded, after the utterance of a name, the phrase: *Na svobodu*. (In liberty.) And then there were explosions of joy; handclaps and warm congratulations saluted him whose chance had come to escape from this filthy place.

AN APPEAL TO TCHITCHERIN

Toward 6 o'clock in the evening my own name was suddenly called by one of the jailers. * * * But they only gave me a package of preserves, a pillow-case, and a coverlet which had been sent me by my collaborators on the *Journal de Russie*. Disillusion! But an idea

came to me. Why had I not thought of it sooner? I would write to Tchitcherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs; he knew me; he had even had a conversation with me a few days before, and he knew that I had always conducted my journalistic campaign openly. When this member of the Bolshevik Government learned what had happened to me, I thought he would have me released. So I drew up a letter carefully, and handed it to the *starche*, who, every evening, collected the correspondence of the prisoners with the warning that he could accept it only if it was left unsealed. My letter went and evidently reached its address, but M. Tchitcherin refrained from helping me, or, rather, did not wish to do so.

A WRETCHED NIGHT

Evening came, bringing a hideous vision of famished beings who, like wild Indians, sat grouped in a circle, crouched over soup pots, from which, with all kinds of loud noises, smackings, indrawings, gurglings, they lapped up a liquid covered with fish grease. Ah, not for me! I did not even have the energy to open a can of preserves; I munched a biscuit and stretched myself out on a corner of the pallet between a female soldier, who squinted and wore spectacles, and an old priest. The latter, snoring reverberantly, slept untroubled by the lice and bedbugs which kept us awake all night. I think it must have been about midnight when armed sailors appeared at the door and imperiously called a name. Many heads were raised, many faces bore an anxious expression. One unhappy wretch rose like a ghost with a livid face. With a trembling voice he asked if he should take with him the different articles that he possessed. "You will not need your things where you are to be sent," replied a mocking, sinister voice; "leave all that here." The jailers divided his possessions among themselves.

On the morning of July 31, what a gloomy awakening in that menagerie all saturated with the exhalations of sleeping humanity! That whole day I passed hovering between hope and prescience of misfortune. * * * Toward 4 o'clock in the afternoon the rumor spread that

many of us were to be sent to the official prisons. This report proved to be true. The roll was called, and soon I found myself in a line marching to the courtyard, where a kind of "Black Maria" awaited our trembling band. Again, before piling us into this vehicle, our names were verified. A young soldier of the Soviet Army, a rosy youth with a blonde tuft of hair, and who seemed to play an active part in all the institution, noticed among us a man from the Caucasus, with a face of the color and apparent consistency of gingerbread, and with burning eyes. "Ah, you are the fellow who shot against us the second day of the battle of Jaroslav," he said to him. "Your account will be settled!" Then fixing on me his small blue eyes gleaming with a species of malevolent stupidity, and pointing his finger at me, he said, his voice filled with hatred: "That Frenchman will be shot in two or three days."

They pressed us in, they packed us together standing in that dark unventilated vehicle, which had borne so many victims to their death. Standing face to face, our breath and perspiration met and mingled. Our limbs, dovetailed together, could not be moved, but tensed at every jolt, seeking instinctively some point of support. Under my left arm, extended horizontally, a young boy was weeping bitterly, so lamentably that I suffered from his suffering. * * * Interminably the vehicle jolted on. Some of those near the wall next to the driver's seat peered between some cracks. "Tagannka! They are taking us to Tagannka!" they cried. "Tagannka!" commented others; "we are lucky. That prison is much more comfortable than Butirky. We're in luck!"

IN TAGANNKA PRISON

Violent shocks and joltings; we divined that the prison van was swiftly turning. We heard heavy doors swing back. Then our vehicle opened, and like a load dumped from a tipcart we poured forth upon the stones of a courtyard encompassed on all sides by red brick buildings, whose windows were barred. * * * Verification of names again, new searchings. The jailers of Tagannka Prison

were very different from those of the Extraordinary Commission. It was evident that we were in a prison destined for thieves and assassins. With four others, under the guidance of a jailer, I was brought to Room 5, to which I had been assigned. Iron doors grated and closed again; we traversed a vast rectangular gallery, where to right and left, with geometrical symmetry, three floors of cells were built, one above the other; their small white doors opened uniformly upon a kind of long balcony, patrolled by jailers.

We went down a stairway, passing by many embrasures, where, behind iron bars, the pale, curious faces of prisoners recognizable from their long white cassocks as common law convicts watched us go by. Bewildered we passed in front of four gratings, higher and wider than any we had seen before, inclosing a large room where I saw a crowd pressed against the bars and evidently seeking to identify the new arrivals. A throng. It is incredible how many men a prison can contain! Thirty or forty steps more and we reached Room 5. The door had just been bolted behind us, and I had scarcely taken a few steps in the dim light of this cell, inhabited by about twenty captives, when a young man with a black beard came to me and held out his hand. "Ah, here you are!" he said. "We heard you had been arrested, and we knew you were at the Extraordinary Commission. Welcome! I am the starche of this cell, and we will do all we can to make your stay here as comfortable as possible. But I see you do not remember me. My beard puts you off the track. I am Vininkin, the orderly of General Gurko, at the northern front, at Dvinsk."

EXECUTING THE ABLEST MEN

The appearance of Vininkin aroused in me a throng of memories. His aspect recalled to me pre-revolutionary Russia during the war. I remembered my adventures at the northern front. I saw again the moving departure of Russian troops to the French front, and also I thought of the brilliant horse races at Dvinsk, in whose organization Vininkin had taken an active part. Who could

have foreseen that—* * * But the Captain continued:

Six of our comrades who lived in this cell until today have just been taken away. The same prison van which brought you here came for them at 3 o'clock and will take them to a barrack, where they will probably be shot tomorrow morning. Six splendid young officers, the best of what remained of the Russian Army! One of them fought on the French front. Besides the Cross of St. George he received the Legion of Honor, the French War Cross, and the English Military Medal. Brave of the brave! That is the way they massacre the energetic elements who under more favorable circumstances might have tried to save Russia. Fifteen of us in this cell were members of the old "League for the Defense of the Russian Fatherland." Only three, myself included, are left. The others have all been shot, or soon will be.

If they are going to kill us all, why don't they do it all at once? What's the use of inflicting this perpetual anguish upon us? Every time a jailer approaches each of us wonders if he has not been sent to bring us to the place of execution. Every name called makes us tremble. If at least we were sure of meeting a quick and decent death, that would be some consolation. Some unhappy wretches, wounded only in the legs or in the stomach, have lain groaning on the ground for hours before any one thought of dispatching them with a revolver shot. All this certainly isn't gay. But in spite of everything we are philosophical. It is probably our life at the front that enables us to endure without too much depression this vegetative existence in this sombre room in a space so narrow we can scarcely move about, in this sinister antechamber to the cemetery. You will see that we are not degenerating.

This was true, for I saw a group of seven or eight officers, young men of fine physical development, performing with great precision movements of Swedish gymnastics. Most of them before long would lie beneath the earth. They knew this, but they acted as though they did not know it, and the smile never vanished from their lips. * * *

WITH NEW COMPANIONS

Soon afterward I was transferred to Room 1. A warm reception greeted me there. Besides two Frenchmen, Adjutant Guillon and a chauffeur named Dubuis, this room, the largest of the

whole prison, contained twenty Czechs and forty Poles arrested at the same time with them at the railway station. The room also contained about twenty Russians. A man was pointed out to me, short and obese, bald, with a keen and yet also furtive gaze. He walked up and down with long strides, frowning and preoccupied. This was a Bolshevik Commissary charged with dishonesty in office. The other prisoners lowered their voices when this ambiguous person approached; they feared that he might seek to rehabilitate himself by spying and informing. There were also among us some members of Russian Socialist parties independent of that to which the Bolshevik usurpers belonged. There were many interesting personalities which the police of the Czar's régime had often tracked down, judging their ideas subversive. And yet these men excited suspicion in the Extraordinary Commission, which accused them of counter-revolutionary activities.

Room 1, like all those which formed part of the prison, was contiguous to the long corridor through which I had been brought on July 31. This passage was a gallery, whose barred windows, above inner courts and encompassing walls, opened like a row of sinister eyes fixed from above far out over a suburb of Moscow. Four monumental windows with pointed arches, fortified by iron bars before which the most formidable wild beasts would have felt their impotence, premitted us to look out upon this corridor, through whose openings we could see gardens in which worked cultivators and carters; woodsheds, scattered houses, empty land, and among green foliage the polychrome hues of an ancient monastery with golden bulbs and high turrets, from which came the sound of tolling bells. The contrast between that sunlit horizon, where the radiant Summer light played, and the hideous cage in which we were imprisoned was poignant. We were in a room that was gray and dusty, with a macadamized floor. In long, close alignment stood some 90 or 100 beds provided only with a vermin-infested mattress. The promiscuity and uncleanness inflicted on the prisoners were most lamentable.

ATTACKS OF ENEMIES

In the idleness of those hours, which passed heavily, the reading of papers was our main diversion. The two official organs of the Bolsheviks, the *Izvestia* and the *Pravda*, were impatiently awaited every morning. From the day of my arrival these papers often spoke of me, and in such a tone that it began to get upon my nerves. One day an article of the *Pravda* represented me as a man of shameful crimes, an agent of the monarchy; the next day the *Pravda* jesuitically attacked me as though I were still a free agent. When I was already imprisoned in my cage at Taganka the *Pravda* quoted fragments of my old articles deliberately to create the impression that their publication was quite recent. And the *Pravda* ended its long malediction with this ominous phrase: "But is not something disagreeable going to happen to you, Monsieur Naudeau? Take care! take care!" This fact that I was the personal object of the violence of the Bolshevik press won for me among my companions a consideration which I would have preferred to do without. This flood of outrage at a moment when I could neither answer nor discuss had a singularly depressing effect upon my nerves. More than once I remained prostrated on my pallet, with scarcely strength enough to take my food.

On Aug. 7 I was suddenly called to the prison office, and recognized the French Vice Consul, M. Labonne, accompanied by a big man, M. Morel, who had been the bookkeeper of the *Journal de Russie* and also Secretary of the Consulate. I uttered a cry of joy. A representative of the Extraordinary Commission accompanied them. He told us that if we spoke any other language than Russian for a single moment he would immediately interrupt our conversation. M. Labonne and I thereupon began to talk in Russian. He tried to console me with words from which I saw with extreme sadness that he could not do much for me, but I learned from him for the first time with deep joy that events on the French front seemed to be entering upon a new phase, and that a great victory was in sight. * * *

FRENCH MISSION FOOD

My transfer to Room 1 had the advantage of enabling me to share in the provisions distributed three times a week by the French Mission to the French, Czech, and Polish soldiers. On other days we had to get along on the prison diet, which was a myth, an odor rather than a substance, consisting mainly of a piece of black bread, cabbage soup at noon, and at 6 o'clock in the evening another soup of the same kind.

Under pretext that I had not yet been examined, I was kept absolutely isolated from the outer world. But as it was indispensable that the heavy pots should be brought to us from the prison office, a group of prisoners from our room was called on for this task. I always managed to be one of this group. Interviews which it would have been impossible for me to obtain in my own person I secured as a humble porter. Once in the prison office I met four or five of the young Russian officers whose comrade I had been for two days in the sinister Room 1. They were handsome, strongly built young men, courteous and frank. Two of them, with that impulsive heedlessness characteristic of Russians when they are in love, held their fiancées closely embraced in their arms, and I learned that one of these young girls, whose charm had struck me especially, was the Princess Turkestana. These love-intoxicated couples, exalted by hope born of despair, tried in the brief period of one of these meetings to realize the whole eternity of a dreamed-of happiness. * * *

We lived at Tagannka in an atmosphere of piety not without its charm. Weekly masses in the prison chapel afforded us the enjoyment of beautiful music and the fragrance of incense, while the Patriarch of Moscow, who was one of our fellow-prisoners, blessed and embraced us. Often, outside the regular services, the church bells began to toll. A *panikhida*, or mass for the dead, was to be solemnized. A group of us took up a collection for the celebration of a requiem for the soul of some friend executed the day before.

[Life flowed by, sad and monotonous, in

the prison at Tagannka. The day's exercise, the mechanical task of eating, long hours of despairing, brooding. The main jailer often appeared in the evening with a bit of paper; he would call out a name; the one called rose, pale and trembling, departed, and was never seen again. Newcomers took their places. An American Major of the International Red Cross visited the prison to study conditions; in a brief interview with M. Naudeau he held out no hope of release, and counseled patience. Hopes of allied intervention, of an advance from the east by Czechoslovaks or Japanese were not fulfilled. The Red Terror of Moscow continued; the prisoners daily yielded their quota of victims to the executioner. The Extraordinary Commission sent Dzerzhinsky, its President, to Tagannka, to expedite the condemnations. Thin, dark, with drooping mustache, with feverish, bloodshot eyes, he appeared and examined many of the prisoners, one by one, very calmly; many of those questioned by him were shortly afterward taken out and shot, among them M. Naudeau's friend, Captain Vininkin, after indescribable moral torture. Every time a file of these condemned prisoners departed through the gallery on their way to execution the inmates of Room 1 gave way to despair. A sudden perquisition took from the prisoners, especially those who lived in the cells, every bit of food or means of comfort which they had managed to secure. On Aug. 31 the prisoners learned from the Bolshevik papers that in Moscow on the day before the life of Lenin had been attempted, and that in Petrograd on the same day Uritsky, Commissary of Internal Affairs of the Northern Commune, had been killed. The *Izvestia* and the *Pravda* were filled with sombre fury, and devoted whole pages to horrible threats and projects of reprisal. The anxiety of the political prisoners increased. The inmates of Room 1 soon learned that they were to be withdrawn from Tagannka and removed to the prison of Butirky, which had a sinister reputation. Before they left, one of their number, who was too sick to rise from his bed, was taken out and shot; a Polish officer, severely attacked by pneumonia, was allowed to die without medical attention. The narrative of M. Naudeau continues]:

IN BUTIRKY PRISON

Horrible was our state when we finally arrived in the courtyard of the prison of Butirky. I thought I had already been very unhappy during the preceding two months. I was soon to learn that a still more miserable fate awaited me, in comparison with which the memory of Tagannka would leave me with the greatest regrets. Man is a wolf for man.

When we reached the prison of Butirky, bowed under the weight of our cumbrous, shapeless packs, the jailers ordered us to stand in rows of twos, and we waited thus for a long time in the dark hall of the ground floor. * * * Thieves and assassins poured out for nearly two hours. These wretched beings, like those of Tagannka, were clothed in long gray cassocks; the jailers pushed and pulled them about like inanimate objects; we saw that the habit of controlling criminals had transformed these State agents into brutes with human faces. As soon as we appeared they also addressed us roughly and pushed us about. * * * The hall in which we were waiting was dilapidated; its cracked plaster hung in greenish crusts, oozing with dank moisture. All that we saw was impregnated with wretchedness and filth. Butirky, decidedly, deserved its sinister reputation. The *ugolovni*, (common-law criminals,) flabby, sallow beings, dressed like so many Pierrots, sneered as they passed us, seeing so many honest men waiting to take their places. * * *

Finally the jailers drove us up three flights of stairs, through long corridors; some twenty-five of us at hazard were forced into a room which we filled, and the door was locked behind us. It was a small room with a vaulted ceiling, where we could scarcely move about without colliding. The beds, raised vertically against the wall during the day, almost touched, and when they were taken down at night they occupied three-quarters of the room's area. The cement floor was covered with a slime which we could not remove. The room was vilely malodorous. The Bolshevik creators of a new world thus precipitated us, unjust and uncondemned, into a dungeon where, a short time before, twenty-five criminals had been living. Without disinfection, without cleaning, we were installed in slime, in sweat, in all the accumulated filth of these wretches, and their parasites were already pumping our blood.

All the criminals had not been removed; we met them three times a day in the toilet rooms, where we were all

mingled together. Those of us assigned to do manual labor and whose duty it was to descend to the kitchens to bring the enormous caldrons of soup had to mix with dense throngs of these bandits, and actually come to blows with them. The same jailers watched over us both; they used the same language when they had orders to give. Nothing was more painful than to hear the incessant clamors of these rough jailers and the bursts of devilish laughter of the criminals in the long corridors which re-echoed them.

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

In our cell at Butirky chance had united some very curious types of our Russian world. I slept between a Colonel, veteran of many great battles, and the manager of a metallurgical factory. Among us were one of the most eminent lawyers of Petrograd, a young sailor of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of the Left accused of being one of the assassins of Mirbach, and a Captain whom I did not at first recognize, but who turned out to be one of my friends in Manchuria. We had with us also two rural landlords who had been possessed of large estates, a priest, a former brewer of Petrograd, and some peasants.

But, above all, our company was noteworthy for the number of Socialists of all parties that it contained. * * * Subtle controversies were engaged in. These militant Socialists were theoretically as hostile to capitalism as the party in power. And during these prolonged debates, the rural proprietors nodded their heads, very bewildered and supremely afraid of giving offense; disconcerted, they made big eyes or lowered their gaze modestly, to hide their disapproval, thinking that decidedly they had fallen into queer company. Sometimes they exchanged a furtive glance, which said: "The main point these people are discussing is our own death."

When the fine days of Autumn came to an end, a new affliction came upon us, that of bad odors. From October on, with the first frosts, the Polish soldiers, like Russians in this, began to manifest great fear of air. They had attributed the death of their officer at

Tagannka to a draft, and they remained impressed by this. Crouched, shivering at the foot of their beds, these haters of air began to shake as soon as we tried to freshen the fetid atmosphere of our prison. But, as they were in the majority, we had to resign ourselves. Man, that evil-tempered animal, is also a malodorous animal. The communism of bad smells is that form of communism most easily realizable.

Also we had to resolve, we who did not eat, to allow ourselves to be eaten by myriads of insects who had lived on the flesh of criminals. And to think, I reflected, one feverish night, when nauseated by the exhalation of breaths and other odors, harassed by the resistless attack of innumerable and indestructible insects, I tossed on my bed, that it is with the object of making humanity finer and happier that the Bolshevik fanatics pack together thousands of

intelligent beings to rot away in prison! One day, about Oct. 10, the jailer appeared, and through the door held ajar hailed my friend Guillon, and told him to take all his baggage and leave the room. What was his destination? We did not know. I learned a little later that he, as well as Dubuis, had been liberated. About an hour after my compatriot had left I was also called by the jailer and ordered to take my things and leave the room. The Poles pressed around me, overwhelming me with congratulations, but some presentiment kept me from rejoicing. The jailer took me through long corridors. I went down a flight of stairs and through gratings, and reached a part of the prison which I did not know; a door was opened, and I found myself, not in the street, but alone in a narrow cell, whose bolts, as they were pushed, reverberated behind me.

[*To be Continued*]

German New Guinea as an Australian Colony

THE German New Guinea territory, handed over by allied mandate to Australia, is very nearly twice the size of the British Isles. It includes German New Guinea, (the northern part of the mainland of New Guinea,) New Britain, New Ireland, several small adjacent islands, the Admiralty and Hermit groups, and Buka and Bougainville of the German Solomons. The white population, mostly Germans, is about 4,000, the native population about 750,000. This territory is one of the most fertile in the South Pacific, and has been well developed by the German settlers. Germany loses an excellent territory, which, besides its political and strategic importance to the British Empire, has wonderful commercial possibilities. Under wise and progressive administration, in ten years' time it might vie with the Dutch colony of Java. It possesses splendid harbors and rivers, and as a naval base (Germany's intention) the whole possession offered ideal conditions.

The capital, Rabaul, is the best planned town in the South Pacific islands. Blanche Bay, its harbor, can carry the deepest of oversea steamers; German

men-of-war were able to tie up to the fine jetty within the small inner harbor, directly in front of the town. Every street is laid out with uniform care and regularity, and is shaded by beautiful tropical trees. The botanical gardens, laid out and managed by a gardener from the ex-Kaiser's own Berlin gardens, is without doubt one of the finest in the whole Southern Hemisphere. There are huge business warehouses, ornate public buildings, and elegant and comfortable private bungalows. Everything has been done for color and effect.

It was in September, 1914, that an Australian naval contingent landed at Herbertshohe to seize the German territory and to silence the powerful wireless station up in the hills about three miles away. The Germans promised no opposition, but no sooner had the Australians landed than mines were exploded, and from secure trenches German soldiers fired upon them. The march of the Australians on to the wireless station through almost impenetrable jungle was accounted one of the fine deeds of the war.

Forty-six Months a Prisoner

By ANDRÉ BANDONI

[ILLUSTRATED WITH DRAWINGS BY THE AUTHOR]

The author of this article, a French soldier and artist, was captured by the Germans in the very first fighting in Alsace—after all the other men in his squad had fallen—and remained a prisoner until the signing of the armistice. He is a brother of Lieutenant Georges Rodger Bandoni, who was sent to the United States as a member of the French Advisory Mission, and who spent a whole year in Camps Sheridan, Jackson, and Doniphan as instructor of artillery. When André Bandoni was released at the close of hostilities he prepared for the French Ministry of War a brief account of what he had seen and endured, and this document, translated by his brother, is here presented in substance, with pen-and-ink drawings by the author.

FORTY-SIX months have passed since that fatal day in the Vosges Mountains when the first wave of the barbarians swept over the line of dead Frenchmen and made prisoners of the few unfortunates still left alive. Years of tortured waiting have intervened, and many of my comrades of those years now sleep in the graves of exiles.

So brutal was the treatment inflicted upon us that many clashes occurred between our captors and us until hunger and weakness drove us to surly submission. After we had been thoroughly searched and robbed of money, jewelry, and even the pictures and letters of our loved ones, we were driven to work at the point of the pistol or bayonet. Our first work was grave-digging. The burying of the vast masses of German dead gave us a grim satisfaction, while sorrow wrung our hearts over our own beloved heroes.

Finally, we were carried further from the front and the noise of the guns grew fainter and fainter. We listened eagerly for news. Had the French sunk under the blows of the terrible engine of militarism? Our captors delighted to keep us in ignorance. We knew not even when the hour of Joffre, the hour of the Marne, came. Weary months passed before that news sifted in to us.

Whenever we were transferred by rail from one point to another, we were huddled together, the sick, the wounded, the well, into cattle cars and sent on long, long journeys. We were greeted at the various stations by German men

and women waving flags and singing "Deutschland über alles," and taunting us. Endless-seeming days at last terminated in various camps; some had barracks, some only canvas tents, while at other places the French were herded in the open, like cattle; they had to construct their own dugouts, or else perish in the rain and cold. An officer visited each camp to read orders, explain court-martial, and enumerate the hundreds of things that were "verboten."

Very soon after our arrival we were organized into squads for various kinds of work; some went to the quarries, some to the mines, some to the roads and railways, but all were subjected to a life of slavery and inhuman deprivation of food.

For months we were not allowed to send news of our whereabouts to our families. Imagine the agony of suspense on either side! At last came the first letters and packages—through the Red Cross. The letters filled our starving hearts, while the money orders and packages revived our starving bodies. The rigors of prison life were somewhat relaxed, and we were allowed to amuse ourselves with drawing, painting, woodcarving, and music. Yes, we sang! And then we arranged concerts and theatricals—anything to take our minds off our misery and cheer the fainting hearts of many comrades.

The prisons were becoming crowded, for now to our numbers were added Belgians, Russians, Serbians, Italians, and Rumanians. Strange dialogues took

place, in which gesture and facial expression had more weight than words. Necessity overcame the barriers of unknown speech. I hope the Russian prisoners will never forget the cordial welcome we French gave them in November, 1914, at the Bavarian camp of Lech-



TIED TO THE STAKE IN A GERMAN PRISON

field. But this fraternizing of the allied prisoners did not suit the Germans. They sought to sow dissension and distrust among us—and succeeded in only a few instances.

Some of the neutral nations sent committees into the prison camps to "investigate conditions." What could they see or learn except what the Germans desired? They had the stage set for the visits, and exploited the concerts, theatricals, and their activities. Then when the visitors had departed, we were "punished." The allied nationalities were separated into barb-wired camps, while armed sentries paced between to prevent communication. The French were also isolated into "blocks" behind barbed wire, being scattered thus on the ground that they were the most "unruly." Yet all this did not prevent escapes over or under the wire, and visit-

ing went on between the allies, thus keeping up our spirits. Also, many practical jokes were played upon our stupid jailers, who could only reply with brutality.

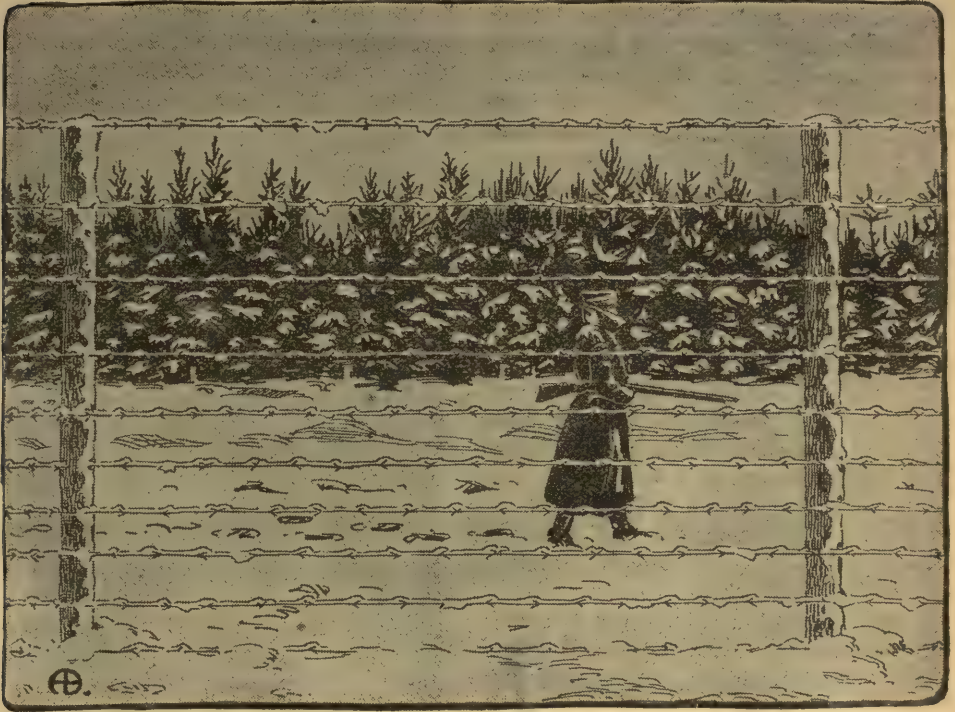
So we came to know all the horrors of the various modes of punishment. In some camps "the stake" was used; to this the prisoner was chained and left, according to season, either in the burning sun until fainting or in the snow or



"SQUAT BEHIND THE IRON BARS OF THE CAGE"

icy rain until so frozen that only a remnant of life was left—often death released him. In other camps "the silo" was used. This was a horrible hole in the ground, with no covering overhead; and filthy stuff, given the name of food, was thrown to him just often enough to keep him from dying. But worst of all was "the cage"; this instrument of torture was of iron bars; it was too small for a man either to lie down in and stretch out, or to stand erect; his limbs were necessarily bent and cramped all the time.

Another "exquisite joke" of the Huns was to interrogate the prisoners, learn their former occupation and reverse vio-



GERMAN SENTRY GUARDING THE BARBED WIRE FENCE OF A PRISON ENCAMPMENT

lently all their former modes of life. Hence, the professional men were sent to quarries, mines, roads, or into the swamps or the turf-pits.

We welcomed being sent to the country to harvest the crops. Here we studied the peasants and learned their triple form of slavery under the vicar, the schoolmaster, and the Mayor, who all taught that the Kaiser was supreme. We French took delight in introducing ideas of liberty and democracy, and dealt some terrific blows to the passive habit of implicit obedience which had enslaved the German Nation.

These various experiences were a school for us, for we allied prisoners grew more to cherish the ideals for which we had fought and were now being tortured. Not even death could take from us the spirit of resistance to militarism. So thousands perished, not only through plain murder but through tortures such as I have described; and to these was often added the horror of epidemics of typhus and cholera. In the

latter case allied doctors were permitted to come, but with empty hands, and the little they could do in the circumstances was bravely performed. In rare instances a few German doctors remained at their posts of duty, and some thus gave their lives; but the majority fled with the other officials from the doomed camps. As our weaker comrades thus yielded to disease, torture, hope deferred, we reverently regarded them. They were unsung heroes who went down under inhuman odds. They fill hallowed graves, the graves of heroes; yet they live in our memories, in our heart of hearts. They are the heroes of that awful list marked officially "missing."

Thus the weary years dragged on. Our struggle was to keep our faith, our cheerfulness, and to uphold the faint-hearted. Daily we climbed our gloomy calvary.

Now a steady stream of new prisoners came to bring despair. The battle lines, east and west, were raging; brothers and friends were falling. Dark, dark

was the cloud, indeed! But we steadfastly believed that Joffre, Pétain, and Foch would yet turn that cloud into silver. By no means should the enemy break our spirit or our faith! They could place us once more on French soil, and at the point of pistol or bayonet force us, as unarmed men, to dig and serve, but only a small amount of labor could they wring from us, for many gave their lives rather than serve the enemies of France, while others fell victims to the shells and bullets of their own comrades just across No Man's Land.

At last, in May of 1917, there came a glorious light from the west; a light that had its origin beyond the ocean! And to the shout that had greeted it from London to Paris and on to Rome was added the open rejoicing of prisoners who refused to remain silent. America had entered the war!

The Germans looked on us and smiled. The newspapers made haste to reassure the anxious population. "The American army does not exist," they said. "Such forces as the Americans have are composed of idealists and business men, who would never dream of drawing sword against the Kaiser's cohorts; and even if they tried it, their ships would meet the fate of the *Lusitania*."

We waited feverishly. Then came the news of the formidable army landed on our beloved shores and eagerly training for battle! At last the Germans seemed suddenly to awaken to their danger. While there was yet time they must make a supreme effort—before those

Americans were ready. So the line of battle swayed to and fro, while we watched Foch with bated breath. The wall of steel was holding now, for, marching, marching, came Pershing, and



AT THE BOTTOM OF THE "SILO"

the Star-Spangled Banner floated beside our Tricolor in the storm of shot and shell and the haze of poisonous gas. American blood, noble and generous, and faithful to the memory of Lafayette and Rochambeau, flowed upon the martyred soil of France! The day of the Hun was over. The hour of victory for human liberty had struck.



Japan and the Peace Settlements

Resentment of China Over the Shantung Award—Bitter Debate in United States Senate

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 10, 1919]

THOSE portions of the German Peace Treaty (Articles 156-158) which transfer to Japan the former German rights in Shantung Peninsula have become the subject of fierce dispute, first, between the Chinese and Japanese themselves, and, secondly, in the United States, particularly in the Senate, where certain Republican Senators have attacked the treaty especially upon this ground. That these articles were formulated under the combined pressure of the Italian withdrawal from the conference because of Fiume, the discontent of Belgium threatening a similar secession, and the imminent possibility that Japan, disappointed and incensed at the failure of her efforts to have a clause of racial equality inserted, would refuse to sign the treaty and the League of Nations covenant if she were refused her demands in the matter of Shantung, was repeatedly set forth by Paris correspondents in close touch with the proceedings of the Peace Conference. The further complication of the secret agreements made by Japan with Great Britain, France, and Italy in 1917, by which these nations, at a peculiarly difficult moment of the war, pledged themselves to support Japan's Shantung claims, and even of an agreement signed by China herself that the Shantung rights should be taken over by Japan from Germany, was likewise pointed out.

President Wilson has stated that the Shantung settlement was decided on only after emphatic assurances from the Japanese that the territory in question would be returned within a reasonable time; but the Chinese and their friends declare that these are idle promises, and insist that Japan should officially put itself on record in the matter. That this would be done by

Japan was prophesied by President Wilson; in the event that it were not done, he intimated, he himself would issue a statement on the understanding reached at the Peace Conference.

The prediction of the President was fulfilled with the official statement of Viscount Uchida in Tokio on Aug. 3, reiterating Japan's intention "to hand back Shantung in full sovereignty to China, retaining only economic privileges," and intimating that an international and not a purely Japanese community would be established at Tsingtao. A reference to the Japanese-Chinese secret treaty of 1915 evoked from President Wilson a statement that at Paris he had explicitly repudiated any form of acquiescence in that treaty. Shortly afterward various patriotic Chinese societies organized in the United States made from Washington a formal reply to Viscount Uchida, in which it was pointed out, on the basis of Japan's own action in the past, that a return of sovereignty without the return of economic rights was meaningless, and that a full and unconditional restoration of the territory involved must be demanded. Similar views were publicly expressed by persons of prominence friendly to China, notably by Dr. E. T. Williams, technical adviser on Far Eastern matters at the Peace Conference, in testimony given on Aug. 22 before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate.

SHANTUNG QUESTION IN PARIS

Dr. Williams stated that the President, in discussing the disposition of German-leased rights in Kiao-Chau Bay and Tsingtao, had told him in Paris last April that "the war appears to have been fought to establish the sanctity of treaties; and though some of them are unconscionable, they must be kept." His

own view of the Shantung award was expressed as follows:

My opinion is that the decision was most unfortunate. I believe the Kiaochau territory and the railroads running from Tsing-tao through Shantung Province ought to have gone automatically to China at the Peace Conference. They were taken from China by a German act of piracy, and the fact that Japan got them from China afterward did not alter the fact that they should have reverted to China, the sovereign nation.

Reviewing the negotiations at Paris, Dr. Williams threw new light on the psychology of President Wilson in forming the ultimate decision. Dr. Williams, following the receipt by the American delegation of a protest from the legislative assembly of Shantung Province against awarding Kiaochau to Japan, had pointed out to the conference that, under the treaty with China in 1858, the United States was bound to protect China in this contingency. Instructed to put in writing his suggestion that a clause be inserted in the treaty providing for the return of Kiaochau to China, he did this; subsequently he was asked by the President to confer with the Far Eastern experts of Great Britain and France, and to file a report stating whether it would be better for China if the German rights in Shantung were transferred directly and unqualifiedly to Japan, or whether the Japanese-Chinese treaty of May 25, 1915, should be carried out. (This treaty included a promise by Japan to return to China all of Shantung on four conditions, involving perpetual and exclusive control by Japan of the port of Tsing-tao.)

On April 24 President Wilson told him that Great Britain and France were bound to fulfill their secret treaties with Japan. Dr. Williams then suggested that the award be made on condition of reversion to China within a year, and, at the President's request, put this in writing. On April 24 the combined report of the Far Eastern experts was sent. It expressed the view that it would be better for China to have the Shantung territory awarded to Japan outright rather than to fulfill the terms of the treaty of 1915. Dr. Williams and the British expert subsequently filed an inde-

pendent memorandum insisting that neither of these things be done, but that a blanket return to China be provided for.

In the memorandum submitted by Dr. Williams to President Wilson the former said that the treaty of 1915 was obtained from China by force and duress; that Japan at the time had two divisions of crack troops in China and sent two more; and that she gave China only fifty-one hours to comply with an ultimatum. Regarding the President's Fourteen Points, which Mr. Wilson had told him previously did not, unfortunately, cover China's case, Dr. Williams in his memorandum pointed out that the President had broadened the scope of these principles in his address at Washington's tomb on July 4, and that he believed this portion of the President's peace program did cover the Shantung case; on this ground he urged abrogation of the secret treaties and a settlement of the Shantung question on its merits.

On April 30, however, he received word that the decision, in the form embodied in the Peace Treaty, had been arrived at.

In his further testimony Dr. Williams said that Chinese resentment over the award to Japan involved danger of further war, and that American prestige in China had been appreciably lowered, inasmuch as the United States had invited China to enter the war, and that China had thus expected the United States to stand by her at the Peace Conference.

MINISTER REINSCH RESIGNS

As a direct result, it was stated, of the Shantung award and the failure of the United States to support China's claims against those of Japan, Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, American Minister to China since the early days of the Wilson Administration, tendered his resignation, which was received at Washington on Aug. 26. It was the opinion of those in close touch with the Chinese situation, and with Mr. Reinsch's work at Peking, that his position with the Peking Government had become untenable as the result of his having given that Govern-

ment assurance that China's interests would be supported by America at the Peace Conference, thus inducing China to declare war on Germany.

Meanwhile China's situation, after the refusal of her instructed delegates to sign the Peace Treaty with Germany, remained anomalous. On Aug. 17 it was announced from Peking that the edict declaring the war with Germany at an end would not be issued until the treaty with Austria was signed. The Chinese Government was then considering what measures would be taken when the mandate was issued, including the right of Germans to extraterritoriality. It still maintained unaltered its determination not to negotiate with Japan regarding the Shantung provisions of the Peace Treaty.

An important development in the Chinese-Japanese situation was the signing of the Austrian Peace Treaty on Sept. 10 at St. Germain by the Chinese delegates, whereby China became a member of the League of Nations. This step, when the League of Nations begins to function, will enable China to present her case with respect to Shantung and the 1915 treaties before the League.

KOREAN POLICY INDICTED

The defenders of China's attitude are numerous. One of these is Professor Homer B. Hulbert, for twenty-three years a resident of Korea and former official adviser of the Korean Emperor, who on Aug. 16 filed a statement with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in which he said that the Japanese had ruled Korea against the will of the people with an iron hand, and in many ways had proved the hardest kind of taskmasters.

With the statement he filed copies of letters written by the Korean Emperor fourteen years ago to the President of the United States and the King of England, protesting against the act of Japan in assuming a protectorate over his country. In his letter to President Roosevelt the Emperor declared that "the so-called treaty of protectorate recently concluded between Korea and Japan was extorted at the point of the sword and under duress," and that he, as the

head of the Korean Government, had never consented to the negotiation of the treaty. In the letter to the King of England he sought aid in bringing the dispute before The Hague tribunal for adjudication.

In his statement Mr. Hulbert said:

The time has come when it seems necessary to lay before the American people some facts bearing upon the request of the Korean people that they be freed from the tyranny of Japan. This request was made by millions of that nation in a perfectly peaceful way on March 1, 1919, and was met by a perfect orgy of abuse and persecution on the part of the military authorities there. Thousands of people were beaten, tortured, and even killed, and women were treated with obscene brutality.

PROTRACTED HOSTILITY

Professor Hulbert traced the history of Japanese-Korean relations from 600 B. C. to the present time, and said that there never was a time in all these centuries "when Japan did not exhibit a hostile and aggressive spirit toward the Korean people and Government." After describing the assassinations and intrigues of 1884 he continued:

The people of America have read in all the papers indescribable atrocities of which Japan has been guilty during the last few months. And now Japan, whipped to it by public opinion, says that the military party has gone too far and reforms will be instituted. The apologists of Japan have been saying that the civil party will change all that. Well; I ask the American public to note that the following things were common occurrences in Korea when the civil party was dominant there and Prince Ito was the Governor General:

Because three Koreans, maddened by the fact that all their land had been taken by the Japanese for railroad purposes, without a cent of immediate or prospective payment, went out one night and tore up a few feet of a construction track, they were taken out and crucified and then shot to pieces. There are hundreds of photographs of this event.

When a telegraph line was cut near a country village by parties unknown but presumably by Korean guerrilla fighters, the Japanese came and burned down ten villages and left the people to freeze and starve during the Winter. One old man over eighty years old, on his knees, begged them to spare his home. The Japanese ran him through with their swords and threw his body into the burning rafters of his own home.

Within a stone's throw of my own house in Seoul a Korean lived who refused to sell his house to the Japanese for one-quarter of its value. One night six Japanese, stripped stark naked, broke into the house and shocked the inmates so that they deserted the house and fled to the country, and the Japanese got the place for nothing.

A Presbyterian hospital had forty cases in one month of Koreans who came begging to be cured of the morphine habit which the Japanese had taught them, and although Americans caught Japanese red-handed in the act of selling morphine to Koreans and notified the authorities, not a thing was done to stop the damnable traffic.

For a score of other reasons I affirm that Japan's proposal to effect reforms in Korea by establishing there a mixed civil and military régime is ludicrous. The very fact that they include the military shows that they propose to govern Korea by intimidation, whatever be the name under which it is carried out.

There is no right solution of the question except the restoration of the complete independence of the Korean people. They have always been so abused and insulted by the Japanese that the continuation of any Japanese control is simply unbearable. The Koreans will not consent to it, and either they must be made free or else the world must look on and see the rapid extinction of a nation of 10,000,000 people who are intrinsically far more "civilized" than are the Japanese themselves.

Japan, as at present conducted, is an anachronism. There is no room for brutal autocracy in this world from now on to the crack of doom. The sooner the Japanese people come to realize this and determine to take things in hand and oust the bureaucrats, the better for them and the better for the whole world. The question will never be settled without a complete revolution in Japan. The sooner it comes the better.

Japan's policy in Korea was also attacked by Kiusic Kimm, a Korean educated in the United States and head of the Korean delegation in Paris, on his arrival in New York on Aug. 21. In giving out the petitions submitted to the Peace Conference in May, Mr. Kimm declared that the "suffering of Korea under Japanese rule was worse than that of Belgium under the Germans," and that the independence movement leaders believed that the Japanese military class had the definite aim of denationalizing the race. He declared that the Japanese had about 150,000 soldiers

in the country, but that the desire for independence was universal among 10,000,000 Koreans.

Japanese control had fastened itself upon the life of the people in many ways, the delegate added. Estates and property of Koreans are supervised by the Japanese, the educational system is controlled, and none of the students is allowed to study in foreign countries. Spreading of the Christian religion is opposed, and the selling of opium and the formation of vicious habits are encouraged.

Intimations that Japan was aiming at complete Asiatic dominance through use of China's man power and economic resources were embodied by the Korean delegates in a letter written to Lloyd George.

Similarly Thomas F. Millard, for twenty years a traveler and student in the Orient and editor of a Far East magazine, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Aug. 18 that all the American experts on Oriental affairs at the Peace Conference had agreed that the Shantung decision would breed war. He emphasized America's unpleasant position in view of her official promises, given by the Ambassador to China, Mr. Reinsch, after the United States had invited China to enter the war, to support China's claims at the Peace Conference. France and England, said Mr. Millard, had given rather colorless pledges of this import, and Dr. Reinsch, in view of the fact that the cables to the United States were not working, assumed the responsibility of making similar pledges for his own country. Statements of the same trend were made before the committee by Dr. John O. Ferguson, official adviser to the President of the Chinese Republic, on Aug. 20.

JAPANESE STATEMENTS

In contrast with the protests of China and her friends, the utterances of Japanese diplomats in July and August were optimistic in the extreme. On July 17 Viscount Ishii, Japanese Ambassador to Washington, on his arrival at Tokio stated publicly that there was no collision of vital interests between Japan and the United States: the latter country

looked mainly to Europe and Latin America for her markets, and, contented with the strict observance by the powers of the open-door policy in China, had no thought of an economic monopoly of the Chinese market. The thinking people of America, he declared, were as a whole quite satisfied with the situation in the Far East. Talk of a possible eventual war between the United States and Japan, he intimated, was the work of propagandists.

A sterner and less conciliatory tone was adopted by Viscount Kato, who was the Minister responsible for the treaty of Japan with China in 1915, in a speech delivered in Tokio on Aug. 18. The import of this address was that Japan would back her Korean claims strongly, and would maintain her special position in China with all her power, though admitting the right of other nations to develop their own interests within proper limits. Viscount Kato characterized the attitude of the Chinese peace delegates as treachery toward Japan, in view of the agreement signed by China in 1915 that the rights in Tsing-tao should be taken over by Japan, and expressed great satisfaction, as prime mover of the 1915 treaty, that the Japanese claims had been accorded by the conference. The disturbances in China endangering the life and property of Japanese subjects were referred to by Viscount Kato, and it was intimated that, though Japan should seek friendly relations with China, the Japanese Government should preserve a "stern and dignified attitude."

On Aug. 27, in addressing a meeting of the Government party at Morioka, Japan, Premier Hara declared that the Chinese situation was caused by China's misunderstanding of Japan's sincere intentions. He said in part:

Japan has no ambitious designs against China. On the contrary, the Ministry is urgently advocating the importance of closer friendly relations. The day will come when China will realize the sincerity of Japan.

The attitude of the Japanese press during this period was of pronounced hostility to the United States Senators who had espoused the Chinese viewpoint on Shantung. Public statements made

by Senator Borah regarding war with Japan were denounced as "wanton" by the Hochi, which declared that, despite the opinions of America, Japan would never hesitate to carry out her rights guaranteed by the Peace Treaty. American race riots were referred to in a significant tone. The Chinese question, by other papers, was placed on a par with the Mexican problem in the United States. America's attitude of encouragement to China's aspirations was declared by the Jiji to be dangerous in the possibilities it opened of widespread disturbances and incidents similar to those that happened in the Boxer war.

NEW PROMISES OF REFORM

As for abuses committed by the Japanese administration in Korea, the Japanese Embassy at Washington on Aug. 20 made public the text of an imperial rescript and a statement by Premier Hara issued in Tokio the preceding day, announcing the abolition of military rule in Korea and the introduction of a civilian régime. Both documents announced, further, that all distinctions between Koreans and other Japanese subjects, and between Korean and Japanese administration, would be abolished, and that a regulation police force under control of the local Governors would take the place of the present military gendarmerie. Only the riots in March, it was declared, had delayed the introduction of these reforms before. Two civilians, Admiral Baron Saito and Mr. Midzuno, had been appointed, respectively, Governor General and Director General of Administration. Mr. Midzuno would be charged with the actual administrative work, and had had training for this post throughout twenty years' service in the Home Office and as Secretary of the Interior in the Terauchi Ministry. He had been a frequent visitor to Europe, and was noted for his democratic ideas.

On Aug. 31 Baron Saito, just before his departure for Korea, sketched an extremely favorable program and announced that he would adopt a liberal policy and fair treatment to all. Koreans, he said, would be allowed to hold office. Korean traditions would be respected. There would be no ruling by

the sword or intimidation by the military. Shortly before this Dr. Syngman Rhee, "President of the Korean Republic," had characterized the appointment of a civil Governor in Korea as a mere "face-saving" diplomatic expedient, inasmuch as the military administration would remain. Even if reforms were instituted, he declared, the growing spirit of independence in Korea would not be diminished.

Baron Saito arrived at Seoul on Sept. 2. As he and his wife were leaving the railway station, a bomb was exploded beneath his carriage. No one was killed, but several persons were wounded, including William Harrison, brother of former Mayor Carter Harrison of Chicago, and his wife, who were slightly injured.

On Aug. 26 the Supreme Court of Seoul, which had heard the appeal of the Rev. Eli Miller Mowry of Mansfield, Ohio, a Presbyterian Minister, from conviction on a charge of having sheltered Korean agitators, quashed the original judgment and remanded the missionary before the Court of Appeals. Mr. Mowry had been sentenced to six months' imprisonment at hard labor.

In a proclamation addressed to "the people of the world" the "Republic of Korea" was proclaimed in Washington on Aug. 31. The proclamation was signed by Dr. Syngman Rhee as "President of the Republic of Korea," and by J. Kiusic S. Kimm, Chairman of the Korean Commission to the Peace Conference. In the proclamation the sovereignty of Japan over Korea was repudiated, and the world was asked to accept Korea as an independent Government, founded on the principles expressed in the Declaration of Independence and in the utterances of President Wilson.

LOAN CONSORTIUM

The loan consortium determined on by representatives of Great Britain, France, Belgium, the United States, and Japan last May was still in the balance in September. On Aug. 22 it had been said that the Japanese militarists had won a victory in inducing the Japanese Cabinet to exclude Mongolia and Manchuria,

where Japanese interests were firmly entrenched, from the scope of this consortium. It was stated that this decision had been opposed by Viscount Uchida, and that the action was contrary to Washington's view of the best Chinese financial policy. On Aug. 29 Yuko Hamaguchi, President of a prominent Japanese bank, made a statement in which he laid down the following principles, advocated by the Kenseikei Party, of which he was an influential member:

Economic loans should be excluded from the scope of the consortium. Manchuria, Mongolia, and Shantung should also be excluded. Existing loans should be recognized if desired. The economic loans of the new group should be restricted to large enterprises.

Fear was expressed by Hamaguchi that the international consortium project, devised to overthrow the spheres of influence and to contribute through the influx of capital to the development of China, might endanger the freedom of that country by substituting the great collective influence of the powers associated in the loan. His own opinion was that the system of free loans was preferable to that of joint ones. It was not, he thought, advisable for Japan to participate in the joint loans at the cost of her rights of priority already acquired in China. Because of his authoritative financial position the statement of Mr. Hamaguchi was received in Washington with the greatest interest.

NEW JAPANESE AMBASSADOR

A dispatch from Tokio Sept. 5 announced the forthcoming appointment of Kijuro Shidehara as Ambassador to the United States to succeed Viscount Kikujiro Ishii. The new appointee is one of the youngest Japanese to receive an Ambassadorial post, being only 47 years old. His diplomatic experience, however, has been extensive. He has been Consul at London and Antwerp and has served as Counselor of the Japanese Embassy at Washington. He became Minister to the Netherlands in July, 1914, but was recalled soon after the outbreak of the war to the post he has been holding, that of Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Peace of 1814-15

By HAROLD SPENDER

[OF THE LONDON CHRONICLE]

THE statesmen of 1814 patched up a peace with France far more rapidly than the Great Ten or Four have patched up a peace with Germany today. There was actually a peace with France within six weeks of Napoleon's first abdication. But the story only begins there; and there was soon the end of that beginning. For that peace was torn up into small fragments by the campaign of the Hundred Days, and the whole thing had to be done over again with infinite repetition of toil and labor. Even then, the second peace was only another beginning; for the complete resettlement of Europe after the wars of Napoleon may be said to have occupied two-thirds of the nineteenth century.

Those tremendous events are still worth recalling. The first abdication of Napoleon—at the end of that extraordinary fight which he put up, even after Leipsic, the Battle of the Nations—took place on April 11, 1814. The first treaty was signed on May 30. Except in one respect, it was a peace of clemency. No indemnities were exacted in that first peace—not even after twenty years of European war! The French colonies were almost all restored. France was deprived of her imperial conquests; but she was allowed to retain some of her revolutionary winnings, and she retained the boundaries of Nov. 1, 1792—the third year of the revolution. But the one exception was fatal. Louis XVIII.—that old tired Bourbon exile who had “learned nothing and forgot nothing”—was propped on the throne. He threatened the peasant proprietors with the loss of their land; he brought back the decayed nobles; above all, he abolished the Tricolor, the flag of a hundred battles and the symbol of a thousand liberties. He paved all roads for the return of Napoleon.

Meanwhile, the Allies had been helping him. The Congress of Vienna—the real parallel to the conference of Paris—was even slower at starting than its illus-

trious successor of today. France had handed over all her conquests to be dealt with by the conquering Allies, and in return she had a place in the congress. Five months passed before the congress assembled—at Vienna on Nov. 3, 1814. It sat for three months. Its proceedings exhibited the most amazing resemblances to the present conference. There were secret treaties to cumber the ground—stocks of them, contracted in the heat of struggle with Napoleon. There was the same difference of opinion about Poland. It was even worse. So fiercely did those precious allies differ—so dearly did they love one another—so subtly did Talleyrand intrigue for France—that their armies were actually in motion against one another when the sudden whisper of “Boney” sent them scuttling back to their barracks. But it was too late. On March 4, 1815, Napoleon landed near Cannes, enthralled his old soldiery, advanced to Paris, and the “Hundred Days” began.

Waterloo was a “near thing,” according to Wellington; and he had every reason to know. But it served. Europe was allowed a second chance; and Napoleon this time was sent too far away to be dangerous. On July 8 Louis XVIII.—poor France!—was shuffled back on his throne, this time a little sobered by destiny. Again the statesmen set themselves to fashion peace. This time it took a great deal longer. The second treaty with France was not achieved till Nov. 20, 1815. It was a harsher document.

The boundaries of France were thrown back to the limits of 1790—a fact of which Paris is very much aware today. The Allies now imposed an indemnity of \$140,000,000—a small figure in our present lights, but a heavy burden for the impoverished France of 1815. Paris was compelled to disgorge all the art treasures “conveyed” by Napoleon from foreign capitals. An allied Army of Occupation was planted in the north-

eastern fortresses of France for five years.

But these terms were a featherweight compared to what Prussia desired. It is worth while for Frenchmen to remember today that it was British fair play which saved her from dismemberment in 1815. Prussia wanted Alsace and Lorraine in 1815 just as she afterward secured them in 1871. It was Wellington and Castlereagh who postponed that crime for nearly two generations.

Then the victors went back to their congress—but with a difference. This time the conquering alliance—Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—claimed to call the tune. France was excluded. The minor powers were left on the doorstep. Then was formed that great "Quadruple Alliance"—the "Great Four" of those days—which was not so entirely different from the Covenanted League of today as some people suppose. True, it came to be called "Holy," and no one as yet has applied that term to the League of Nations. But that was due to the quaint religiosity of the Czar Alexander, who imposed on his reluctant allies a series of Crusading Christian

vows which played little part in their subsequent proceedings.

People talk as if the Holy Alliance passed away like a Summer cloud. Nothing could be further from the truth. For ten years it bestrode Europe like a Colossus. It was a very effective League of Nations. It guaranteed the boundaries delimited by the Congress of Vienna. It went further—and here was its vital error. It guaranteed the forms of government imposed within those boundaries.

It was the British revolt against that doctrine that brought that great alliance to an end. But four Congresses sat before the end came. In 1821, at the Congress of Laibach, Castlereagh only protested when the Austrian armies marched against the Italians. In 1822, at Verona, Canning first threw out the idea of self-determination as a right when the French proposed to restore Ferdinand and the Inquisition to the throne of Spain. It was not until the French troops actually crossed the Pyrenees that England withdrew from the congress, and, in the Old World and the New, asserted the right of nations to decide their own destinies.

Romain Rolland's Plea for Post-War Unity

A Manifesto and a Reply

During the war the attitude of Romain Rolland, the author of "Jean-Christophe," was a source of irritation to patriotic Frenchmen, and his "internationalist" point of view was severely condemned. The following plea for post-war unity, written by M. Rolland and signed by a number of internationally known writers and publicists, was reproduced in a recent number of the French publication, L'Humanité:

WORKERS in the realms of thought, companions dispersed to the four corners of the globe, separated for five years by armies, by the censor, and the hatred of nations at war, we address to you, at this hour which sees barriers fall and the reopening of frontiers, an appeal that our brotherly union may be reformed—may rise again, a new union established on a more solid, safer basis than that which previously existed.

"War has scattered our ranks. Most intellectuals have put their knowledge,

their art, their reason at the service of Governments. We do not wish to accuse any one, to reproach any one. We know the weakness of individual characters and the elementary force of strong collective currents. The latter overthrew the former immediately, for nothing had been foreseen, and there was no possibility of resistance. Let us at least make use of the experience we have gained in preparing for the future.

"First let us consider the disasters to which the almost total abdication of the

world's intelligence and its voluntary enslavement to uncontrolled forces have led it. The thinkers, the artists, have added to the scourge which is filling Europe, body and soul, with an incalculable flow of the poison of hate. They have sought in the arsenal of their knowledge, of their memory and their imagination the reasons, both new and old, historic, scientific, and poetic, for hate; they have worked that the concept of love might be destroyed among men. And by thus doing they have robbed thought of beauty, they have lowered and degraded it; they who were the representatives of thought. They have made of thought an instrument of the passions and (without being aware of it, perhaps) of the selfish interests of a political or social clan, of a State, of a country, of a class. And now from this savage mêlée, from which the warring nations, conquerors and conquered, are emerging broken and impoverished and, at the bottom of their hearts—though they do not own it—ashamed and humiliated by their sudden madness, comes thought, having lost her diadem, compromised in the nations' struggle.

"Arise! Let us free thought from its compromising alliances, from its humiliating connections, from its hidden servitudes! Thought is no one's servant. We are the servants of thought. We have no other master. We are here to carry its torch, to defend its light, to rally beguiled men around its beacon. Our part, our duty, is to maintain one stable centre, to point to the north star, in the midst of the rush of passion and of night. Among these passions of pride and mutual destruction we make no choice; we reject them all. We honor truth alone, free, without frontiers, without limits, without racial or caste prejudices. We certainly do not lose interest in humanity. It is for her we work, but for her universally. We do not know peoples. We only know the people—unique, universal, the suffering, struggling people, suffering, falling, and rising again, advancing always on the stony path drenched with its tears—the people which all men recognize, all equally our brothers. And it is to enable them, like us,

to become conscious of this fraternity that we uplift above their blind wars, the Arch of Alliance—free thought, one, multiple, and eternal."

This declaration was adopted on June 23, 1919, and bore the following signatures:

Jane Addams, United States; René Arcos, France; Henri Barbusse, Léon Bazalgette, France; Jean Richard Bloch, France; Roberto Bracco, Italy; Dr. L. E. J. Brouwer, Holland; A. de Chateaubriant, France; Georges Duhamel, France; Professor Einstein, Germany; Dr. Fredrick van Eeden, Holland; George Eekhoud, Belgium; Professor Forel, Switzerland; Verner von Heidenstam, Sweden; Selma Lagerlöf, Sweden; Professor Max Lehmann, Germany; Carl Lindhagen, Sweden; Mr. Lopez-Pico, Catalonia; Heinrich Mann, Germany; Marcel Martinet, France; Franz Masereel, Belgium; Emile Masson, France; Jacques Mesnil, Belgium; Sophus Michaëli, Denmark; Matthias Morhardt, France; Professor George Fr. Nicolai, Germany; Eugenio d'Ors, Catalonia; Professor A. Prenant, France; Paul Signac, France; Jules Romains, France; G. Thiesson, France; Henry Vandervelde, Belgium; Charles Valdrac, France; Léon Werth, France; Israel Zangwill, Bertrand Russell, England; Romain Rolland, France; Han Ryner, France; Stefan Zweig, Austria.

The Paris Temps in its comment on M. Rolland's appeal said that the author's intentions might be perfectly honest, but, even so, the text of the appeal was not satisfactory. Certain general and opportune formulas could be subscribed to. M. Romain Rolland's phrases were more or less happily composed. The Temps continued as follows:

The difficulty begins with the application which M. Romain Rolland gives them. The outcome of the whole appeal is this, that it puts Germany in the same rank as the Entente, the Governments of the Central Empires with those of the allied powers, all intellectuals, and all nations. "We do not wish to accuse any one, we reproach nobody." Such an excess of gentleness toward some results in a lack of justice to others. Equity does not permit that the balance shall be held equal between the guilty and the innocent, the murderer and his victim. "We know the weakness of individual characters and the elementary force of collective currents. * * * " That is very well expressed, but no strong current would have prevented plenty of Frenchmen from protesting if it had been their Government which had violated Belgium, burned libraries, and bombarded cathedrals. Be-

sides, France was incapable of having a Government which could make itself guilty of such atrocities. * * * It is possible to understand that retrograde parties in neutral countries should have been Germanophile; it is even possible to understand the point of view of the Frenchman of the extreme right before the war, blinded enough by social preoccupations to regard the Berlin headquarters staff as a rampart of civilization. But what is beyond comprehension is that democrats like M. Romain Rolland and his companions should have indulgences for the home of Kaiserism and militarism. Judging this war quite apart from the point of view of patriotic sentiment, and solely from that of intellectual evolution, the victory of Germany would have been a disaster, while that of France has been the salvation of all those ideas for which M. Romain Rolland is supposed to stand.

The situation must be made perfectly clear. * * * French and allied intellectuals cannot clear Germany of this great crime toward humanity. Those German intellectuals who took part in it or who did not raise their voices loudly against its perpetration will always be unworthy of any personal relations with us. Doubtless art and knowledge have superior and irrefragable rights. A beautiful German work of art preserves its aesthetic value; a German discovery cannot be ignored. It is ridiculous to wage war against philosophers or against musicians who departed this planet thirty to one hundred years before the mobilization and who were being extolled to the skies five years ago. But it is one thing to bow before what is beautiful and true, whatever their provenance; it is quite another to hold out the hand to contemporaries disquailed both morally and humanly.

Anatole France on the Teacher's Task

Banishing Hatred and War Ideas

ANATOLE FRANCE, the famous French novelist, delivered the opening address before the Congress of the Trade Unions of French Elementary School Teachers, held at Tours in the second week of August, and the keynote of his speech was sounded in this sentence: "The war has sufficiently demonstrated that the popular education of tomorrow must be altogether different from that of former days." It was, M. France said, with mingled feelings of anxiety and hope that he addressed the teachers, for the future was in their hands, and in great measure it would be made by their intelligences and their pains.

What a task was theirs at this moment, when the old social systems were crumbling under the weight of errors, and victors and vanquished, exchanging looks of hatred, were falling into a common abyss of misery. In the social and moral disorder produced by the war and perpetuated by the peace which had followed it, they had everything to make and to remake. They must create a new humanity, awaken new intelligence, if they did not wish Europe to fall into imbecility and barbarism.

In the first place, they must banish

from the school everything that could make children like war and its crimes, and that alone would demand long and constant effort, unless indeed all the panoplies were, in the near future, swept away by the blast of universal revolution.

In the French bourgeoisie great and small, and even in the proletariat, the destructive instincts with which the Germans had been justly reproached were sedulously cultivated. Only a few days before M. de la Fouchardiere had asked at a bookseller's for books suitable for a little girl, and had been offered nothing but accounts and pictures of slaughter, massacres, and exterminations. Next mid-Lent they would see in Paris, in the Champs Elysées and on the boulevards, thousands and thousands of little boys dressed by their inept mothers as Generals and Field Marshals. Motion pictures would show children the beauties of war and thus prepare them for the military career, and so long as there were soldiers there would be wars. The diplomats of the Allies had allowed Germany still to have soldiers in order to be able to keep them themselves. Children were going to be brought up to be soldiers from the cradle.

It was for the teachers to break with these dangerous practices. They must make the children love peace and the works of peace. They must teach them to hate war. They must banish from their teaching everything that excited hatred of the foreigner, even of our enemies of yesterday. Not that one ought to be indulgent to crime and absolve all the guilty, but because every people, no matter what, at any time whatever, included more victims than criminals, because innocent generations must not be punished for the guilty, and, above all, because all the peoples had much to forgive one another.

M. France went on to recommend his hearers to read a recent book by Michel Corday, "*Les Mains Propres*," ("Clean Hands,") and quoted from it the sentence, "I hate him who debases man to the level of the beast by inciting him to attack anybody that does not resemble him." "From the bottom of my heart," said M. France, "I invoke the disappearance of that kind of person from the face of the earth. I hate nothing except hatred."

The most necessary and most simple task of the teacher, he continued, was to make hatred hated. The state to which a devastating war had reduced France and the world imposed upon the teachers duties of exceptional complexity and difficulty. Without hope of obtaining help or support, or even consent, they had to change elementary education from top to bottom in order to train workers.

There was no room in the society of today for any but workers; the others would be swept away by the hurricane. And they must train intelligent workers instructed in the crafts that they practiced, knowing what were their

duties to the national community and to the human community.

"Burn," said M. France, "burn all the books that teach hatred! Extol labor and love. Train for us men capable of trampling under foot the vain splendors of barbaric glory and of resisting the sanguinary ambitions of the nationalisms and imperialisms that have annihilated their fathers. No more industrial rivalries! No more wars! Only labor and peace! Whether we like it or not, the time has come when we must either become citizens of the world or see the whole of civilization perish."

M. France suggested that there should be attached to the International of the workers a delegation of the teachers of all nations to formulate in common a universal system of instruction and consider the means to be taken to implant in young minds the ideas from which would spring the peace of the world and the union of the peoples.

He concluded as follows: "Reason, wisdom, intelligence, forces of the mind and heart, you that have always piously invoked, come to me, aid me, strengthen my feeble voice, carry it, if that be possible, to all the peoples of the world, and diffuse it everywhere where men of good-will are found, to listen to the beneficent truth! A new order of things is born! The powers of evil are dying, poisoned by their crime. The covetous and the cruel, the devourers of the peoples, are perishing of a surfeit of blood. Sorely smitten by the fault of their blind or villainous masters, mutilated, decimated, the proletariats yet stand erect. They are going to unite in order to form but a single universal proletariat, and we shall see the fulfillment of the great Socialist prophecy—'the union of the workers will bring peace to the world.'"



Aristocracy's Downfall in Europe

Triumph of the Small Landowner

By CHARLES SEIGNOBOS *

THE three great military monarchies which have lately fallen to pieces—Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and German—were all based upon an aristocracy of large landed properties, whereas the other European countries had become parliamentary and democratic States. Europe was thus divided between two political orders, founded on two social orders—in fact, into two different worlds between which the Elbe was approximately the boundary.

Western Europe, with its ancient civilization, its great cities, its big industries, its intensive agriculture and dense population, where the land is divided up into small or medium-sized properties, and where private fortunes made in industry, in commerce, and in banking form a large proportion of the total wealth of the country, has evolved a type of democratic society consisting mainly of bourgeois, of artisans, workmen, and peasant proprietors. There remain certainly some fragments of the old manorial system—in Spain, the great landed nobles of Andalusia; in England and Ireland, the properties of the landlords; in Italy, the latifundia of the southern provinces and of Lombardy—but these survivals, if they confer upon certain privileged families pre-eminence in the world of society, no longer carry with them political power. The direction of public affairs rests with the middle classes and with the elected representatives of the peasants and working classes, and it is from among the bourgeoisie, above all, that Ministers and party leaders are drawn.

Eastern Europe, with a scattered population, a recent civilization, a backward agriculture, very little industry and a quiet rudimentary economic life, where the soil constitutes almost the only wealth of the country, has remained under the mediaeval manorial system; the land is divided up into large proper-

ties belonging to the noble families, on which the great majority of the peasants are either tenants or laborers. The castle dominates the village; the feudal lord, surrounded from childhood by swarms of servants and accustomed to being respected and obeyed, keeps the peasant in a state of fear and dependence. This social power, not being kept in check by the wealth or intellectual competition of a large bourgeoisie, renders the nobles supreme in the political sphere also; it is they who form the Court, the general staff, the Government, who hold the high command in the army, and fill the chief administrative posts. Raised by the favor of the ruling Prince above the masses of his subjects, they have upheld the monarchy by force of arms; the middle classes, few in number and kept in subjection, have had to rest content with junior posts and some measure of material profit. Such has been, with some variations, due mainly to the larger or smaller proportion of Jews, the agrarian and social order in Europe east of the Elbe.

EIGHT LANDED ARISTOCRACIES

In this immense tract of country, where the manorial system held sway, one can count eight landed aristocracies: (1) in Russia, in the districts inhabited by Great Russians and in the Ukraine east of the Dnieper, the pomieschchiks, big landed proprietors whom the Czars, in superficial imitation of Germany, dignified with the title of noble; (2) in the Baltic provinces the "Baltic Barons," a stock of nobles of German origin superimposed upon the agrarian population of Esthonians and Letts; (3) in Rumania, the indigenous stock of Boyars, who remained in possession of their estates during the Turkish domination and intermarried with the Phanariot nobles sent into the country to exploit it in the name

* In "New Europe," July 14, 1919.

of the Sultan; (4) in Hungary, the Magyar magnates and "gentry," who have overflowed from the Magyar districts into those inhabited by Slovak and Rumanian peasants; (5) in Austria, the aristocrats of the Court of Vienna, who possess large domains in the German Alpine provinces and in the Czech lands of the Bohemian Crown; (6) in Prussia, the aristocracy of the eastern provinces, (Brandenburg, Pomerania, Prussia,) the Junkers, the "Rittergut" proprietors, who form the entourage of the King and the officers' corps; (7) in Poland, the *szlachta*, the old fighting stock, which has become an aristocracy to which the greater part of the land still belongs, although the Russian Government, to weaken the national resistance of which the nobility was the soul, forcibly transferred part of the land to the peasants; (8) in the countries bordering on Poland, the former dependencies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Lithuania, White Russia, Western Ukraine) and Galicia, the noble families descended from Polish immigrants or from the indigenous but Polonized big landowners, who today form an aristocracy of Polish language and manners, superimposed upon the indigenous agrarian population, (Lithuanians, White Russians, Little Russians, Ruthenes,) which has remained faithful to its own language, and—where it is of Russian origin—to the Orthodox Church (in Ukraina) or the Catholic-Uniate Church, (in White Russia and in Ruthenia.) Of these eight aristocracies the Russian, the Rumanian, the Magyar, the Polish, and the Prussian, being of the same race as their peasantry, played the part of national leaders; the others, Baltic Barons, Austrian aristocrats, and Polonized nobles of Lithuania, White Russia, and Ukraina, are foreign aristocracies in national opposition to their peasantry.

The war proved a decisive test of the stability of the two social orders; the democratic States went through it without flinching, the monarchies which had engendered the war in the hope of strengthening their position have gone under; from their defeat has sprung the revolution, which is overthrowing all aristocracies. One after the other is

threatened or abolished by its subjects in revolt; and the political revolution is being completed by an agrarian revolution.

BEGINNING OF THE REVOLT

This revolt began at the least civilized extremity of Europe—in the Russian Empire; the Bolsheviki, who attained to power by promising peace and the land, disorganized the armed force which alone, in that country of agrarian communism, maintained the class of large proprietors; the peasants, accustomed to feel themselves the legitimate possessors of their village lands, seized them by force from the nobles and proprietors. The new order is not yet stabilized; the land of which the large landowners have been robbed has not yet been divided among the peasants. But the counter-revolutionaries have been forced to relinquish all idea of re-establishing the old order, and to limit their hopes to an indemnity; the allied Governments themselves demand that the Generals should pledge themselves not to question the agrarian revolution.

In the Baltic countries, the Baltic Barons, supported by a German army of occupation, struggled for a long time to keep their political domination and their large estates; when driven out by the national revolt of the Estonians and Letts, first from Esthonia and then from Livonia, they clung to Courland, where the ignorance and vacillation of the Allies had left a German army corps, which, on the pretext of policing the country against the Bolsheviki, in reality aimed at terrorizing the inhabitants to the advantage of the Baltic Germans. But now the order has at last come to evacuate Courland, and the *Revue Baltique*, the organ of the oppressed nationalities, writes as follows: "We had dreamed of peace between the Baltic peoples and the Baltic Barons. There is an end of that dream. Let the race of 'Balts' quit our soil, or we shall know how to tear it out ourselves." The end of the large domains is therefore near; the agrarian revolution is going to take place in the Baltic countries also. The peasant "have-nots" are going to receive their share of the native soil.

IN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

The crisis is more complicated in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the two aristocracies which have hitherto held the political power, together with large tracts of land—the German nobility in Austria and the Magyar nobility in Hungary—are national in those parts of their domains where the peasants are German or Magyar and foreign in those inhabited by Czechs, Jugoslavs, Slovaks, and Rumanians. The Austrian aristocracy, whose title does not yet appear to have been disputed in German Austria, has already been virtually abolished in the new Czech republic of Bohemia and Moravia, where a law has been passed fixing the maximum amount of land which may be held by one proprietor at 190 hectares. The large properties, which have been estimated at about a quarter of the total acreage of the country, are to be divided up among the peasants. Here the agrarian revolution is being carried out in a legal and peaceful manner, by gradual steps, and with an indemnity for expropriation. The same thing will be done with regard to the large domains of the Magyar nobles in Slovakia, where expropriation and the distribution of the meadows to the peasants has begun in an amicable manner.

The Magyar aristocracy is threatened with a more violent overthrow in its own country, for the communists of Budapest—with whom it at first allied itself in an excess of nationalist fury against the Allies, and in the hope of retaining its domination over the Slovak and Rumanian peasantry—seem now disposed to bring about a social revolution of the Bolshevik order in Hungary, with a dictatorship of the proletariat.* This doctrine, preached in the country districts where the peasants are already excited by the promise of the land, would very rapidly lead to forcible expropriation of the big landowners and the dividing

up of their estates among the rural working classes—in short, to agrarian revolution on the Russian model.

RUMANIA AND POLAND

A similar campaign against the Magyar nobility has been entered upon by the Rumanian peasants in Transylvania and in the neighboring countries where the Rumanian population forms the majority, and which have lately broken away from Hungary in order to unite with the Kingdom of Rumania. It is proceeding at the same time in the old Rumanian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, on the initiative of the Government under pressure of public opinion. It began on the entry of Rumania into the war, when, in order to arouse the peasantry in the national cause, it was necessary to promise them ownership of the land. This promise, which was held up by the Rumanian defeat and the coming into power of a Germanophil Government, has at last been redeemed by a law which, on similar lines to that passed by the Czech Republic, fixes a maximum of land to be held by any one proprietor and institutes a system of expropriation and indemnification; the land thus rendered available is to be distributed among the peasants whose property is insufficient for their needs.

In Poland, where the landlords in alliance with the clergy led the opposition against all foreign government, the landed aristocracy, by their championship of nationality, acquired an influence over the people which they are using today in order to defend their social pre-eminence and their large estates against all revolutionary tendencies. The necessity for provisionally maintaining national unity against enemies from outside conceals the latent conflict in the Diet between the peasant parties, who demand the partition of the big estates, and the conservative parties, who wish to save the large landowners. In no country except Prussia does the agrarian revolution meet with such determined opposition. Galicia and Posen, where the big Polish landowners, spared or even favored by the Austrian or German courts and imperial administrations, had

*Since this article was written the Communist Government of Budapest has fallen and been superseded in turn by the Peidl Cabinet and the Government of the Archduke Joseph, who resigned at the behest of the allied council.

become political leaders, remain the two great strongholds of landed aristocracy in Eastern Europe.

STRUGGLE ON RUSSIAN BORDERS

In order to divert the cupidity of the Polish peasants from their own large estates the Polish landlords are trying to extend their political domination over neighboring countries, where they hope to find land for colonization. This is the personal, economic motive which underlies the patriotic agitation for the annexation of all the provinces which were formerly dependencies of the grand duchy of Lithuania, and where the nobility have remained Polonized—Lithuania, White Russia, Western Ukraina, (Podolia, Volhynia,) to which one must add the Ruthene districts of Galicia. Even in Paris a campaign of nationalist propaganda is being conducted to justify this policy of invasion in the name of peace and civilization. We are told that France, in order to keep Germany in check, requires a strong Poland, and that Poland, in order to be strong, requires a vast extent of territory into which she can pour the surplus of her rural population, and which must be rich in proportion to her size and economic needs; therefore "Poland's capital" must be preserved, (it is thus that these gentlemen have christened the landed property of the Polish nobility in districts whose peasantry are of non-Polish race;) these territories, sparsely populated by half-savage races, would be colonized by the rural proletariat of Poland, which, under the direction of the Polish aristocracy, would introduce a higher civilization, and at the same time avert the crisis of overpopulation which at present prevails in Poland and the agrarian revolution with which the big landlords are threatened. This policy involves military operations on all the eastern frontiers in order to subdue the recalcitrant natives, and these wars cannot be waged by the new State, save with the aid of the connivance of Western Europe. Will the Allies lend themselves to this game? Will their diplomats and soldiers continue to allow their policy to be dictated by the Polish aristocrats and émigrés? The peoples of Lithuania, White Russia, and the

Ukraine, which have already formed national governments, represented by delegations, threaten to meet this Polish "colonization" by armed force. The Ukrainians have already begun war. The news which reaches us from these countries where social upheaval is at its height must be received with caution, and we do not know exactly what is happening. But we know enough to be afraid lest the war may be accompanied by a general extermination of the Polish nobility. It appears that the peasants of the Orthodox Ukraine have in many places liquidated the big Polish estates by the same methods as in Russia. The Catholic peasants of Lithuania, the Uniate peasants of White Russia, employ milder methods, more in keeping with their more peaceful or civilized character. But in all these frontier districts the agrarian revolution would seem to be henceforth inevitable.

THE PRUSSIAN ARISTOCRACY

There remains the most powerful of these aristocracies, the most redoubtable for the peace of the world, but also the most modern—the Prussian aristocracy. This has succeeded in making itself, if not loved, at least respected, by the workers whom it employs, because it does not limit itself, like almost all the others, to consuming its revenues in castle life or to trusting to land agents the management of its estates. The Prussian Junker is not an idler; he directs in person the management of his land, and very often conducts an industrial enterprise as well, such as a distillery or brewery. The peasants on his domain are not tenants; they are agricultural laborers, working under the proprietor's direction. The revolution which has overthrown the Hohenzollern has not yet touched the Prussian nobility. It seems difficult to understand that this nobility should be able to survive alone in Europe amid the universal collapse of landed aristocracies. And yet is it not strange that the "Socialist" Government of the new "Reich-Republik," which has announced its intention of socializing coal and potash, should not yet have proposed any measure for the expropriation of the Junkers or the assignment of their

vast lands to the laboring class? There is, as yet, no sign whatever of an agrarian revolution in Prussia; and we may suppose that the region lying between Elbe and Oder will be the last battlefield of aristocracy in Europe.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHANGE

This general movement of agrarian revolution will have the effect of establishing throughout the vast territories of Eastern Europe a new democratic world of peasant proprietors. Can the peoples of Western Europe look on with indifference, as at some movement of internal politics which does not concern them? It is more or less the tendency of the Governments to look with disdain on the affairs of the peasantry, especially of foreign peasantries. But whoever takes the trouble to inquire into real and fundamental forces, will see that this social transformation of whole countryside involves, in the foreign policy of the East European States, a radical revo-

lution which is of direct interest to the world's peace and which guarantees it in three directions:

1. We seek a barrier to protect the west against the barbaric communism of the Bolsheviki; and there is no barrier more solid than a democracy of peasant proprietors.

2. We seek guarantees against a return of the war spirit; and there is no régime more pacific than a democracy of peasant proprietors. Since the world began, no such community has ever desired or prepared or commenced a war.

3. We seek insurance against imperialist intrigue and designs of annexation; and nothing is less imperialistic, less desirous of foreign aggrandizement, than Federal republics resting on peasant proprietorship.

The agrarian revolution which is in process or in preparation throughout Eastern Europe, for the partition of large estates among the peasantry, will be the most solid guarantee of peace.

Prussian Protestantism

Separation of Church and State—The Huguenot Community of Berlin

BY A CORRESPONDENT OF THE PARIS TEMPS

THE French Revolution recognized for its god the god of the philosophers, and celebrated with great pomp at Notre Dame the cult of the Goddess Reason. The German revolutionists, in contrast, enthusiastic for everything that concerns the amelioration of their material existence, have shown themselves absolutely indifferent regarding the quest of any new spiritual principle. The important question of the separation of Church and State brought up by the Independent Socialists aroused in the Weimar theatre none of those spontaneous and vibrant speeches which such themes evoked in other revolutionary periods. Although a large majority pronounced against separation, this measure will prevail in principle, in the sense that there will no longer be a Church of official character; that is to

say, a Church of State such as was the Protestant Church of Prussia. On the other hand, the old financial subsidies made by the State will be continued; it will, for instance, go on paying the salaries of the ministers and the expenses of the Faculties of Theology, both Protestant and Catholic. The new régime thus created by this compromise implies that the State will henceforth be completely dissociated from the destinies of the Church and will show itself neutral from the religious point of view. It must be emphasized that this modification of the old relations between the civil and religious authorities entails the most momentous consequences. For until the revolution the Church has been, beyond the Rhine, a precious means of support for the State and the monarchy.

For instance, the high and exalted

Bishop, the *summus episcopus* of the Prussian Protestant Church, was no other than the Emperor, William II., who (oh, irony!) bore likewise the title of "*oberster Kriegsherr*," supreme War Lord. Thus one justified and blessed the other. Moreover, like all the intellectuals, the pastors acted like royal functionaries, and thronged into the ranks of the champions of official truth. This situation of the Church in the State explains why, until the revolution, the national sentiment fused with religious and moral faith, and also explains how that amazing doctrine of a chosen people fighting for their King and for their God could so easily arise. Hence came those patriotic sermons pronounced at the order of lay authority and which eulogized violence according to the Prussian method. Hence, also, that almost pathological cult destined to exalt the warlike spirit of the German people; hence that warlike psychosis, that perversion of religious sentiments, which led some pastors so far as to excuse the violation of Belgian territory, and to exult in the very pulpit over the effects of the heavy cannon bombarding Paris.

SEPARATING CHURCH AND STATE

By breaking this traditional bond between the throne and the altar, in Germany, the revolution has taken the first step of the new republic toward the modern solution of the separation of the temporal and the spiritual. The compromise voted by the National Assembly follows the same path. Already its first consequences have been shown: formerly each functionary had to belong to a recognized denomination and fulfill his religious duties; atheists or free-thinkers could not aspire to serve the State. The ironical nomination of such an impenitent rationalist as Herr Ad. Hoffman to the position of Minister of Religion in Prussia broke abruptly, immediately following the revolution, with that secular custom.

The Catholic Church, by reason of the conservative or democratic, aristocratic or popular character which it has the faculty of assuming in turn, has been in no wise weakened by the revolution and will be in no way affected by the

new order of things. It will be different with the Protestant Church, which, as a consequence of the overthrow of the empire, has lost its *summus episcopus*, now replaced by a triumvirate of pastors, as well as its privileged position as a State institution. Every Sunday from their pulpits the German pastors speak with sobs in their voices of the "poor exile" of Amerongen, and they become his ardent advocates in the numerous religious sheets which they edit and inspire. And, naturally, in these times of troubles and riots which in no way recall the security of the imperial régime, the great mass of the faithful listen with favorable ears to their spiritual guides. Hence the inspiration of that appeal recently addressed to M. Poincaré by the descendants of those Huguenots who emigrated to Germany after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and who ask, in the name of the hospitality offered them in former days by the Hohenzollerns, the pardon of William II. The French public must have felt a certain amazement on reading it. What will it say when confronted with the following facts?

PROTESTANTS IN BERLIN

The Protestant Community of the Refuge of Berlin counts at present nearly 10,000 Huguenots who possess their own church, presided over, according to tradition, by a French-Swiss pastor. Now during the war there were no more bitter adversaries of the Allies, animated with such a violent hatred of France, than the parishioners of this church. Thus in 1914, immediately after the violation of Belgian neutrality, the synod of the church asked Pastor Nicole to replace his religious sermons by "patriotic sermons." Courageously the pastor refused, objecting to his excited flock on the ground of his Swiss nationality and hence enforced neutrality. Accused thereupon of high treason by the community he was brought before the royal consistory of the Prussian Church who, less excitable than the descendants of our far-off compatriots, acquitted him on the ground of his nationality. This result seems to have redoubled the fanatic ardor of the community, which

immediately returned to the attack and demanded the suppression of the cults carried on in French which a pious tradition had maintained until that time, despite the Napoleonic period, despite 1870 itself. Pastor Nicole preached nevertheless the following Sunday in French. His parishioners threatened to break the windows of the temple if this was repeated. The ecclesiastical authorities, on being consulted, in view of the uncompromising attitude of the members, were obliged to order the suspension of all sermons in French during the war. Their complete suppression was decided shortly afterward by the Community of Refuge.

It is curious to note that those descendants of Huguenots who made a name for themselves during the war were all grouped on the side of the Pan-Germans and the Military Party. Admiral Capelle, Minister of the Navy, was the alter ego of von Tirpitz, whom he supported actively in the submarine war. Souchon Pasha, chief instructor of the Ottoman fleet, directed the defense of the Dardanelles against which the efforts of the Allies came to nought. The submarine commander, Arnaud de la Perrière, for many long months held the record for the number of allied vessels sunk. General de la Chevallerie commanded a battalion on the French front. The fierce hatred and spirit of vengeance which animated against us in 1870 the Prussian General Verdy de Vernois were inherited in toto. Such are the sentiments which have remained as a tradition in the Community of Refuge of Berlin.

REPLY TO GERMAN HUGUENOTS

The letter of the German Protestants to M. Poincaré referred to above was analyzed and commented upon toward the end of July by John Viénot, Professor of History in the Theological Faculty of Paris, in *Le Temps* at the date mentioned. The text of this reply is in part as follows:

The President of the Federation of Protestant Churches of France has made to the letter which the Community of Refuge of Berlin addressed to M. Poincaré a suitable reply.

But in addressing itself to the President of the French Republic with the object of

obtaining favorable treatment for the man who was responsible for the war, the Community of Refuge of Berlin, organ of service for German propaganda, went far beyond the French Protestant minority. It thought of the millions of Protestants of America, of England, of Holland, and Switzerland, and sought to arouse in them some sympathy for William II., wretched and proscribed descendant of those Hohenzollerns who long before had so generously received the French Huguenots. It knows that the name of Huguenot always awakens an echo of sympathy in those circles, and it was with this beloved and respected name that it covered itself to increase the influence of its intercession. It is therefore a matter of general interest to know more exactly who it is that speaks to us from Berlin, what they wish to tell us, and the object that they pursue.

The senders of the letter are descendants of the Huguenots expelled by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Yes, but in fact, these descendants of our fathers are today Prussians. Some years ago I was in Berlin, at an international historical congress. After a colossal dinner offered us at the City Hall, I found myself face to face with a keeper of archives, a sturdily built man with black moustachios, who, filling his glass, raised it in my direction, saying: "I drink to you. My name is Granier, I am proud of having Huguenot blood in my veins, but I am a Prussian." I bowed, without replying. I remembered that Ch. Weiss, the historian of the Refuge, wrote as early as 1853: "The new generation is German in heart, as it is in language, and it may be affirmed that no tie binds them now to the motherland of their ancestors."

Our interlocutors are Prussians; nothing more. What do they say to us? "Pity for William II., in memory of that Grand Elector who, thanks to his tolerance, offered us in this land a second home."

When everybody at the Court of Berlin spoke French, the Protestant refugees were able to live in a Protestant country and to speak the language which the Prince and his Court used exclusively. Was there anything surprising in that? Can they do so now? How many French cults are there now in Berlin and Brandenburg? All the churches issued from the Refuge were long ago Germanized.

The truth of the matter is that the Great Elector understood the mistake committed by Louis XIV. when he heedlessly expelled 600,000 Huguenots from their country. He understood the advantage he could draw from this, and he adopted a broad and intelligent policy. He needed men to populate his deserts, needed officers and soldiers, needed manufacturers, agriculturists, and artists. The Huguenots provided him with

all this, and with a French Academy in the bargain. It is not without a pang that one reads this phrase of Ancillon expelled from Metz: "There have come into this State (Prussia) workmen of all trades, so that all kinds of labor are now being carried on here. None are pursued in France that are not pursued in this country. * * *

It was French officers who organized the Prussian Army, through the fault of Louis XIV.; it was French engineers who initiated Prussia in the art of engineering and modern fortification * * * "France," asks the Berlin document, "has she repaired the wrongs which she committed toward us Huguenots?" Yes, gentlemen.

France, democratic as well as imperial France, has done all she could to make good the injustices which she herself did not commit. The law of Dec. 15, 1790, restored their French nationality to all the descendants of the refugees, and Article XII. of that law ordered restitution to these families of all property confiscated, and still in the hands of the State. Napoleon I., subsequently, ceded to the Protestants several conventual churches as a partial reparation for the unjust destruction of our churches. We hope that your Government will find itself enabled to manifest in the future that same solicitude for necessary reparations with which you seem so animated.

Belgium's African Campaign

The Part Played by Belgian Troops in Protecting Frontiers Threatened by Germans

THE part played by the military forces of Belgium in Africa in holding back the Germans has been officially described in a narrative issued by the Belgian Press Bureau. The essential facts are as follows:

At the period when it was essential that in Africa, as in Europe, there should be unity in the efforts of the Allies to repulse German aggression, Belgium did not hesitate to send her soldiers to the threatened frontiers.

In the Kameruns, in September, 1914, the Congolese troops stabilized a situation recognized as precarious at a certain moment. They then took part in the struggle which ended in the conquest of this colony. Soon after they were to act efficaciously in preventing German access to Uganda and Rhodesia, British colonies.

From the beginning of 1915 to April, 1916, the Belgians defended 200 kilometers of the Uganda frontiers which were being continuously attacked by the Germans and the native populations of Ruanda. Finally, in 1916, after having created an army in toto in Central Africa, the Belgians were able to assume the offensive and capture in German East Africa, by force of arms, the Provinces of Ruanda with Kigali and Nyansa; of Urundi with Kitega; the larger part of the Province of Bukoba with Biaramulo and the southwestern coasts of Lake Victoria; the district of Ujiji with the port of Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika.

The Karema territories, with the ancient post of that name established on the eastern shore of the lake by the Belgian, Captain Cambier, in 1879, saw the Belgian

flag hoisted soon after, while the Congo regiments, concentrating their efforts, carried Tabora, the war capital of the German colony, after costly efforts. The roads which lead to Tabora witnessed the sacrifice of many Belgian soldiers' lives.

At the beginning of 1917 Belgium acceded to a disinterested act in favor of Great Britain, an act which tried the pride of the victorious Belgian regiments: Tabora was handed over to Belgium's great British ally.

The Germans thrown back into the valley of the Rufigi River had been able to reorganize themselves during the rainy season. In April, 1917, by a sudden reaction, they managed to break the encircling cordon of British forces and throw detachments to the north and the southeast.

The Belgians were then called upon to collaborate in continuing the struggle and in completing the conquest of the last enemy colony.

At the end of May Belgian battalions were able to cover Tabora, which was threatened by a German column. The enemy was pursued relentlessly to the north and many detached units were captured without having been able to achieve anything.

In August the great mass of the Belgian forces was concentrated at Dodoma and Kilosa, south of the railway line from Tabora to Dar-es-Salaam.

After having cleared the country of German detachments which were raiding it, after having crossed rivers several hundred yards wide under enemy fire, after having given battle for ten days in the mountains, after having fought ceaseless-

ly for two months, on Oct. 9 the troops under Colonel Huyghe, who had become Commander in Chief of the Belgian forces in 1917, captured Mahenge, the last district headquarters still in the hands of the Germans. The pursuit then began imme-



MAP OF GERMAN EAST AFRICA SHOWING PORTION CONQUERED BY BELGIAN TROOPS (HORIZONTAL SHADING)

diately. A detachment disembarked at Kilwa and marched toward Liwale to cut the enemy's retreat. The German columns, beating a hasty retreat from Mahenge, were pursued by the Belgians, and at the end of November were forced to surrender to the British troops which intercepted them at Nevala. Almost at the same moment the last troops of General von Lettow abandoned German East African territory and passed into Mozambique, Portuguese colony. The task of finally dealing with these scattered sharpshooters fell to the British and Portuguese forces; the Belgian troops' task was ended. General van de Venter, after General Smuts, has officially declared on several occasions that Belgian aid during this campaign had been "loyal, unrestricted, and of the highest value."

Belgium then applied herself to practical organization of the administration of those territories of German East Africa submitted to her jurisdiction, and to stanching the wounds which the war had inflicted on the country.

First, in 1917, the Belgian administration had to face the danger of famine which was threatening the inhabitants of Ruanda and Urundi. Thanks to the wise measures taken, the catastrophe was prevented and Belgium earned the gratitude of the natives. Soon life became normal once more, as much in the commercial and industrial region of Kigoma-Ujiji as in the pastoral and agricultural countries of Ruanda and Urundi.

Schools have been founded in Ruanda. The King of the province, Musinga, con-

sented, under the influence of the Belgian administrators, to renounce the supreme right over the lives of his people. Internal strife ceased in Ruanda and an indigent fund was established by Musinga, who invariably carried on his Government in perfect accord with the Belgian Resident. It was a rule in this country that a white man should never behold the Queen Mother, who shares the royal authority with her son, and is perhaps even more powerful than the King himself. The Watuzi used to say in support of a declaration: "It is as true as that a white man will never see Musinga's mother." Yet in June, 1917, the Belgian Resident at Ruanda was presented to the Queen Mother by Musinga himself. The Belgians thus obtained a testimony of confidence and of attachment which the Germans were not able to call forth during the seventeen years of their occupation of the territory.

In Urundi, in 1916, the natives still fled at the approach of Europeans. It is enough to read the account of the fêtes given at the close of 1918, on the occasion of the visit to Kitega of General Malfeyt, the Belgian Royal Commissary, in order to realize the progress effected under the present direction. In 1916 the port of Kigoma had just come into existence. Thanks to the activity of Belgian engineers, officers, and administrators, Kigoma, which is in reality the point of juncture of the communications which connect the Atlantic with the Indian Ocean, is today perfectly organized.

Neither the difficulties nor the unavoidable expenses have prevented the accomplishment of the task which meant to this country intrusted to Belgium's care the establishment of better conditions of life based on progress and freedom.

Nearly all the Ruanda and Urundi chiefs have solemnly declared—and their testimony has either been written by themselves or registered by witnesses worthy of confidence—that they desired to continue to work in the future under the protection of Belgium.

When the Royal Commissioner Malfeyt visited Urundi and Ruanda at the close of 1918, thousands of natives covered distances often necessitating several days' journey in order to express to the representative of Belgium their gratitude, their attachment, their devotion, and their sincere desire to become Belgians.

It is, besides, a fact that the populations of Ruanda and Urundi are of the same race as those which inhabit the Belgian shore of Lake Kivu, and it is of material importance that they should no longer be separated. Belgium, by right of conquest, possesses Ruanda and Urundi. She desires to preserve these provinces which have witnessed the sacrifice of so many of her sons.

British Airships

The Progress Made During the War—Evolution From Tiny Beta to R-34

BY A WRITER IN THE LONDON TIMES

ON Aug. 4, 1914, the British Navy nominally possessed several airships, most of which were, however, of an obsolete or semi-obsolete type. Pride of place should perhaps be given to the old Beta, which, with Gamma, Delta, and Eta, had been handed over from the army on Jan. 1, 1914. This little airship had been in existence in one form or another since early in 1910, and was in reality even older than that, as her original envelope had formed part of the Baby, the second British Army airship, built in 1909. Beta had, of course, undergone many changes since those days, although she still clung to the old tradition of an envelope made of gold-beater's skin, which was at the outbreak of war in process of being rigged to a brand-new car with a 50 horse power engine. Gamma was also an old ship, being built late in 1910, but had never quite taken the same place in the affections of the Airship Service as Beta, in whom most of them had cut their aerial wisdom teeth. Gamma was by this date practically worn out, and was only used for experimental work of a varied nature. It was from her envelope that the first known experiments in firing a gun from the top surface of a non-rigid airship were carried out. Delta was not used during the war, while Eta was wrecked near Redhill in November, 1914, after making a forced landing on her way to a temporary base established at Firminy, near Dunkirk.

The remaining airships in the possession of the Admiralty were No. 2, a small training airship; No. 3, a French-built Astra-Torrés, and No. 4, a Parseval bought from Germany. In addition to these, a contract had been signed with Messrs. Vickers (Limited) in March for the building of a rigid airship (No. 9) of about twenty-seven tons gross lift, while the same firm had orders for three Parsevals, which were subsequently de-

livered and used for training work. A Forlanini type semi-rigid was also on order from Italy, but this was taken over by the Italian Government when completed.

The airship personnel totaled 198 of all ranks, of whom a certain number, both officers and men, were military. These, under the leadership of Lieut. Col. (now Brig. Gen., R. A. F.) E. M. Maitland, elected to be seconded to the navy rather than give up their connection with airships when a transfer took place. There was only one airship station, comprising two sheds in close juxtaposition to the Royal Aircraft factory at Farnborough, actually completed.

EARLY DAYS

It appears that the airship branch of what was later to be known as the Royal Naval Air Service was the first portion of the air forces of the country to carry out any war operation, although no active results were achieved. At 7 o'clock in the evening of Aug. 5, exactly nineteen hours after the declaration of war, Parseval No. 4 set out from Kingsnorth on a night reconnaissance of the Thames estuary on the lookout for any hostile destroyers or submarines which might be attempting a raid. The airship returned safely to her base at 5:30 the following morning, after a flight of ten and a half hours, without sighting anything other than our own patrol craft.

After this inaugural war flight, the same airship, with the assistance of Astra-Torrés No. 3, maintained a regular patrol of the Channel, from the mouth of the Thames down to the Isle of Wight. Included in their work was the duty of conveying the first units of the British Expeditionary Force to France on Aug. 14.

There were few events of outstanding importance during 1914, though an interesting incident was No. 3's visit to

Ostend in September, when she was moored out in the open for three days ready to assist in the hasty preparations, which were subsequently abandoned, made to defend that town by Sir George Aston, in command of a mixed force of marines and troops. After the evacuation a somewhat daring reconnaissance of Ostend was made by the same airship in broad daylight to ascertain whether the Germans had yet occupied the place.

Two months later a party under Colonel Maitland established an airship base in a disused factory at Firminy. Eta was destined for this work, but was wrecked on the way over, her place being taken by Beta, which did a certain amount of reconnaissance work and artillery control for the Belgian heavy guns in the neighborhood. This party saw a Belgian kite balloon in operation and were so impressed with its value that a strong recommendation was forwarded to the Admiralty recommending the adoption of similar measures—with results which are now history. This force was recalled toward the end of the year.

PROGRESS IN 1915

The year 1915 opened inauspiciously for airships by the issue early in February of instructions to Messrs. Vickers to cease all work on the construction of the rigid airship No. 9. This resulted immediately in the dispersal of a large number of skilled workmen and caused the loss of much valuable time before experience could be gained in the management and uses of large airships. Fortunately, the policy was reversed and recommencement of work ordered in the following August, but, largely owing to this delay, this first rigid airship did not take the air until late in the following year.

The same month, however, saw a development which was destined to sow the seeds of all the future successes of British airships. On the last day of February Lord Fisher, who had lately become First Sea Lord, in view of the threatening submarine menace, gave instructions for the production of a small airship to

act as a submarine scout. Then followed a fortnight of feverish activity on the part of the Airship Service, which at last saw signs of interest in high quarters. The following day the envelope of the little Willows training airship was dispatched from Farnborough to Kingsnorth and preparations were made to sling below it the fuselage of a war-scarred BE-2-C airplane. Precisely fifteen days later SS-1 took the air and successfully passed her trials, with the result that a further twelve submarine scouts were ordered the same evening. To accommodate these, work was commenced immediately on a number of stations around the coast, and during the ensuing Summer patrols were started from Folkestone, Polegate near Eastbourne, Marquise on the French coast near Boulogne, Luce Bay near Stranraer, and Anglesey; Folkestone being the first of these stations to "commission," on May 8. The earlier SS airships were constructed at Kingsnorth, while Barrow and Wormwood Scrubs were both subsequently employed on this work.

CREATING A NEW INDUSTRY

It was necessary to build up what was practically a new industry to prepare fabric with rubber proofing to render it gas-tight for airship envelopes. The various water-proofing companies were called upon for this work, and responded with such enthusiasm that by the end of the war there were about half a dozen firms which had specialized in the making of airship envelopes with extremely good results. The SS airships proved so satisfactory that it was decided in July to recommence work on rigid No. 9, and also to start on the production of a larger type of non-rigid which subsequently became known as the "coastal" class, they being intended for anti-submarine patrols up to a distance of 150 miles from shore. To house these airships the building of new stations was commenced in the Autumn at Longside near Aberdeen, East Fortune on the Firth of Forth, Howden on the Humber, Pulham in Norfolk, Mullion in South Cornwall, and Pembroke in South Wales. These, with the SS airship stations al-

ready commissioned, provided a chain of bases all around the coast, distant in the majority of cases only some 100 miles apart. The greatest possible credit is due to Brig. Gen. Masterman, who was personally responsible for the location of these stations, which, although at that time the methods of employing airships in anti-submarine operations were all a matter of pure conjecture, proved later on to be without exception admirably placed for dealing with the very extended activities of German submarines as these were developed in 1917 and 1918.

Before passing to the year 1916 it may be mentioned that toward the end of the Summer an airship expeditionary force was sent to the Dardanelles, a base being established on the Island of Imbros to co-operate with the surface craft in attempting to locate enemy submarines in those waters. Owing to its exposed nature, this camp, for it was little more, was subsequently removed to Mudros. Only one SS airship could be kept inflated at a time, as only a single shed was sent out, which probably accounts for the comparatively poor results obtained.

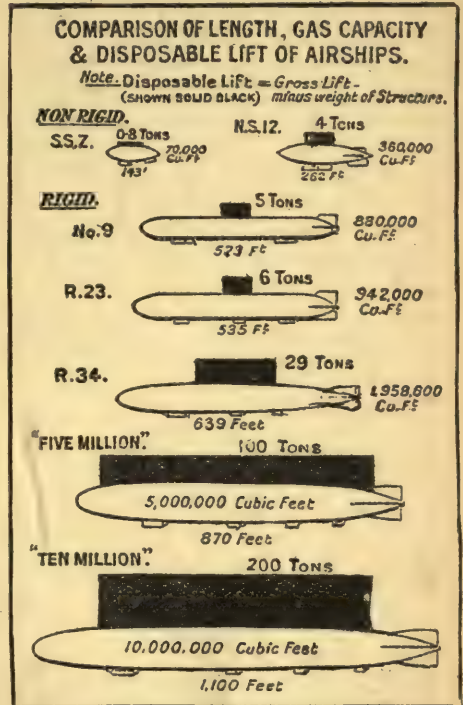
It is interesting to note that the suggestion with regard to kite balloons bore fruit to the extent that by the end of 1915 there were on active service five sea and five land kite balloon sections, of which the latter were working with the army in France, all manned by R. N. A. S. personnel, besides others in process of formation at Upper Grove House, Roehampton, which had been established as a training station and depot.

Although the practical results of airship work during this year may have been to some extent negative, nevertheless the groundwork had been done from which an important service was destined to develop. The number of airship stations had risen from two to eight, in addition to six more under construction, while there were now twenty-two airships in active operation, besides a considerable number (including four more of the rigid type) on order. The number of personnel had risen from 198 to the respectable total of 1,732. On the last day of the year the station at Marquise

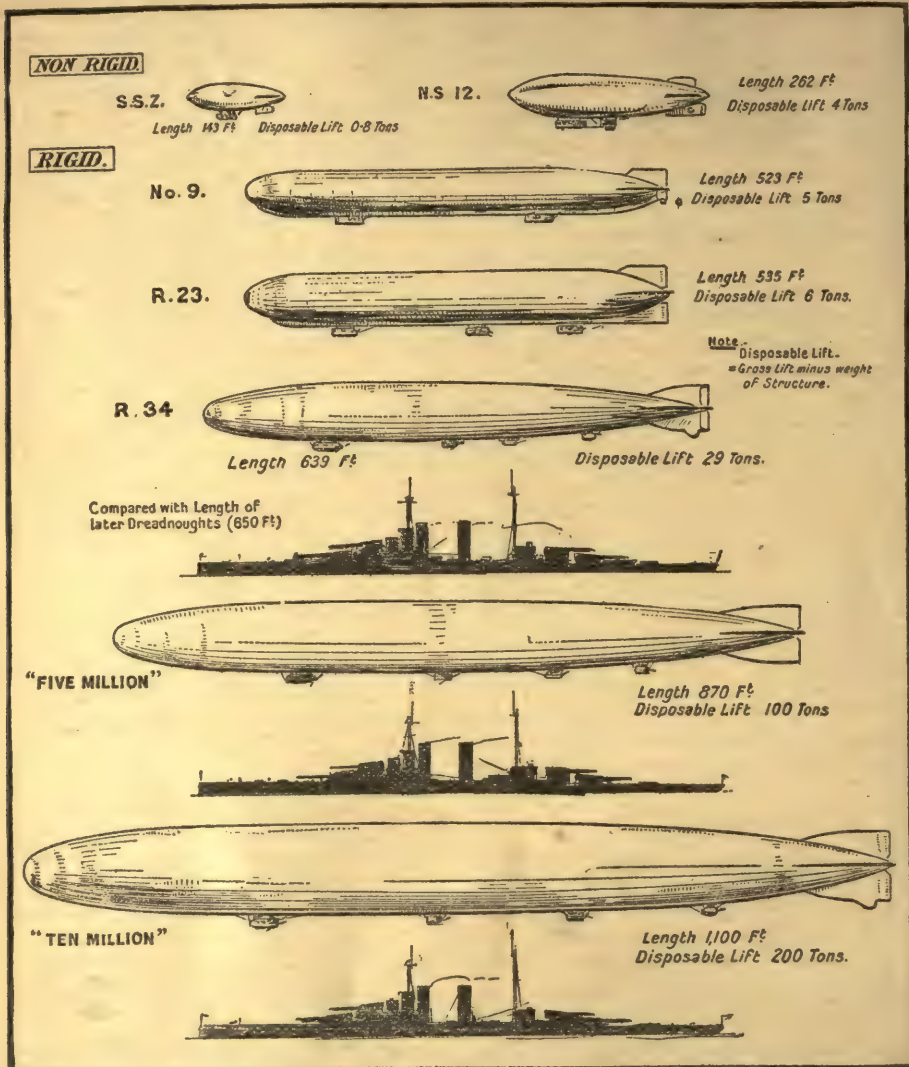
was handed over to the French Government.

1916

The next year was mainly one of co-ordination and general settlement of ideas. The full program of SS airships, to the number of fifty, was completed



during the year, as was that of the thirty-two "coastal" type ordered during 1915. Sheds capable of housing rigid airships were commenced at Longside, East Fortune, Howden, Cranwell, (the R. N. A. S. training station,) and Pulham, the coastal airship sheds at all these stations, as well as at Mullion and Pembroke, being completed. The year saw the completion of the first of the "North Sea" type of non-rigid airships which proved capable of carrying a crew of ten for a period of twenty hours at full speed. Another innovation fraught with great promise for the future was the production by the station personnel at Folkestone of a new form of submarine scout airship known as the SS-Zero. This ship had a specially designed car capable of floating on the water and built to withstand the strain of towing from



DIAGRAMS SHOWING PROGRESS OF AIRSHIP CONSTRUCTION IN GREAT BRITAIN. NOTE THAT WHILE THE R-34, THE LARGEST YET CONSTRUCTED, CAN LIFT TWENTY-NINE TONS, A DIRIGIBLE ONLY TWICE AS LONG COULD CARRY SEVEN TIMES AS GREAT A LOAD.

a ship. It had begun to be realized that an airship which could be towed by a surface vessel would have many very valuable uses, and experiments were commenced with this object in view.

The outstanding feature of the year was, perhaps, the long-delayed completion of the first rigid airship, No. 9—three years and eight months after the original date of ordering. Owing to the time which had elapsed since her design was prepared, she was naturally out of date, but none the less her successful

trial flight in November, 1916, marked an epoch in airship circles, as it was the first step toward the proper recognition of this type of aircraft in Great Britain. During 1916 an interesting experiment was also tried in sending out an SS airship for work of a secret nature with the British Expeditionary Force in France. This ship proved that it was possible to render an airship so inconspicuous and silent that on four occasions she was able to cross the lines and return, without being detected, at a

height of about 4,000 feet. In the light of later developments, it is interesting to note that the longest flight to that date, of eighteen hours thirty-five minutes, was made by a coastal airship. In this year a number of non-rigid airships of the coastal and SS types were sold to France, Italy, and Russia—a recognition of the results of their labors of which the Airship Service were not unnaturally proud. A staff was collected together to experiment in the design and fitting of parachutes for airships, and a large amount of valuable pioneer work was done in this direction. During this year airships flew for a total of 8,296 hours, the number in commission having risen to fifty-eight, while the personnel had by the end of the year reached a total of 4,462 officers and men.

An occurrence destined to have far-reaching results was the forced landing of the German Zeppelin L-33 in a comparatively undamaged condition near Colchester in September.

1917

The following year will always be looked upon by the Airship Service as the one in which they thoroughly made good their oft-reiterated claim to be considered a valuable part of the naval forces of the country. The year was essentially a vindication of the small non-rigid airship of the SS type, which bore the brunt of the work. It also saw the recognition of airships by naval officers, who had previously eyed them somewhat askance. It was the first year during which all the stations became fully equipped with airships, thus affording an opportunity for the organization of systematic schemes for patrols and proper co-operation between neighboring stations. In consequence of the large amount of flying carried out, to a large extent owing to the success of the new SS-Z type of airships, the personnel generally became more experienced and gained in all-round efficiency, while no small factor in the improved situation was the entire reorganization of and increase in the headquarters staff during this period.

For the first time comparatively frequent reports of submarine sightings

and attacks began to come in, and there was an all-round increase in activity which was most noticeable. The number of hours flying during the year rose to 22,389, although the actual number of airships in commission had only increased by five, to a total of sixty-three requiring a total of 5,818 officers and men.

Three more rigid airships were completed, in addition to No. 9, all of which were allocated to training work pending the completion of later types which were considered likely to prove really useful for war purposes. It was deemed wiser not to risk losing prestige by allowing these ships to be used for operational work for which they were not fully suited. It must be remembered that up to this time our rigid airships were scarcely more than equal to the German ships in use at the beginning of the war—so far behind were we in this branch of airship design.

During the year 1917 an improved type of coastal airship was produced, giving greater all-round efficiency, while six of the new North Sea type were completed, one of them carrying out a flight lasting slightly more than two days.

1918

At the end of 1917 an experiment was tried which was destined to have a great effect on the policy of the following year. It had been found that the convoy system necessitated airships being out regularly for fourteen or fifteen hours at a time, and the distance apart of the main stations rendered it difficult to carry out such long flights with the small SS-Z airships which had proved so valuable and economical in use. The bold policy was therefore adopted of, to a considerable extent, dispensing with sheds. A number of small spinneys, or in some cases merely belts of trees, were found all round the coasts, and small airships were moored out in the open in clearings with no shelter other than that afforded by the trees. This policy, though to some extent open to criticism on the score of the expense resulting from the shortened life of airship envelopes, was amply justified.

A convoy of merchant ships approach-

ing this country from, for example, the Atlantic would, if the weather were anything approaching reasonable, be met some 150 miles out at sea by an airship, and from that time forward would never be left unattended by an airship escort until it reached port—whether it were Bristol, Liverpool, or some town on the east coast. In this way it has been estimated that some 2,000 escorts were carried out during the ten months from January, 1918, to the signing of the armistice. During the same period over 56,000 hours were spent on patrol and 1,000,000 miles covered.

On Nov. 11, 1918, there were 103 airships in commission, (of which five were rigid and fifty-three the ubiquitous SS-Zero,) necessitating the employment of 7,114 officers and men.

SUMMARY

Altogether airships have a record of 88,717 hours flying during the whole period of the war, which is equivalent to a period of ten years; during which 2,245,000 miles were covered, equaling ninety complete circuits of the earth. Including all training and experimental flying, in addition to all deaths resulting from enemy action, only 48 lives were lost, which gives an average of 46,787 miles per fatality, or, to put the same fact in another way, 0.54 deaths for every 1,000 hours flown. Now that all our thoughts are turning to the peaceful development of aircraft, the following records may be not uninteresting: Coastal Airship No. 2 was in commission during 1916, 1917, and 1918 for 2 years 75 days, during which she covered 66,201 miles, or an average

of 3 hours 6 minutes flying on each day of her whole life. Coastal No. 2 covered 38,303 miles in one year, 1918, in 1,414 hours 14 minutes—an average of 104.9 miles per day, while SS-Z-51 during a period of five months did even better than this by averaging 113.3 miles per day.

The work of airships during the war was not spectacular, and little was divulged concerning it, but there is ample evidence that it was useful, and that they fully justified their existence, particularly after the development which commenced in the early Summer of 1917. As soon as it was realized that, for convoy duties especially, high speed is not essential, but that the mere ability to stay out for long periods at a time is a valuable feature in aircraft, airships began to come into their own. Their salient characteristics are the capacity for cruising at any desired speed from zero up to the maximum of the type, and, compared with airplanes, an enormous endurance. Flights of fourteen and fifteen hours were an everyday occurrence even with the little SS-Z type of no more than two tons gross lift, while it is common knowledge that since the armistice NS-11—with a gross lift of about 10 tons—carried out a flight lasting 101 hours, or slightly more than four days. R-34, which successfully crossed the Atlantic twice, with the extra petrol tanks, specially fitted for the Atlantic flight, although her full speed is in the neighborhood of 60 miles per hour, could at a reduced speed—resulting in saving of petrol consumption—stay in the air for nearly ten days, during which she would cover slightly over 7,700 miles.



The Scuttling at Scapa Flow

Vivid Story of an Artist Who Witnessed the Whole Scene From a British Patrol Boat

By B. F. GRIBBLE

Mr. Gribble, a marine artist, was with the British Fleet, engaged in making drawings of the interned German vessels at Scapa Flow on June 21, 1919, at the historic moment when almost the whole High Seas Fleet was scuttled and sunk by order of the German Admiral, von Reuter. He gave the following personal narrative, the most vivid and picturesque thus far obtained from any source:

I HAD accepted an invitation from Vice Admiral Sir Sidney Fremantle to proceed to sea with the British Fleet on Saturday morning, [June 21,] but at the last moment resolved to remain at Scapa and carry on with my task of making drawings of the interned vessels. The original intention had been that the fleet should go out on Friday morning for torpedo practice, but the weather prevented this. On Saturday morning the British Fleet proceeded to sea, and I decided to go on a cruise around the German vessels on board the trawler Sochosin, a captured German vessel, in order to complete my work. I thus had the good fortune to witness a most wonderful sight, one which I would not have missed for worlds.

The Sochosin was doing patrol work under the command of Sub-Lieutenant Leeth, and we were simply cruising round, and as it happened I was only just in time to get the drawings I wanted. About 11:45 I noticed German sailors on board the Friedrich der Grosse throwing baggage into boats which were already alongside the vessel. I remarked to the Lieutenant, "Do you allow them to go for joy rows?" He replied, "No, but, by Jove, it looks as if they were." Then, after a moment's hesitation, the Lieutenant exclaimed, "My word, I have got it. I believe they are scuttling their ships and are abandoning them." By this time the Germans were throwing their baggage into the boats at great speed and simultaneously we observed that the same thing was happening on board the Frankfurt, which was on our right at that moment.

We made straight for the nearest vessel, which happened to be the Frankfurt, and the Lieutenant ordered his men to get their cutlasses and rifles ready. He then shouted an order to the Germans, who were now in their boats, to return to the ships at once. The German sailors apparently had thrown their oars away and they shouted back, "We have no oars." A British sailor then shouted to them, "Here you are, you swine; here you are," and he threw a number of oars into the water. There were two boats approaching us and the German officers were extremely impudent. Standing on the bows of their boats, they shouted, "Can't you take us on board into safety?" Lieutenant Leeth replied, "No, return to your ships at once; if you do not I will fire on you."

It then became necessary to open fire, and the Germans were seen to wave white flags. One German officer shouted, "You have killed four of my men, and we have no arms. I want to look after the men." Our officer shouted to them, "You look after them by getting them back to the ships." The officer said, "We can't go back, they are sinking." Lieutenant Leeth: "You must go back and prevent them from sinking." The Germans replied, "It is not our fault; we are carrying out our orders."

By this time the Friedrich der Grosse had listed right over to port, and in a few minutes went down. Her crew had succeeded in getting round into the open, and we managed to get three boats into tow. Meanwhile signals were being sent up to our battleships to return, and messages were signaled to the coast guards,

requesting them to marconi to the fleet. It took about two hours, however, before the first of the destroyers arrived. The Germans in their boats were very daring, and endeavored to come alongside our vessel. One of the crew, however, kept them off by threatening them with a revolver.

CHEERS FROM THE GERMANS

By this time the *Brummer*, a cruiser of the *Emden* class, had begun to turn over and sink, and the first destroyer of the British Fleet arrived just in time to see her go down. The German crews, who were out in the open sea, cheered as they saw their ships go down. One of the German battle cruisers, I think it was the *Hindenburg*, hoisted the German ensign, and I noticed that all the German vessels had been flying two code flags at the peak. The upper flag was a white ball on a blue pennant, and the lower was a yellow and blue pennant. I had noticed on the previous day that the same signals were flying. They were flown by the *Emden*, and apparently answered by all the German vessels.

As we turned toward the *Seydlitz*, we saw her turn right over, but she did not sink altogether, and she was still visible above the surface. We kept on signaling and using the hooters in order to get other guard ships to come round, and we had to keep passing over the surface where vessels had gone down. We passed several abandoned German steam pinnaces from the different battleships, but there was no one on board, and we concluded that several of the Germans had been drowned, as there were a number of lifebelts floating about.

We then observed that the *Emden* was in trouble, and H. M. S. *Shakespeare*, one of our destroyers, ran alongside her to endeavor to take her in tow. We returned to the *Ramillies* and transferred to her a number of the wounded Germans whom we had removed from the German boats. Returning to the scene, we picked up a few more, including their baggage, and put them on board our flagship. We next proceeded to the *Emden*, and at this time there was a great deal of confusion. Our vessel ran into the *Emden*, smashing her gangways,

but we ultimately managed to beach her. I noticed that Admiral von Reuter's flagship was flying his flag, which is a black cross resembling a Maltese cross on a white ground, with two black balls. When we got alongside the *Emden* I peeped into her forecabin, and I noticed it was gayly decorated with flags and bunting, and there was a distinct odor of tobacco and spirits. Evidently the Germans had indulged in an orgy the night before. It appears that the whole thing was carefully arranged and timed to a minute.

One thing I noticed was that, notwithstanding the thrilling and dangerous character of the proceedings, the German officers were wearing yellow kid gloves and smoking cigars. Although the Germans declared they had no arms, I have good reason to believe that automatic pistols were found in the possession of some of the officers.^o While our rifle fire was proceeding there was a good deal of cross fire, which lasted for, I should think, three-quarters of an hour, and it is impossible to say whether the Germans actually did use firearms, but probably some shots came from the Germans. Their intention evidently was to keep out to sea as long as they could in order to give their vessels time to sink.

On Saturday evening I had a long chat with the different officers, and they all expressed great regret at not being present from the beginning of the incident. Admiral von Reuter and his staff and the whole of the crews, numbering altogether about 400, were placed on board the *Revenge* for the night, and arrangements were made to take them to Invergordon on the following day.

GERMAN OFFICERS PARADED

I think the most interesting and impressive part of the whole proceedings took place on Sunday afternoon on board the *Revenge*, when Admiral Fremantle had the whole of the German officers and men paraded on the quarterdeck and addressed Admiral von Reuter and his staff. This ceremony took place at 2:30. The Germans were lined up under a military escort of marines with fixed bayonets, and Admiral von Reuter was ordered to stand in front of his staff.

Admiral Fremantle then delivered a short address, which was translated by a Captain of the Marines. Admiral Fremantle, addressing the German Admiral, said:

"Before I send you ashore as a prisoner of war, I would like to express to you my indignation at the deed which you have perpetrated and which was that of a traitor violating the action of the arrangements entered into by the Allies. The German Fleet was, in a sense, more interned than actually imprisoned. The vessels were resting here as a sort of good-will from the German Government until peace had been signed. It is not the first occasion on which the Germans have violated all the decent laws and rules of the seas. We have had on many occasions to regret the fact of having to fight a nation which takes no notice of civilized laws on the high seas."

VON REUTER'S REPLY

After this address Admiral von Reuter made a short speech, in which he said:

"I take entire responsibility for what has been done. It was done at my instigation, and I feel that I was perfectly justified in doing it, and I feel sure that in similar circumstances every English sailor would have done the same."

The ceremony was very impressive, and appeared to touch all our sailors who witnessed it. The German officers were then ordered to get their baggage, and they were transferred to a boat. Admiral Fremantle ordered Admiral von Reuter and his staff to be taken on a launch to a place near Invergordon. The other officers and men were landed at Invergordon. One thing that struck me about the German sailors was that they appeared to be very poor specimens of the German type, and they seemed to be devoid of discipline. During the ceremony of the quarterdeck they did not salute nor stand at attention until ordered to do so. The German officers, however, were a more healthy-looking type of men. Everything possible was done for the wounded men. I think one man died on the Ramillies.

It was most surprising to observe how swiftly the vessels sank. Most of them

turned over to starboard and then disappeared. I do not think the dramatic spectacle could have been witnessed very clearly from the shore. There has been mention of the hoisting of the red flag, but I do not think that is correct. I saw no red flag. There were only the German Admiral's flag and the signal pennants. It seems clear that the whole incident was carefully prearranged, and that the Germans had known exactly when our fleet would be at sea. It is also rather suggestive that quite recently Admiral von Reuter removed 2,000 of his men from the ships and sent them home. I can quite understand that the Germans may have been feeling the monotony of their existence at Scapa Flow. There is very little comfort on board a German warship. The German Navy was apparently built solely from the fighting point of view, and there does not appear to have been much consideration given to the comfort of the crews. All available space on board is taken up with working plant and guns, and the feature of the vessels is the manner in which they are heavily armor plated.

I think the whole incident created a curious feeling of surprise among our sailors, who appeared to be unable to realize that a fleet of magnificently constructed vessels could be got rid of so simply without even showing fight. I noticed that Admiral von Reuter and his staff wore Iron Crosses. I think Admiral von Reuter's decoration was an Iron Cross of the first degree. The scene was certainly an extraordinary one, and I shall never forget it.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—Admiral Fremantle reported on June 24 that the *Baden* was afloat, the *Emden* beached and little damaged, the *Frankfurt* beached, with upper deck awash at high water; the *Nürnberg* beached broadside on, with little damage. Two destroyers were afloat and eighteen beached. He said there was no prospect of salvaging any of the other ships without elaborate operations. A month later, on July 30, Walter Hume Long, First Lord of the Admiralty, announced in the House of Commons that one German battleship, three light cruisers, and fifteen destroyers had been salvaged and that work was proceeding on three other destroyers. He added that there was no intention of holding a court of inquiry in regard to the sinking.

The World's Ship Tonnage

Balancing Accounts With the U-Boats—America's Increased Share in the World's New Merchant Marine

[PERIOD ENDED SEPT. 10, 1919]

THE losses of the allied and neutral nations caused by Germany's submarine war, though undeniably great, were counterbalanced in part by an increase of shipbuilding activity in Great Britain, Japan, and the United States. A report issued by Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the United States Shipping Board, showed that the allied and neutral nations suffered a total loss by enemy action, marine risk, and capture of over 15,000,000 gross tons. Great Britain lost 18 per cent. of her entire tonnage. The Cunard Company alone lost forty-five ships. Norway lost considerably more than 1,000,000 tons, France about 1,000,000, Italy about 850,000, Greece about 337,000, Denmark 239,000, and Sweden 201,000. Danish claims against the belligerent powers amounting to more than 100,000,000 kroner (approximately \$25,000,000) were lodged with the Danish Minister of Commerce.

A number of Dutch ships requisitioned by the United States were subsequently returned to Holland with compensation. Compensation to Norway for twenty-seven ships contracted for with American shipyards and requisitioned was fixed early in June after eighteen months' negotiations.

The disposition of the interned German ships was one of the difficult problems with which the Peace Conference had to deal. Before the question was settled, the Germans in command of the surrendered German warships at Scapa Flow scuttled almost the whole fleet. The British at once began salvage operations, and it was stated on July 30 that a considerable number of vessels would be raised and salvaged. A method of raising merchant vessels sunk by German U-boats was also devised by the British Admiralty by the creation of a type of so-called "mystery" ships, built

with a series of towers made of hollow blocks of concrete inclosed by watertight doors by which the blocks could be filled with water. After sinking two of these salvage ships, one on each side, and attaching them to the ship to be salvaged, the water could be pumped out and replaced by air, causing the three vessels to rise together to the surface.

DISTRIBUTING GERMAN SHIPS

It was stated in official circles in Washington on June 16 that an international agreement had been reached regarding German merchant ships, and that Great Britain would get most of the tonnage in German ports when the armistice was signed. France was to take over from 300,000 to 400,000 tons. On June 22 France sent crews to Spain to take over three German vessels interned in Spanish ports during the war. By this agreement, also, Italy was to get surrendered Austrian tonnage. The United States was to retain possession of the 700,000 tons of German shipping interned in the United States and at certain South American ports when America entered the war.

An official of the British Ministry of Shipping stated on Sept. 10 that Great Britain intended to insist on having 2,250,000 tons of the 3,000,000 tons of German shipping to be divided among the Allies by the Reparations Commission after the ratification of peace. He added that the situation was delicate and complicated, and that intricate international negotiations were yet to be completed. Nevertheless, he was confident that Great Britain ultimately would obtain approximately what she demanded. Even then her loss in shipping during the war would exceed 5,000,000 tons.

A part of the total allied loss in shipping was further compensated for by the acquisition of new ships and by

the salvage of vessels sunk or scuttled. A larger compensation lay in the greatly increased activity in shipbuilding by the allied nations. Among these Japan and the United States were in the fore, Japan showing a net gain of 25 per cent., while the United States came far in the lead with a net gain of 125 per cent. In August, 1914, the United States possessed 1,494 seagoing merchant ships of almost 3,000,000 gross tons; in November, 1918, we had over 2,000 seagoing merchant vessels of about 5,500,000 tons. A total of 875 vessels had been added and thirty-one other vessels had been acquired by diversion of Great Lakes steamers and from other sources. The Allies and neutrals gained by new construction and seizure of enemy ships over 14,000,000 gross tons, leaving a net loss of about 970,000 gross tons.

After the signing of the armistice contracts for the construction of 550 vessels of an estimated cost of \$400,000,000 were canceled by the United States Shipping Board. Sale of the war-built merchant fleet was begun on April 17, and ninety-five wooden ships and barge hulls were listed for sale soon thereafter. Many of the ships so canceled, both steel and wood, were not deliverable until 1920, and were not of a size or type commercially or economically advantageous in time of peace. On July 31 the sale of 100 steel ships of a total value of \$80,000,000 was announced by the Shipping Board.

AMERICA'S SHIPPING FUTURE

In Chairman Hurley's report, already cited, the future possibilities of America's mercantile marine were strongly emphasized. He intimated that American ships had come back upon the ocean to stay. The war, he said, had brought America into a high place as a maritime power. In an address delivered at Hog Island on May 30, on the occasion of the launching of five 7,800-ton ships, Secretary Daniels spoke even more strongly; never again, he said, would the United States be guilty of the folly of trusting its foreign commerce to foreign bottoms. America would not quit the shipbuilding industry, but would put it on a solid basis. One of the chief compensations

of the burden of the great struggle, he declared, was the restoration, or, rather, the rebirth of the American merchant marine; America had been building on a scale that was undreamed of even in the early days when the American flag and American commerce were seen in all parts of the world. In spite of all mistakes due to haste and the high cost under war conditions a great and lasting good had come from the revival of shipbuilding in the war.

The great increase in ship construction was evidenced by various reports of ships delivered and launched through the Summer. The delivery of thirty vessels to the Shipping Board during the week ended Aug. 9 brought the total since the beginning of the war to 1,227, of 4,542,278 gross tons. Of these vessels 870 were steel and 357 were wood and composite.

On June 12 the United States Shipping Board sent to both branches of Congress its recommendations for the development of the merchant marine, advocating private ownership and operation under Federal charter. The report proposed the establishment of a development fund from which the President of the United States would be authorized to assist interests engaged in building up new trade routes. The sale of steel ships on a basis of 25 per cent. payment and ten years' time was also advocated for legislation. An investigation along the lines of the report was ordered by the House Committee on Merchant Marine.

Figures made public by the United States Shipping Board showed that the American merchant marine comprised 46 per cent. of all ships plying between America and foreign shores. On Jan. 31 there were 752 vessels employed in overseas service under the American flag. The Shipping Board had opened a new route from New York to China; various steamers plied between the United States and Australia, New Zealand, India, Greece, and the West Coast of Africa; weekly departures were made for Danzig, Saloniki, and Turkey, with relief supplies; other ships served the Dutch East Indies, England, Belgium, and other

ports. Trade with Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania, and the Black Sea ports was resumed by the action of the Supreme Economic Council on Feb. 15 in opening the Dardanelles.

SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE

Through our acquisition of the German interned ships, eighty-nine in number, and the increase in ship construction, the extension of United States trade with South America was stimulated to an unprecedented degree. South American trade had been fostered by the construction of twenty-two ships, combined cargo and passenger carriers, of 12,000 tons each, to be used in the establishment of a regular schedule between United States and South American ports, one result of which would be to interest American investors in South American fields not previously developed.

On the occasion of the visit to the United States of Señor Epitacio Pessoa, President of Brazil, toward the end of June, William G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the United States Treasury, spoke of the great opportunities for trade extension with South America, and advocated an adequate transport service. Shortly before, Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board aroused enthusiasm at the Second Pan-American Commercial Conference held in Washington by asserting that it was the intention of the

United States Government to furnish shipping for travel and trade with Latin-American countries on a scale that would bring about the closest and most favorable trade relations. Mr. Hurley went at length into the plans of the Shipping Board, which covered service to the West Indies, Valparaiso, Rio de Janeiro, and other ports. Included in the fleet which would ply between North and South America, he said, would be three of the large German ships retained in the possession of the United States. The importance of the fast passenger and mail service planned, he pointed out, was made evident by the enormous growth of trade values between the two continents of nearly \$1,000,000,000, which made our Latin-American trade greater than that of all the rest of the world combined.

The resignation of Chairman Hurley as head of the Shipping Board to take effect on Aug. 1 was accepted by President Wilson on July 10, when all control over ocean freight rates was relinquished by the Shipping Board. In his letter of acceptance the President praised Mr. Hurley highly for his vigorous and patriotic activities during the war.

The first ship to sail under the German flag after the war left Hamburg for America on Sept. 9. The ship had on her lading bill 2,000 tons of ballast, but was to return to Hamburg with machinery and oil.

The King of Hedjaz and the Revolt of the Wahabites

THE Lebanon Syrian Committee in the second week of August addressed to the Central Syrian Committee located in Paris the following telegram:

The Arabian military authorities at Damascus are continuing their arbitrary recruiting. They have just decided to send an army of Syrians to the Hedjaz, on a payment of three Egyptian pounds per man, probably to fight against the Wahabites. They are thus treating Syria as a country conquered by the Hedjaz, and are misapplying the subsidies furnished by the Allies.

The Mussulman sect of the Wahabites is at war with Hussein, King of Arabia. The causes that led to these hostilities were briefly as follows: When the Otto-

man Empire joined the European war the Hedjaz and the other Emirates of Arabia joined the Allies, who created Hussein King of Arabia. Hussein played a prominent part from this time on. He only was represented at the Peace Conference. His son, Faïçal, became a candidate for the throne of Hedjaz under the aegis of England. Hussein's proclamation of himself as khalif, or great religious leader of Islam, gave offense to the Wahabites among other sects. His subsequent proposal to unite Hedjaz with Nedj, where the Wahabites are mainly centred, brought on a crisis, and the conflict was declared by the Wahabite leader.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[Italian Cartoon]

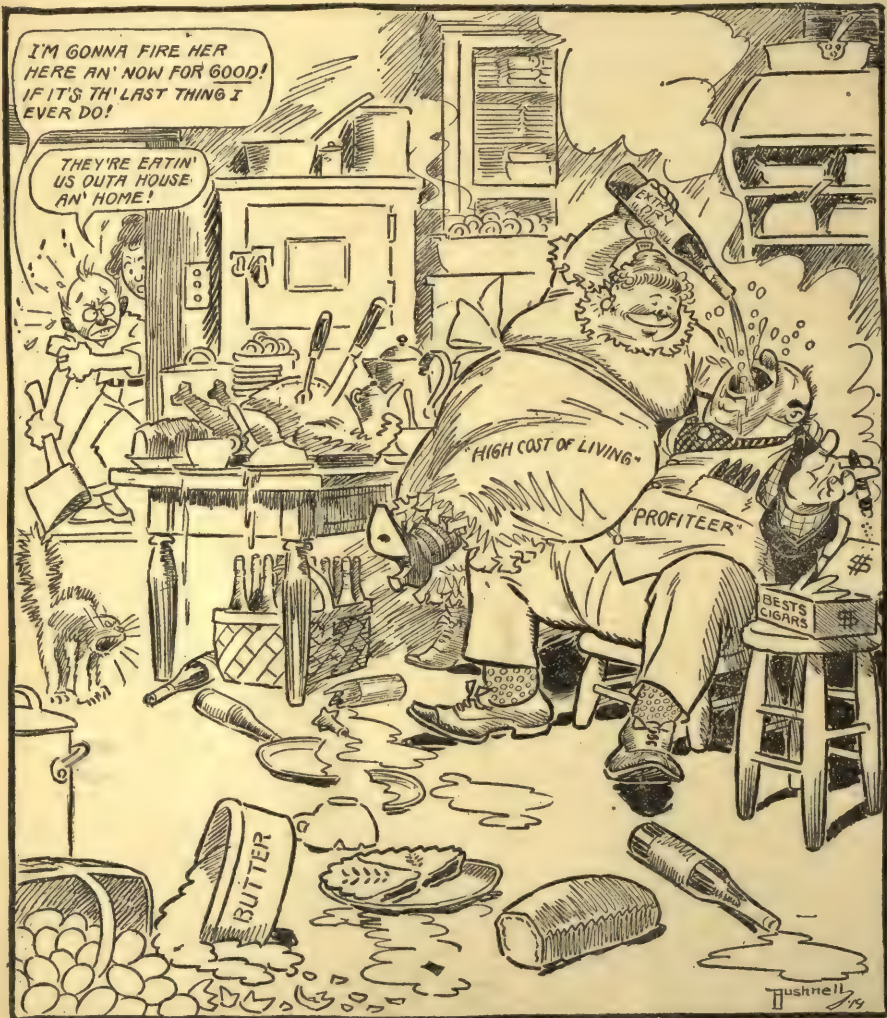
. The First Victim of the Peace Treaty



—From *Il 420*, Florence

[American Cartoon]

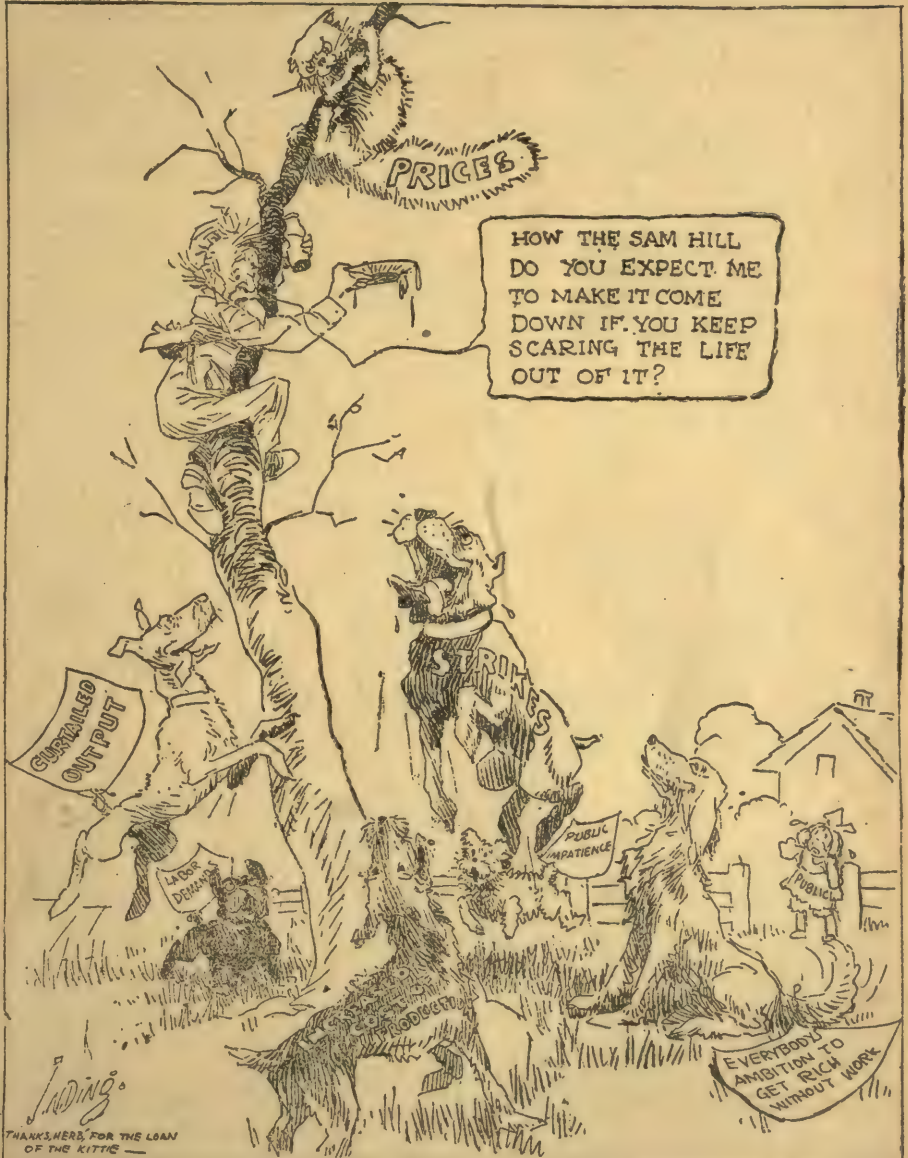
While the "Cook" Entertains Her "Steady"



—Central Press Association, Cleveland

[American Cartoon]

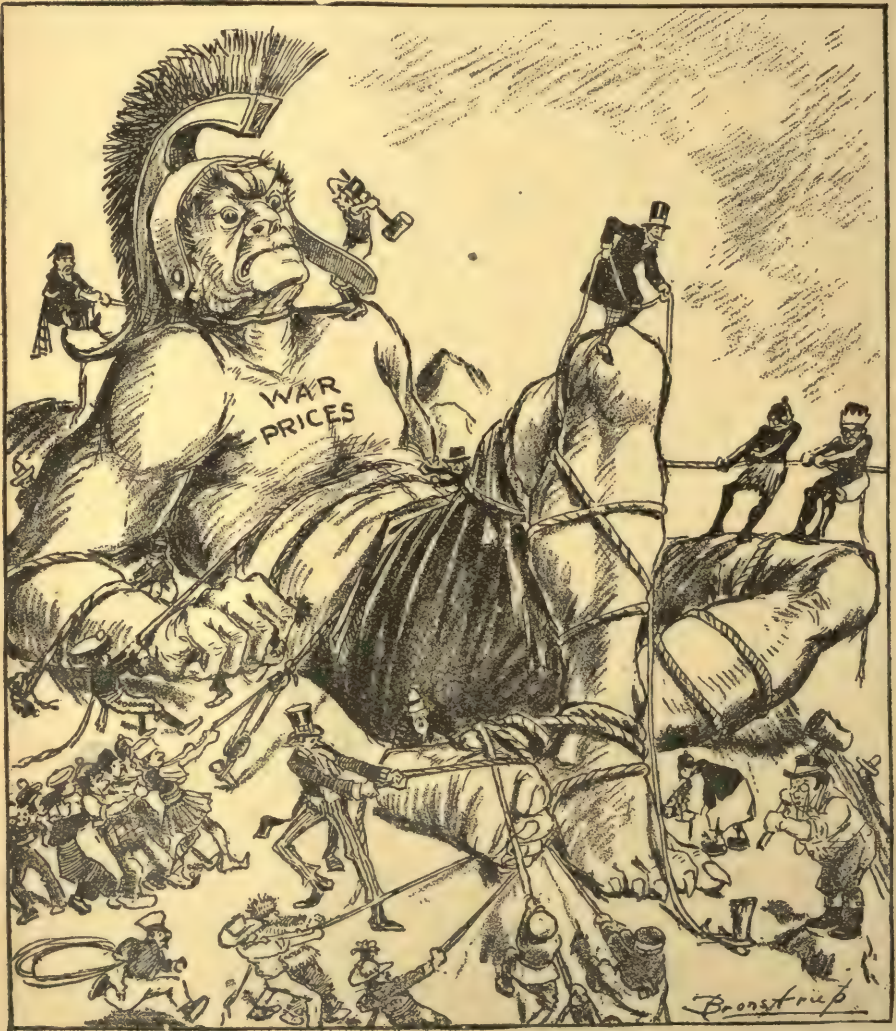
Operating Under Difficulties



—From The New York Tribune

[American Cartoon]

All Together



—From The San Francisco Chronicle

[American Cartoon]

Switzerland, the Asylum of Kings



—From The Chicago Tribune

[Copyright, 1919, John T. McCutcheon]

[Spanish Cartoon]

A Sensational Case



View of the trial



—From Campana de Gracia, Barcelona

Will this be the result?

[American Cartoon]

“No Foreign Entanglements”



—From The New York Tribune

[German Cartoon]

The War as I Saw It



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich

[Italian Cartoon]

The Peace Banquet

PRESIDENT WILSON:
"I leave you, dear
friends, and part
content, satisfied
that with your help
I have secured order,
love, and peace
throughout the
world"

—From Il 420,
Florence



[German Cartoon]

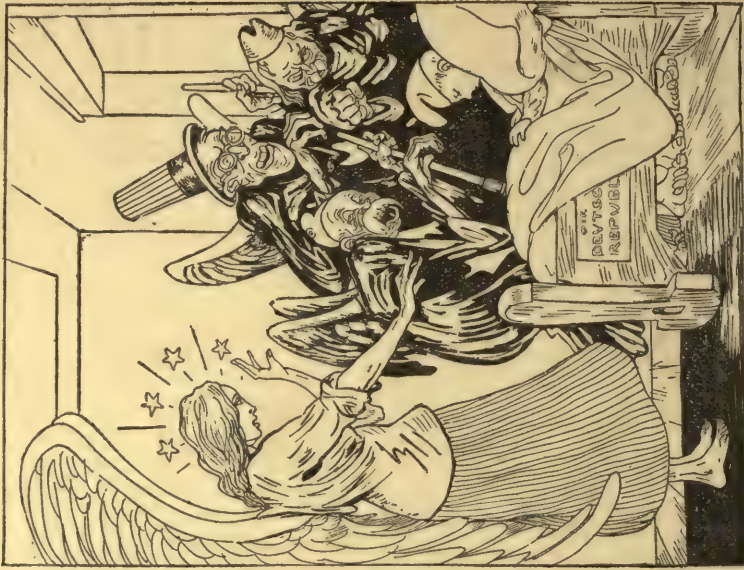
The New Apocalypse



—From *Lustige Blaetter*, Berlin
Justice and Pity are trodden down by the new Apocalyptic riders

[German Cartoon]

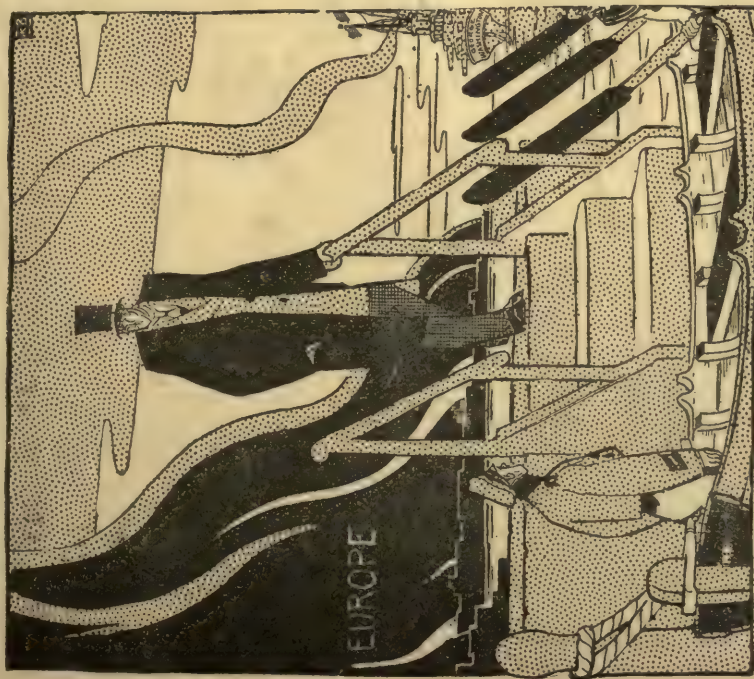
The Good Fairy and the Bad Ones



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin
THE GOOD FAIRY (WORK): "Cheer up! I'll save you and lift that evil spell"

[Dutch Cartoon]

Wilson's Departure From Europe



—From the *Notenkraker*, Amsterdam
“Let it burn on! The dollar is safe!!”

[German Cartoon]

President Wilson at the Peace Table



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin
CLEMENCEAU TO LLOYD GEORGE: “I hope the spirits of Washington and Lincoln won’t wake him up at the last moment.”

[Austrian Cartoon]

Hell on Earth



—From *Die Muskete*, Vienna

The fate of the middle-class man under Bolshevism

[Swedish Cartoon]

Milking Day for the Allies

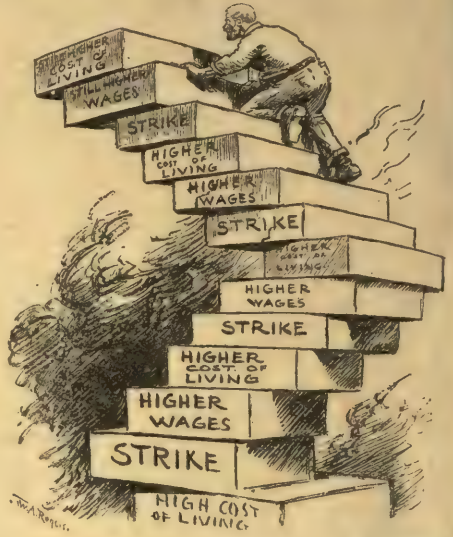


—From *Sondags Nisse*, Stockholm

The Consumer on the Rack Nearing the Inevitable End

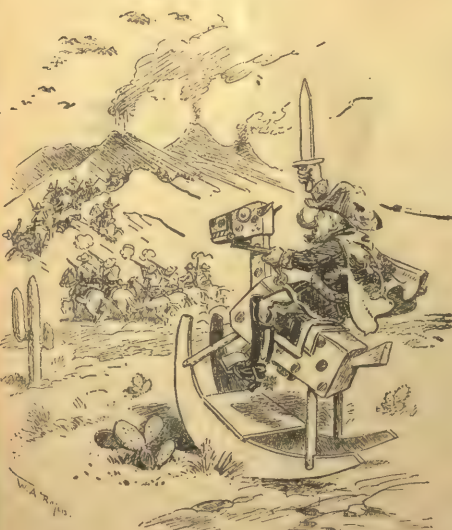


—New York World



—New York Herald

Enthusiastic Support of Our Bandit Chasers by Don Whiskeranza



—New York Herald

Patience!



—Memphis Commercial Appeal

The Optimist Sees the Doughnut and the Pessimist Sees the Hole



[Italian Cartoon]
A Photograph of Peace



[American Cartoon]

Throwing Away the Match



—New York Times

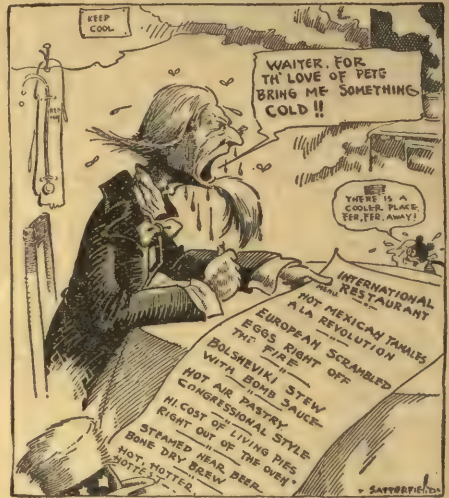
[American Cartoons]

Spiting Himself



—George Matthew Adams Service

Impossible



—Newspaper Enterprise Association

[English Cartoons]

Sam: "Say, John, There's Some Dirt on Your Face"



—The World, London

Peace and the Irish Problem



—World, London
"Oo-er!"

[American Cartoons]

"Amending" It

U. S.—"Just Where Do I Get Off?"



"AMENDING"

—New York World



—New York Herald

How Long Is Temporary?

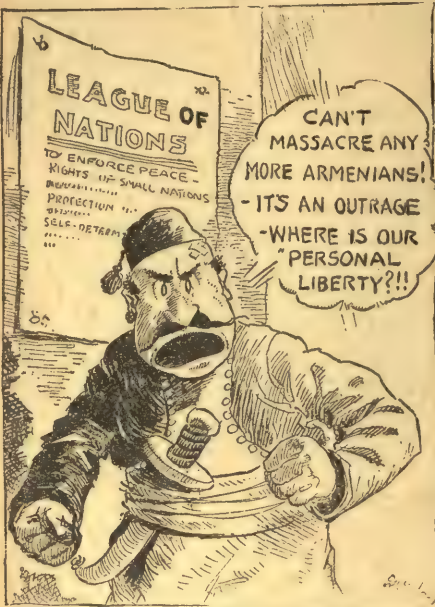


Copyright, 1919, John T. McCutcheon
England in Egypt—1882



—From The Chicago Tribune
Japan in Shantung—1919

Prohibition's Greatest Martyr



—Sioux City Tribune

Can Eliza Save the Child?



—Grand Forks Herald

Looking for a New Nest



—Baltimore American

"Do We Want to Raise Another Kid?"



—Sioux City Journal

[This issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE was delayed by a controversy between the International Pressmen's Union and certain local unions, a quarrel in which this magazine had no part. The present issue was printed on the rotogravure presses of The New York Times and was handled entirely in union offices by union labor]

THE INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

How Representatives of Capital, Labor, and the Public Sought a Solution of Wage Problems

THE Industrial Conference called by President Wilson to find a solution of the nation's increasing labor troubles held its first session in the Pan-American Building at Washington on Oct. 6, 1919. President Wilson, on account of illness, was unable to be present, but was represented by Cabinet members. The body of delegates which he had called together in this unique convention was notable for the absence of extremists on both sides of the labor issue. Three main groups were represented—the employers, the employees, and the public.

The program, so far as it had been arranged, was intended to consider "fundamental means of bettering the whole relationship of labor and capital," including the discussion of the public's interests in strikes and lockouts, the question of the closed or open shop, and labor's right of collective bargaining. The last two subjects touched directly upon the great steel strike then in progress, and they soon forced themselves into the foreground to the exclusion of all others, becoming at length the rock upon which the conference itself went to pieces. In the interim, however, an important chapter in industrial history had been written.

Men and women whose names loom large in their special fields gathered in the Hall of the Americans of the Pan-American Building. There was an atmosphere of tension from the beginning. The representatives of labor sat to the right of the temporary Chairman, Secretary Wilson. On the left of the Secretary were the representatives of the employers. Between these groups sat the men and women representing the public.

LIST OF DELEGATES

The official list of delegates, as finally arranged, was as follows:

For the public: Bernard M. Baruch, New York; Robert S. Brookings, St. Louis; John D. Rockefeller, Jr., New York; Judge Elbert H. Gary, New York; Dr. Charles W. Eliot, Cambridge, Mass.; John Spargo, New York; O. E. Bradfute, Xenia, Ohio; Ward M. Burgess, Omaha, Neb.; Fuller R. Galloway, La Grange, Ga.; Thomas L. Chadbourne, New York; H. B. Endicott, Dedham, Mass.; Paul L. Feiss, Cleveland, Ohio; Henry S. Dennison, Framingham, Mass.; George R. James, Memphis, Tenn.; Thomas D. Jones, Chicago; A. A. Landon, Buffalo; E. T. Meredith, Des Moines; Gavin McNab, San Francisco; L. D. Swett, Carbondale, Col.; Louis Titus, San Francisco; Charles Edward Russell, New York; Bert M. Jewell, Washington, D. C.; Lillian Wald, New York; Gertrude Barnum, Berkeley, Cal., and Ida M. Tarbell, New York.

Chamber of Commerce of the United States: Henry A. Wheeler, Chicago; Ernest T. Trigg, Philadelphia; Herbert F. Perkins, Chicago; John J. Raskob, Wilmington, Del., and Homer L. Ferguson, Newport News, Va.

Farmers' organizations: J. N. Tittlemore, Omro, Wis.; T. C. Atketson, Washington, D. C., and C. S. Barrett, Union City, Ga.

Investment Bankers' Association of America: Edgar L. Marston, New York, and Howard W. Fenton, Chicago.

Organized labor: For the American Federation of Labor—Samuel Gompers and Frank Morrison, Washington, D. C.; Daniel J. Tobin, Indianapolis; Joseph F. Valentine, Cincinnati; W. D. Mahon, Detroit; T. A. Rickert, Chicago; Jacob Fischer, Indianapolis; Matthew Woll, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Sara Conboy, New York City; William H. Johnston, Washington, D. C.; Paul Scharrenberg, San Francisco; John H. Donlin, Washington, D. C., and M. F. Tighe, Pittsburgh. For the railroad brotherhoods—W. E. Sheppard, conductors; W. G. Lee,

trainmen; Timothy Shea, firemen, and H. E. Wills, engineers.

National Industrial Conference: Frederick P. Fish, Boston; J. W. O'Leary, Chicago; S. Pemberton Hutchinson, Philadelphia; Edwin Farnham Green, Boston, and L. F. Loree, New York.

Besides the official delegates from the three groups, many spectators and perhaps 100 newspaper men were present, as well as Secretaries Daniels, Houston, Baker, and Burleson. Others were Ray Baker, Director of the Mint; Grosvenor Clarkson, Secretary of the Council of National Defense; Joseph P. Tumulty, the President's Secretary; John C. Koons, First Assistant Postmaster General, and William Z. Foster, Secretary-Treasurer of the organization committee of the steel workers.

OPENING THE CONFERENCE

In opening the conference Secretary Wilson introduced John Barrett, Director General of the Pan-American Union, who made a short speech of welcome. Rowland B. Mahany, former Minister to Ecuador, acted as temporary Secretary. The Secretary of Labor made a prepared address in which, after dwelling upon the problems facing the world as the result of the wastage of war and upon the financial inflation in all commercial countries which had played havoc with the relative values of money, wages, and commodities, he continued:

The effect of these things has been reflected in the high cost of living, and the consequent demand for higher wage rates to meet the increasing burden of the family budget. Yet increases in the wage rate do not always give relief. The more productive we are the sooner we will replace the wastage of war, return to normal price levels, and abolish the opportunity for profiteering.

For that reason we are all interested in the maintenance of industrial peace, but there can be no permanent industrial peace that is not based upon industrial justice. Surely human intelligence can devise some acceptable method of adjusting the relationship between employer and employee.

Upon your shoulders rests a splendid responsibility. Before you the doors of opportunity are open. If you, in the abundance of your combined wisdom and experience, can produce an acceptable document of this character, the results of your work will find a place in the hearts of men like the Magna

Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Emancipation Proclamation.

Arrangements were then made for the appointment of committees. The groups returned during a recess, and then announced the memberships of these committees.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION

At the session of Oct. 7 little was accomplished beyond the determination of rules to govern the discussion. It was decided that no member of any one of the three groups might present a subject to the conference without the consent of his group. Voting was determined by groups, the effect of which would be unanimous, or a two-to-one result. If the three groups could reach no agreement, the result would be nullified. One-third of any group might make a minority report. A general Committee of Fifteen was further selected to pass upon all suggestions before they were submitted to the floor. Various attempts to amend the rules thus constituted were voted down. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, finally was chosen as permanent Chairman of the conference.

By unanimous vote the conference passed a resolution of regret that the President was not present, and expressed the hope for his speedy recovery. Samuel Gompers spoke, lauding Mr. Lane, who then made a stirring address, sounding the note that "ignorance and arrogance," which constituted the "force of destruction" during the war, should have no place in this country "in any matter political, industrial, or social." The address of Secretary Lane was in part as follows:

I look upon this conference as the greatest and most important extra-legal body that has been called in this country, certainly in our time. There are some here who have doubted its success. Why, gentlemen, this conference is bound to be a success. Its extent is not to be measured by resolutions that come from it, by platforms or by programs or by bits of machinery that it may invent or reveal. The spirit of this conference is its justification.

We will draft here a declaration of

dependence not of independence, a declaration that we are united one with another that we live in one another's breath, and that we cannot live in isolation; that we must join hands together, not for our own sake alone, but for the greater sake of our country and of the world.

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The three groups on Oct. 8 occupied themselves with framing suggestions to be presented the following day to the Committee of Fifteen.

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The session of Oct. 9 was marked by proposals made by A. A. Landon of Buffalo, a delegate for the public, to declare an industrial truce for three months; by Samuel Gompers to suspend the steel strike pending arbitration; by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., allowing each plant or corporation to determine with its employes the method of improving conditions, and by Gavin McNab of San Francisco for a national board of conciliation and arbitration. These, with many other suggestions, were automatically referred to the Committee of Fifteen.

An outline of a plan for adjustment of labor disputes was also suggested by Secretary Wilson. This plan provided for joint boards of employers and employes in each industry to act in case of imminent strikes and lockouts, a general board appointed by the President to pass upon appeals, and an umpire to be drawn by lot if the general board failed to agree.

In addition to the resolution asking a suspension of the steel strike pending an investigation, the labor bloc put in another resolution embodying eleven proposals, including the right of workers to organize in trade unions; the right

of collective bargaining; of wage earners to be represented by representatives of their own choosing; of freedom of speech press and assemblage; of the eight-hour day; of the "living wage as that is understood in this time and country"; that women should receive the same pay as men for equal work; that the service of any child under 16 years of age for "private gain" should be prohibited; that a national conference board for the settlement of industrial disputes be created; and that all immigration for a period of two years after the ratification of the Peace Treaty be prohibited, and thereafter regulated with due regard to the employment situation.

DR. ELIOT'S WARNING

Already at this session the indications of a coming conflict were pointed out by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, former President of Harvard University, who said:

I think we already see that this conference can be brought to no successful issue if its business is to be conducted by groups and its opinions are to be recorded by groups. The speech just made by Mr. Gompers shows that labor is here to contend for what are called its rights. There have occurred many indications already, not in public but in private meetings, that a large group of employers here are prepared to resist the methods of approach to the business which we heard proposed this morning by the labor group.

There is a conflict on already: and among all the propositions that have been submitted to this conference this morning there are several which relate, not to new relations between capital and labor, but to the old, to the former conditions of things in this country, in regard to industrial strikes, to the strengthening of the modes of combat with which our whole community has now become familiar. We should make a new start if it is to bring to pass any substantial results in creating new relations between capital and labor.

I distrust the group method because it obviously promotes, at any rate, combat over old conditions and over the present conditions. For example, one of the propositions just submitted in the name of the labor group here relates to an industrial controversy now going on. Can we hope fully to go into such a question as that in this conference? We are all, we must assume, clearly desirous of finding new and better relations between capital and labor. Should we

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I distrust the group method because it obviously promotes, at any rate, combat over old conditions and over the present conditions. For example, one of the propositions just submitted in the name of the labor group here relates to an industrial controversy now going on. Can we hope fully to go into such a question as that in this conference? We are all, we must assume, clearly desirous of finding new and better relations between capital and labor. Should we

discuss here either the old or the present strikes?

Both Mr. Wheeler of the employers' group and Mr. Sheppard of the labor group objected to Dr. Eliot's statements.

THE OPEN-SHOP ISSUE

The rift of dissension between the employer and labor groups was widened on Oct. 10, when the employers, insisting on the open shop and the right of the employer to deal only with his employees without reference to outsiders, presented their recommendations. The statement of the employers on the open shop was as follows:

There should be no denial of the right of an employer and his workers voluntarily to agree that their relation shall be that of the "closed union shop" or of the "closed nonunion shop." But the right of the employer and his men to continue their relations on the principle of the "open shop" should not be denied or questioned. No employer should be required to deal with men or groups of men who are not his employees or chosen by and from among them.

These propositions were submitted by the employers' delegates and were part of a statement of twelve principles which were briefly as follows:

1. The joint obligation of capital and labor to increase and improve production.
2. The "establishment" as a productive unit, rather than the industry as a whole.
3. Safety and stability of labor conditions.
4. The adjustment of wages according to demand and supply, the efficiency of the workers, the wage standard obtaining in the establishment's locality, the maximum incentive compatible with health and well-being, the high cost of living, and the value and length of service. Bonus payments, profit sharing, and stock ownership to be studied and worked out if possible. No difference in wages to be made between women and men working under the same conditions and of equal quality.
5. The fixing of hours of labor according to necessities of health and leisure, the week to be the standard of labor. Overtime work to be avoided wherever possible. One day of rest to be provided out of seven.
6. The settlement of disputes in each establishment by discussion without limitation of management's function of judgment and direction.
7. Right of free association for collective action, but with no compulsion over

those who remain outside such association.

8. The responsibility of all such associations, whether of employers or employees, to public and legal authority.

9. The right of all individuals to enter into lawful contract, as employers or employees.

10. Noninterference with the open shop. Coercion in this respect not to be tolerated. No employer to be required to deal with men or groups of men who are not his employees or chosen by and from among them.

11. Regarding the right to strike or lockout, a sharp distinction to be drawn between the employment relations in the field (a) of the private industry, (b) of the public utility service, (c) of Government employment, Federal, State, or municipal, the two latter entailing special rights and obligations. In private industry, the right of strike or lockout, though deplored, must not be denied, as an ultimate recourse after all possible means of adjustment are exhausted. Sympathetic strikes and lockouts, blacklists, and boycotts all to be condemned. Public utility and Government service must be made continuous, independent of any private associations, subject to State or Government means for redress of grievances.

12. Practical plans to be inaugurated in industry and outside of it for the training and upgrading of industrial workers, vocational education, and apprenticeship.

THE GOMPERS RESOLUTION

The session of Oct. 14 was a strenuous one, in the course of which a conflict developed over the resolution previously offered by Samuel Gompers to suspend the steel strike while arbitration by the conference proceeded. One faction, headed by Gavin McNab, favored deferring consideration of the measure for several days, but W. E. Sheppard insisted that the solution offered by the labor group should not be shelved unless an alternative was offered. Speeches were made by Mr. Gompers and William H. Johnson of the A. F. of L. in favor of the resolution. The employer group voted solidly against it.

Dr. Charles W. Eliot of the public group renewed his fight against allowing the conference to take up the strike question. He insisted that the subject was not germane, as the conference had been asked by the President to consider "new" and not existing relations between capital and labor. The public group presented the Gompers resolution

without recommendation, owing to the certainty of its defeat. A substitute was offered by Mr. Chadbourne, providing a return to work on the basis of election of employees' committees in each plant to deal with employers, unadjusted differences to be left to a special committee from the conference. This amendment would have covered not only the steel strike, but the walkout of the longshoremen, of the pressmen, and other strikes then in existence. When it came to the vote, the amendment was rejected by all three groups.

SPEECH BY MR. GOMPERS

In his speech before the conference, Mr. Gompers warned the delegates of the gravity of the steel strike, and pleaded to have the struggle arbitrated. He said in part:

You may vote, and no doubt will vote, as you please, but I think that you should hesitate to negative the resolution proposed by this labor group. You may not know the character of our work and responsibilities and the effort we try to make to maintain the best possible relations between employers and employees. But let me impress upon you that this whole world of ours is in a state of unrest, and out of this war from which we have so triumphantly emerged the men and women of America are determined that we shall never again go back to pre-war conditions and concepts; that there must be established a new understanding of the relations of man to man in the life of our nation and in industry.

We demand a voice in the determination of the conditions under which we will give service; we demand a voice in determining those things which make life either fair and worth living or not; we demand that the workers shall not only have that voice as supplicants, but by right. * * *

We have never made an assault—and it is furthest from our thoughts—upon the rights of property or the rights of management. You may win this steel strike if you consent that it shall be adjusted after the fashion that we have so liberally proposed. But if you reject that method, and the steel strike goes on and lasts a month or two or three months and drags out and you have won, and these men are going about the country and preaching the doctrine of their unbearable conditions and the tyranny which they experience and the injustices which have been meted out to them, then, whatever betide, you have sown the seed and will bear the consequence.

Just as a vote on the Gompers resolution was to be taken, it was found that the conference had been in session twenty minutes over the allotted time, and the meeting was adjourned. On the following day the resolution met a similar fate, one factor in the new delay being the illness of Mr. Gompers himself. Another consideration was the hope that some substitute resolution might be devised to satisfy all three groups participating in the conference.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

At the session of Oct. 17 a resolution was presented by the Committee of Fifteen declaring the right of wage earners to collective bargaining, and to be represented in their dealings with their employers by representatives of their own choosing. As the result of this, the conference faced a crisis, the employers' group, despite earnest pleas from the other groups, remaining firm in its opposition, and the labor group declaring that if the resolution should be recommitted the labor representatives would withdraw from the conference. Adjournment came after three hours' debate on the resolution without a vote.

At the session of Oct. 18, however, the employers' group made a movement toward compromise by offering a substitute resolution for the one offered at the preceding session. Both resolutions were then recommitted to the Committee of Fifteen, and the conference was adjourned until Monday, Oct. 20. The resolution offered by the employers' group was as follows:

Resolved, That, without in any way limiting the right of a wage earner to refrain from joining any association or to deal directly with his employer, as he chooses, the right of wage earners in private as distinguished from Government employment to organize in trade and labor unions, in shop industrial councils, or other lawful form of association, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment, is recognized, and the right of the employer to deal or not to deal with men or groups of men who are not his employees and chosen by and

from among them is recognized, and no denial is intended of the right of an employer and his workers voluntarily to agree upon the form of their representative relations.

The Committee of Fifteen on Oct. 18 announced, after working all day, that it believed it had solved the problem that had divided the labor and employer groups in the conference.

At the session of Oct. 20 Judge Gary urged upon the conference to take no action on the resolution offered by Mr. Gompers. In a brief but categorical statement, he laid down the principles which he accepted for the maintenance of the open shop and the protection of unorganized labor. He was answered by Mr. Gompers, who expressed "keen disappointment" over the character of Mr. Gary's statement, and attacked the ultra-conservative and unbending attitude of the representatives of the Steel Corporation.

DEADLOCK REACHED

All proposals for recognition of the right of collective bargaining and the Gompers plan for arbitration of the steel strike were defeated by decisive votes on Oct. 21. Five votes were taken, four on the issue of collective bargaining, and in each instance the record stood 2 to 1 against adoption of any of the plans advanced. Normally, this result would have produced a deadlock in the conference, but President Wilson had been advised of the crisis, and exerted his influence from his bed of illness by writing to Secretary Lane, Chairman of the conference, a 600-word letter, which was to be read to the conference in case any of the members or groups threatened to withdraw. News of the President's letter spread, and vigorous efforts were made by the different groups at an agreement, but none was reached.

President Wilson's letter urging the conference not to dissolve without the formation of a constructive program was read at the session of Oct. 22. After the delegates had given the President a rising vote of thanks, a resolution was offered by John Spargo pledging the conference to leave no stone unturned to agree on a program before adjourn-

ing. Samuel Gompers then rose, and after expressing his and his associates' concurrence in those parts of the Spargo motion which "expressed deep sympathy for the President, as well as the hopes for his recovery," stated that he could not, without consulting his colleagues, undertake to vote for the assurance and pledge which the motion contained. At the suggestion of Chairman Lane, the labor group then withdrew for consultation.

LABOR GROUP'S RESOLUTION

When the afternoon session opened, Mr. Gompers stated that his group had discussed the situation in almost every particular. He then read a resolution approved by the entire labor group, the text of which was as follows:

The right of wage earners to organize without discrimination, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor, and relations and conditions of employment is recognized.

On his motion this resolution was taken up for immediate decision without reference to the Committee of Fifteen.

Frederick P. Fish of Boston, a member of the employers' group, then advanced views which forecast the adverse action later taken by that group, attacking the resolution on the ground that as it was interpreted by the labor group it meant collective bargaining only through men not employees of a given establishment, a principle which the employers had already repudiated, and on which they would not yield. A heated debate arose over this issue, in which A. A. Landon of Buffalo, Louis Titus of San Francisco, Charles Edward Russell, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, and H. B. Endicott, all of the public group, argued for the resolution, and Herbert F. Perkins of the International Harvester Company, L. F. Loree, President of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad, and J. W. O'Leary, all of the employers group, argued against it. John Spargo asked Mr. Gompers whether, if the resolution was adopted, the labor group would understand it to mean that the principle of collective bargaining would then be rationally and carefully worked

out by the conference. Mr. Gompers replied that this was his understanding.

The public group, after deliberation, indorsed the resolution, and Bernard M. Baruch cast its vote. The labor group voted aye. The employer group voted no, by a small majority.

WITHDRAWAL OF LABOR

Mr. Gompers immediately rose and said:

Gentlemen, I have sung my swan song in this conference. You have, by your action, the action of the employers' group, legislated us out of this conference. We have nothing further to submit and we feel great regret that we are not enabled with a clear conscience to remain here longer. We have responsibilities to the millions of workers and those dependent upon them. We must fulfill these obligations. Our regret is that the rejection of anything like a fair proposition on our part has occurred. It has been done and the die is cast; and we were endeavoring by all means within our power to comply with the request made by that great man, now stricken on a bed of illness, the President of the United States, for whom we have an admiration and a love inexpressible.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, for the courtesy which you have extended to us we are profoundly grateful, but we cannot longer remain with you.

As he ended Mr. Gompers walked from the room, followed by Frank Morrison, Michael F. Tighe, and the other representatives of the American Federation of Labor. The representatives of the railway brotherhoods left the hall a little later, after L. E. Sheppard of the conductors and W. G. Lee of the railway trainmen had expressed their sympathy with the stand taken by Mr. Gompers and his federation colleagues.

Members of the employers' group disclaimed responsibility for the withdrawal of the labor group. John Spargo then offered a resolution for the continuance of the conference, advocating an attempt to persuade the labor group to return. On the following day, Oct. 23, both the public group and the employers' group were in their seats when the conference was reopened. Secretary Lane, voicing President Wilson's desire, at once announced that the presence of the employers in future conferences would be unnecessary, and that with the labor group

they ceased to be members. The public group then went into executive session. An attempt to continue the work was made the next day by the public group, but it soon desisted and adjourned sine die, after sending a letter to President Wilson recommending the calling of a new conference.

SOME NET RESULTS

A statement issued by all the members of the employers' group pointed out three definite advantages which, in its opinion, the industrial conference had gained: (1) Realization that failure was inevitable without preliminary organization and an orderly and comprehensive program. (2) Certainty that the question of collective bargaining had been brought before the country more prominently, and would stimulate innumerable manufacturers to find an acceptable solution. (3) Conviction that collective bargaining must be defined, and could not be accepted in an indiscriminate and unrelated sense. The statement then asserted that the labor group, which formulated the Gompers resolution, gave to this policy a special interpretation, (opposition to the open shop and bargaining through outside representatives) which the employers were bound to resist to the end. The statement insisted that the employers, by their rejection of the Gompers resolution, did not deny the right of organization and collective bargaining, and asserted that this group was leaving upon the record a declaration of "true American principles."

A statement by Mr. Gompers was in part as follows:

The representatives of the public group, made up largely of employers and people who have been antagonistic to the labor cause, voted in favor of our declaration.

Information has come to me that the employers group in their conference voted against the declaration by a majority of one. I am quite convinced that those employers in that group who voted against the declaration are unrepresentative of the intelligent, fair-minded employers of the country.

Bernard M. Baruch gave out a statement in which he thus summed up the results attained:

The Industrial Conference, as originally constituted, accomplished far more than appears on the surface before it finally was dissolved.

First—It brought the issues involved home to the entire nation.

Second—It demonstrated the great difficulties of a solution.

Third—Its discussions have had the effect of setting the entire people thinking, and from this thought will come the solution.

Fourth—There was brought home to

all participants the intimate relations that exist between the farming interests and all industrial questions.

Fifth—What was not brought out clearly was that both capital and labor owe to society—which is inclusive of capital and labor—a duty to produce in quantity at the lowest possible cost commensurate with the protection of both capital and labor, all of the "things" that are necessary to keep up the proper, just, and humane standards of modern life.

Nation-Wide Steel Strike

Contest of Endurance Between Manufacturers and Workers— Armed Conflicts and Martial Law

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 24, 1919]

SINCE the close of the war the number and frequency of strikes in the United States have been constantly on the increase. Discontentment of the workers with the insufficiency of their wage to cover the advanced cost of living underlay most of these demonstrations, but in some cases, as in the steel strike, the principles of collective bargaining and the open shop were involved.

The strike of the steel workers, which soon resolved itself into an uncompromising contest of endurance, began in Pittsburgh on Sept. 21 with clashes between troops and strikers, in which nineteen of the latter, including two labor union organizers, were arrested. Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the United States Steel Corporation, and James A. Farrell, President of the corporation, refused to make any statement, and it was said that the only general order issued was to the heads of the various subsidiary companies directing them not to yield on the principle of the "open shop." The strike affected 268,710 steel employes scattered through various States where plants were located, but the percentage of these that would quit work was still uncertain.

The strike did not begin officially until Sept. 22 at midnight. Soon afterward it

was reported that hundreds had failed to report for work in the Chicago district, following large mass meetings of strikers. Three mills shut down in Youngstown and sixteen in Cleveland, and others were badly crippled. In the Chicago district, on Sept. 23, 80,000 quit work, and the steel mills in Gary, Ind.; in Joliet, Ill., and Indian Harbor were closed down. In Gary the strikers damaged the blast furnaces to such an extent that the company estimated a necessitated repair expense of \$1,000,000 or more.

At this time the Steel Corporation announced that it was holding its working forces almost intact against the strike in its four great Pennsylvania plants at Homestead, McKeesport, Duquesne, and Braddock.

The strikers showed increasing strength in the Pittsburgh section by closing down a number of large independent steel mills there, as well as in Buffalo and Cleveland.

One radical leader was arrested in Chicago and held in \$10,000 bail on a charge of urging a revolution through which the workers would win control of the mills and of the Government. All Chicago plants were practically at a standstill, but the corporation asserted that the strikers were intimidated. At Farrell, Penn., serious rioting resulted

in the killing of one man and the injuring of six men and one woman.

GOVERNOR SPROUL'S WARNING

William Z. Foster, leader of the steel strike in the Pittsburgh district, on Sept. 24 received and made public a letter from Governor Sproul, which declared that Pennsylvania would keep order, and gave warning to all propagandists and preachers of riot to cease their activities. This letter was sent in answer to a letter from Mr. Foster, complaining of the action of the State in dispersing a crowd at North Clairton. The Governor stated that he expected the co-operation of Foster and his organization in maintaining public order.

ARBITRATION PROPOSED

Sept. 25 was marked by the reiterated refusal of the Steel Corporation to treat with the strikers and by the first session of the Steel Strike Investigation Committee of the Senate. John Fitzpatrick, Chairman of the National Committee of organized steel workers, after accusing the Steel Corporation of brutality and unfairness—charges supported by Samuel Gompers before the committee on Sept. 26—in answer to a question by Chairman Kenyon of Iowa announced that the strikers would be willing to leave the settlement of their controversy to any arbitration board that might be selected by President Wilson. He further stated that if the Steel Corporation would agree to such arbitration, the strikers would return to work and would abide by the decision reached by the President and his arbitrators.

Informed in New York the same evening of Mr. Fitzpatrick's proposal, Mr. Gary declared that the Board of Directors was bound to preserve the interests of its stockholders and also of its employes, the majority of whom, he said, were not union members; he also said that "questions of moral principle cannot be arbitrated or compromised."

Meanwhile some of the mills in the Chicago section were again becoming active, while a break in the strikers' ranks became perceptible; non-union members were becoming restless and beginning to return to work. This weakening on the part of the strikers became

more and more visible in the succeeding days, especially in Pittsburgh and Chicago. The union men still denied losses, but Mr. Foster expressed disappointment because organized labor refrained from declaring a sympathetic strike.

The end of the first week of the strike saw the development of an obvious trend in favor of the employers. Mayor Hodges of Gary issued a proclamation advising workers that they might return to their jobs at the steel mills under full police protection. The employers at this time expected 30,000 men to return to work.

A new strike began at the Bethlehem steel plant on Sept. 28, and at Lebanon, Reading, Steelton, Penn., and Sparrows Point, Md. After eighteen hours, however, the employers said that barely 15 per cent. of the workers had walked out. The attitude of the Bethlehem workers was apathetic to the strike order, and the mills were operating at nearly normal. This strike was practically over on Oct. 1, though some 800 men were still absent. On Sept. 30 the Pittsburgh mills claimed more gains, while the unions contended that 375,000 men were out.

On Oct. 3 the Pittsburgh plants declared that operation was almost normal, and that the steady return of the strikers had restored the output to nearly full capacity. The police meanwhile held alien agitators, arrested for the Federal authorities, and a plan of deportation was under discussion.

GENERAL WOOD IN CHARGE.

In Gary on Oct. 4 a serious conflict developed which filled the steel town's hospitals with wounded and the city jail with strikers and strike sympathizers. This was the first grave disorder in the district. Incomplete reports stated that forty or fifty had been injured, but none fatally. In this clash more than 5,000 strikers charged the police, Deputy Sheriffs, and firemen with stones, bricks, and clubs when the guards attempted to frustrate an attack upon forty strikebreakers, many of them negroes, who were riding in a street car.

On Oct. 5 attacks were made on the mill gates, and one plant "boss" was shot at his own door. Militia were

rushed to the scene and on Oct. 6 had full control of the situation. General Leonard Wood, commander of the Central Department of the United States Army, on this date took charge of the Indiana steel cities of Gary, Indiana Harbor, and East Chicago, with 1,000 overseas veterans of the 4th Division, armed with cannon, machine guns, and rifles. He declared martial law in Gary, while Adjutant Smith, with 1,000 State troops, declared martial law in the other two steel centres.

The taking of these measures followed the holding of a mass meeting by 2,000 strikers of Gary and a parade without permit, led by a large number of former soldiers in uniform. At the mass meeting the release of arrested strikers and the withdrawal of troops sent by the Governor of Indiana at the request of the city authorities were demanded. Troops paraded in steel hats, armed with rifle and bayonet, machine guns, and hand grenades, and cannon were mounted in the streets and parks and pointing down the principal thoroughfares. The mills were opened and thousands of workers entered and left the gates without fear. Crowds were kept moving, but picketing was not prevented. General Wood declared that the worst influence among the strikers came from certain "Red" agitators, whose only desire was to foment trouble, and that the best labor element stood for law and order. Five hundred strikers in Indiana Harbor took advantage of the presence of the troops to go back to work.

A new riot occurred at Donora on Oct. 9, when negroes returning to work were attacked by strikers and opened fire in self-defense. Two men were killed and several wounded. Neither of the two could speak English. On this date 5,000 men returned to work at Warren, near Youngstown.

RESUMING OPERATIONS

The strike entered its fourth week with the mills making big gains; two districts had resumed operations and others had increased their output within the preceding week. On Oct. 14 more plants in the Pittsburgh section were opened, and the

companies reported that the movement back to work was continuing. It was charged by the Strikers' Organizing Committee that the mills were being aided by the State, the ground for this charge being that a permit to hold a meeting at Coraopolis had been revoked by request of the State authorities at Harrisburg. On the same day a pitched battle occurred at Youngstown, Ohio, between Carnegie steel strikers and the local police, in which one striker was killed and several others badly wounded, after the city had taken steps to put a stop to the stoning of men working at the mills.

On Oct. 24 at practically the end of the fifth week, the strike appeared to be over in the Gary mills. There were still several thousand men out, but, with the exception of a few unskilled laborers, the mills were said to have all the men they would need in the next six months. The commercial mills were producing 1,800 tons of steel bars daily, and twenty-seven of the forty-two open hearth furnaces were in operation, while eight blast furnaces were about to be started and the rest were to be running within a few days. At that time the total pay roll of the United States Steel Corporation in Gary was above the 7,000 mark, or about 75 per cent. of the maximum force, and the mills were producing 50 per cent. of their capacity. The Indiana Steel Company reported a similar degree of progress. In the Pittsburgh district the production was beginning to approach normal figures. In general the strike was regarded as having been lost by the unions, though this was not conceded by their leaders.

It was estimated that the steel output had been reduced 40 per cent. during the weeks of conflict, and that the strike had deprived the country of 2,000,000 tons of necessary steel products.

SENATE INVESTIGATION

The sessions of the Senate Committee appointed to investigate the causes of the steel strike began on Sept. 25, when an offer to arbitrate through the medium of President Wilson was made by John Fitzpatrick, who drew before the committee a picture of the despotism and unfairness of the steel employers which

was subsequently confirmed by Samuel Gompers before the same committee. Another witness was William Z. Foster, who was questioned at considerable length regarding his previous experiences as a professional agitator. The extreme radical nature of some of his past utterances was explained away by Foster with the intimation that he had undergone a change of mind.

Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Steel Corporation, was heard on Oct. 1. Mr. Gary told of mill conditions and called the principle of the open shop the crux of the whole issue. He asserted that he would deal with the workers, but never with union leaders. Charges made by Gompers and Fitzpatrick of murder and brutality he said were based on false premises.

The Senate also heard twenty workmen from the mills, whose testimony in favor of mill conditions was as positive as that of Mr. Gary himself. One of these witnesses told the committee on Oct. 4 of the Soviet agitation going on at the mills, largely conducted by foreigners. The whole strike, he declared, was practically the work of aliens. Of 1,000 who struck at New Castle, he said, 60 per cent. were not Americans. The American-born workmen were given no opportunity to vote on the declaring of the strike.

With the discovery in Gary on Oct. 14 of a plot to destroy Government property and to inaugurate a general uprising of "Reds" from West Virginia to Colorado, a drive on radicals in the United States was started by agents of the Department of Justice and by the military under General Wood. Connections between the Gary Reds and the at-

tempts on the lives of Attorney General Palmer and Judge Charles C. Knott in May and June, 1919, had already been traced. One of those implicated in a similar attempt had been arrested; two others were sought. It was stated from Washington that the Federal authorities were in possession of evidence showing that the I. W. W. and other Bolshevik organizations in the United States were openly agitating for the overthrow of the Government of the United States and the substitution of a Soviet form of government. The gist of this evidence was embodied in a resolution offered by Senator Poindexter in the Senate at the date mentioned, which read as follows:

The Attorney General of the United States is requested to advise and inform the Senate of the reason for the failure of the Department of Justice to take legal proceedings for the arrest, punishment, and deportation of the various persons within the United States who, during recent days and weeks, and for a considerable time continuously previous thereto, have attempted to bring about the forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States, who have preached anarchy and sedition, who have advised the defiance of law and authority, both by the printing and circulation of printed newspapers, books, pamphlets, circulars, stickers, and dodgers, and also by spoken word; and who in like manner have advised and openly advocated the unlawful destruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property, in pursuance of a deliberate plan and purpose to destroy existing property rights and to impede and obstruct the conduct of business essential to the prosperity and life of the community.

Also the Attorney General is requested to advise and inform the Senate why the Department of Justice has failed to take legal proceedings for the arrest and deportation of aliens who have, within the United States, committed the acts aforesaid.

Other Serious Labor Troubles

The Longshoremen's Strike

BETWEEN 4,000 and 5,000 longshoremen employed on North River piers in New York City went out on strike at the dinner hour Oct. 7 without warning and against the orders of their

leaders. They demanded \$1 an hour and \$2 for overtime, as against the existing rates of 65 cents and \$1. They also asked a brief halt between 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon for tea. By the

declaring of this strike, the sailing of the *Carmania*, with 1,200 passengers, was held up for twenty-four hours. By Oct. 9 some 25,000 men were out, and the disaffection was spreading to all parts of the port. Shipping was badly tied up. Some 800 checkers had also struck. Police protection was asked for those who remained at work. One union agent was badly beaten for urging the men to keep their agreement.

Subsequently the number of those on strike increased to 70,000, and their idleness was keeping 30,000 other men from working. Tons of food were spoiling on the piers. On Oct. 11 the strike was spreading all along the coast; Baltimore, Boston and Norfolk were threatened. The Port of New York was completely paralyzed.

At this time Secretary of Labor Wilson issued an official statement from Washington charging the strikers with bad faith, as the previous rates had been determined on by a special Federal award and the strikers had promised to abide by it. On Oct. 10 the crews of nearly all the railroad ferry boats on the North River walked out, on the ground that a demand for a 25 per cent. increase and a six-day week had met with long delay in action. The suspension of the ferryboat service caused great public inconvenience and crippled the delivery of the milk supply. Mayor Hylan intervened ineffectively to bring about a conciliation.

On Oct. 15 the longshoremen accepted an offer of a 9 per cent. increase, and voted to return to work. Only 5,000 actually went back, however, and the trouble continued. At this date the ferry service was resumed.

Oct. 17 was marked by violence. Radical longshoremen shot and stabbed piermen who had returned to work. Six foreigners were arrested, one of whom had an I. W. W. card. The steamship employers asked the Mayor for police protection. The great mass of piermen, meantime, continued the strike, and tightened their grip on shipping. Manhattan piers were practically inactive. On Oct. 18 a conciliation commission of three was named, consisting of Mayor Hylan, F. Paul Vaccarrelli of New York,

and James L. Hughes, Immigration Commissioner, of Philadelphia. T. V. O'Connor, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, however, declared there was nothing to mediate. On Oct. 20 this commission met and heard the strikers' side of the controversy.

Mr. Vaccarrelli, a former member of the Longshoremen's Association, whose appointment had been protested by the strikers, was absent from the meeting. At this hearing the strikers attacked the Federal wage award. On the following day the strike Chairman and half of the strikers withdrew from another hearing because of the presence of Vaccarrelli. At this date 500 regular troops were landed to do guard duty and unload the ships tied up in the port. The shipowners announced that they would try to move the vessels at once, and matters came to a crisis.

With a coal shortage already serious, 495 vessels tied up, \$1,000,000 worth of fruit and other food rotting in steamship holds or on the piers, active steps were taken by the Federal Shipping Board on Oct. 21 to break the strike so far as its vessels were concerned. Preparations were made to house several thousand longshoremen, loyal to their international officers, who were to begin work at once on the piers. The strikers meantime were given until 5 o'clock of the same day to return to work. Federal troops were held in reserve to deal with all eventualities.

On Oct. 22 the strikers held two meetings. Some 1,000 men voted to return to work at the request of their President and Vice President. At the second meeting 3,000 voted their determination to stay out. A meeting the same night in Hoboken led to violence; revolvers flashed when Mr. O'Connor tried to speak, two shots were fired, and a general fight followed. Arrests were made, including that of the Vice President, for felonious assault. Mr. O'Connor was rescued from the mob and detained at Police Headquarters. The strike was still at its height when this article was written, (Oct. 25.)

Ten thousand pressroom men were locked out on Oct. 1 by 250 printing

firms in New York City, after the local unions to which they belonged had been outlawed by their international unions for refusal to abide by their contracts. The local unions demanded a forty-four-hour week and a wage increase of \$14 a week. All the printing plants mentioned closed at this date indefinitely. Many New York publications, including prominent magazines, were affected. The book publishers joined the lockout. On Oct. 4 nearly 1,000 members of the "Big Six" Typographical Union joined in the strike. More than 150 magazines and 300 trade papers were tied up.

On Oct. 13 the pressmen still held out for a forty-four-hour week; they announced that they were willing to arbitrate all other demands but this. The following day the international officers of the pressmen's, typographers' and stereotypers and electrotypers' unions sent an appeal to President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, asking that the Central Federated Union of New York be compelled to rescind its resolution of sympathy with the seceding unions of New York, on penalty of the revocation of its charter. The employers, meantime, announced that they were ready to meet the compositors in an effort to settle the controversy, in some respects one of the most remarkable in the strike history of the United States. Despite the tie-up, many magazines appeared; some were printed in New England, some in New York State, while others went as far as Maryland to find available presses. THE CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE succeeded in making its appearance by being printed on the rotogravure presses of The New York Times.

THE COAL STRIKE

A clash between the anthracite mine workers and operators was averted by a decision made at a conference in Philadelphia between the Presidents of the three anthracite districts of the United Mine Workers of America and the Committee of Anthracite Operators on Sept. 29. By this decision the existing contract, including a supplemental agreement for the payment of bonuses, was

to continue in force until March 31, 1920.

The soft coal operators, however, during the preceding week had formulated demands for a 60 per cent. increase in all mine wages, a limit of six hours a day for labor underground, a five-day week, with time-and-a-half for overtime and double time for work on Sunday, as well as improvements in conditions of labor. On Sept. 27 the operators assailed these demands publicly, asserting that the \$1,000,000,000 increase in wages demanded would have to be borne by the public and expressing fear of a shortage of coal from the contemplated attempt to cut down the hours of production.

The soft coal operators and miners clashed over the issue at the wage conference held at Buffalo on Sept. 29, when the owners characterized the demands of the miners as "extravagant and impossible of acceptance" and questioned the authority of the miners' delegates to enter into any agreement for them. Further negotiation failed to break the deadlock of the contesting parties. A joint committee was named. John L. Lewis, Acting President of the United Mine Workers, urged speed, as the time limit set for the declaring of the strike approached.

Secretary of Labor Wilson sent invitations to Mr. Lewis and Thomas F. Brewster, President of the National Coal Operators' Association, to meet him in Washington on Oct. 17. In his communication to Mr. Lewis, Secretary Wilson urged him to issue no call for a strike until the proposed conference had taken place. Reports reached Washington soon thereafter that the strike call had already been sent out for nationwide action on Nov. 1. Only agreement between the miners and operators before that date, said Mr. Lewis, could avert the strike, which the strike order characterized as "the greatest enterprise ever undertaken in the history of the trade union movement."

President Wilson from his sickbed issued a strong letter of protest to the miners on Oct. 25, but the catastrophe was still impending when these pages went to press.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 25, 1919]

ARRIVAL OF LORD GREY

SIR EDWARD GREY, as the world called him in the fateful first days of the war, now Viscount Grey, K. G., of Fallodon, Northumberlandshire, Great Britain's special Ambassador to the United States pending the appointment of a permanent diplomatic representative, arrived in New York on Sept. 25, together with his staff. On landing he gave out a statement in which he emphasized the necessity for rebuilding the Old World, and declared that without good understanding and friendship with America international progress was impossible, and even international security doubtful. He had come, he intimated, only to foster such good understanding and cordial feelings, and was charged with no duty of making treaties of any kind. Great Britain and the United States, he said, spoke the same language and had many ties in common; real misunderstandings, due to old historical memories and present-day British political problems, must not be denied, but eliminated. Viscount Grey expressed high admiration of the part America had played in the war, and declared that he intended, to do all in his power to promote good-will between Great Britain and the United States, believing that this would bring the strongest element of security for the future and would be a step toward doing away with war forever. The Ambassador left for Washington the same night.

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NEW JAPANESE AMBASSADOR

MIJURO SHIDEHARA, formerly Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Japanese Cabinet, succeeding Viscount Ishii as Ambassador to the United States, is 47 years old. He entered the Government service on his graduation from the law college of the Tokio Imperial University in 1895, and has been in offices of various kinds ever since. He served first with the Department of Agriculture, but entered the Foreign Office a few months

later. In 1899 he was named Consul Elève at Chemulpo, in the same year being transferred to London with the same rank. In the capacity of full Consul he served at Antwerp and Fusan, whence he was recalled to the home office and made its Secretary in 1905.

In 1911 the post of Director of Legal Affairs of the Foreign Office was given him, and after he had served in this capacity for a year he was sent to the Japanese Embassy in Washington as Councilor to the Embassy, being two years later transferred in the same capacity to the Embassy in London. In July, 1914, he became Minister to the Netherlands, being recalled shortly after the outbreak of the war.

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NEW ITALIAN AMBASSADOR

BARON ROMANO AVEZZANO was selected as Italian Ambassador to the United States to relieve Count Macchi di Cellere in October. A few days after the announcement Count di Cellere died suddenly at Washington, (Oct. 20,) after an operation, due to a blood clot of the mesenteric passages. He was ill but three days.

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HONORING CARDINAL MERCIER

CARDINAL MERCIER received extraordinary honors from the people of the United States during his stay. Harvard University, Columbia University, New York University, and other American colleges conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. At New York, Boston, Baltimore, Washington, and other cities he was entertained at formal receptions and greeted with the warmest popular demonstrations of respect. On Oct. 8 he was the guest of the Merchants' Association of New York, and 2,500 members united in paying tribute to him. The visit of the Cardinal resulted in a definite movement to raise a fund of \$500,000 for the restoration of the University of Louvain. In his address before the Merchants'

Association he told how his famous pastoral letter urging patriotism and endurance, in defiance of the German invaders, was issued on Christmas, 1914. He stated that, notwithstanding threats, every priest who received it read it in the parish church, and that many of them were imprisoned and fined in consequence. The letter was sent to France and England by being placed among soiled papers in empty cheese boxes which were being returned to Holland, and thus it reached the outside world.

* * *

RACE RIOT IN OMAHA

SERIOUS race riots between whites and blacks occurred at Omaha, Neb., Sept. 19, and at Elaine, Ark., Oct. 1. At Omaha the riot was caused by the efforts of a mob to lynch Well Brown, a negro, who was confined in the Douglas County Court House charged with criminal assault on a white girl named Lobeck. The mob stormed the Court House and was resisted by the police. Mayor E. P. Smith of Omaha attempted to quell the disturbance by appealing to the rioters; in the midst of his address he was seized, a rope was placed around his neck, and he was strung up twice and so seriously injured that he long lay at the point of death; after two weeks in the hospital, however, he recovered. After the assault on the Mayor, the rioters set fire to the \$1,000,000 Court House; the flames spread rapidly, and when the inmates of the prison on the top floor, as well as the officers guarding them, were in danger of being burned alive, the negro was surrendered to the mob. He was immediately hanged, and his body burned to a crisp. The Court House was practically destroyed.

Fifteen hundred Federal troops were called for and sent from Fort Crook and Fort Omaha. On Sept. 30, General Wood, Commander of the Central Department, arrived at Omaha and took charge of the situation. The presence of the troops restored order; within a few days 150 of the rioters, who were identified from photographs taken during the disturbance, were in jail charged with murder; among them was Leonard Webster, an advertising designer, who

was identified as having struck the Mayor and having assisted in lynching the negro. It was stated that the murder cases would be vigorously prosecuted.

The trouble at Elaine resulted in sixteen deaths. Evidence was obtained that a propaganda had been organized by a white lawyer from Little Rock inciting the colored population to demand social equality by force of arms. For several days there was serious fighting between the races throughout Phillips County, in which Elaine is situated. The trouble was finally subdued by Regular Army troops, 500 of whom were sent from Camp Pike, Ark. A number of the ring-leaders were arrested.

* * *

FRENCH TRAITORS EXECUTED

THE execution of Pierre Lenoir, who was tried with Senator Humbert and others on a charge of communicating French military intelligence to the enemy, and sentenced to death on May 8, 1919, was set for Sept. 19. The neighborhood of Vincennes woods, where the execution was to occur, was put under a strong guard of soldiers at half-past 5 in the morning; the Commander of Fort Vincennes and the Prefect of Police arrived, and a firing squad of chasseurs took up their positions. At 6:45 A. M., however, news came that Lenoir's execution had been delayed.

On Oct. 20 the Commission of Revision, to which was referred the appeal for a new trial of Lenoir, reported that it found no ground for a rehearing of the case, and on Oct. 24 Lenoir was executed at La Santé Prison at 7 A. M. He had for some time been suffering from paralysis of both legs, and had to be carried to the place of execution. Lenoir was the third person to be executed on charges arising out of attempts made by German agents to conduct a "defeatist" campaign in France in 1915 and 1916. The others who met death on this charge were Bolo Pacha, executed on April 17, 1918, and M. Duval on July 17, 1918.

On Oct. 19 the trial of various persons who contributed to the *Gazette des Ardennes*, published during the war by the German Staff in the French language,

came to a conclusion. Second Lieutenant Roger Hervé, Louis Laverne, and Henri Crookel were sentenced to death. Seven other defendants received sentences ranging from 5 to 17 years.

* * *

AIR RACE ACROSS CONTINENT

THE greatest endurance tests ever attempted by military airplanes began Oct. 8, 1919, when transcontinental flights by United States Army aviators were started simultaneously from New York and San Francisco by sixty-three planes. The rules of the race laid down three objectives: 1. The shortest air-line time across the country. 2. Actual flying time. 3. Fastest flying time. Control stations were established in cities forming a chain across the country. The distance to be covered was 5,400 miles. Each machine, by actual test, was capable of attaining a minimum speed of 100 miles an hour.

The start occurred on schedule time, forty-eight contestants taking the air at Mineola, L. I., and fifteen from the West. The start was marred by three accidents, in which three of the aviators were killed and one injured. At sundown of the first day Lieutenant B. W. Maynard, a former Baptist minister, was in the lead. Various mishaps occurred to the two groups of planes flying respectively west and east, and other deaths occurred. After twenty-five hours' flying at an average of 107 miles an hour Lieutenant Maynard maintained his early lead and landed on the Pacific Coast on Oct. 11 at 1:12 o'clock. Two easterly flying aviators, Major Carl Spatz and Lieutenant C. E. Kiel, landed at Mineola on the same day at 6 P. M., within thirty-one seconds of each other. In this first half of the race Lieutenant Maynard won first place, and Major Spatz the second.

Maynard started his return race on Oct. 14, and other aviators followed. New deaths occurred, bringing the death list to nine. Maynard was brought down by a broken crankshaft on Oct. 16, but by completing repairs in eighteen hours he was able to resume his flight, and eventually landed again at Mineola on Oct. 19, to the cheers of enthusiastic crowds.

The actual result of the transcontinental flight was still in doubt when these pages went to press. The four closest contestants were Lieutenant Maynard, Lieutenant Alexander Pearson, Jr., Captain J. O. Donaldson, and Captain L. H. Smith. The time record for these aviators as given out by the War Department on Oct. 23, and from which, in actual flying time, Lieutenant Pearson appears to be the winner of the transcontinental air race, was as follows:

LIEUTENANT PEARSON—New York to San Francisco, 26 hours 45 minutes 52 seconds; San Francisco to New York, 21 hours 51 minutes 24 seconds. Total time, 48 hours 37 minutes 16 seconds.

LIEUTENANT DONALDSON—New York to San Francisco, 31 hours 37 minutes 19 seconds; San Francisco to New York, 25 hours 56 minutes 38 seconds. Total time, 57 hours 33 minutes 57 seconds.

CAPTAIN SMITH—New York to San Francisco, 26 hours 13 minutes 28 seconds; San Francisco to New York, 31 hours 37 minutes 19 seconds. Total time, 57 hours 50 minutes 47 seconds.

LIEUTENANT MAYNARD—New York to San Francisco, 25 hours 11 minutes 8½ seconds; San Francisco to New York, 41 hours 2 minutes 32 seconds. Total time, revised, 66 hours 13 minutes 48½ seconds.

These figures were taken from telegrams received by the Air Service, and it was explained that they would have to be revised on figures of the control stop commanders before the final award was definitely announced.

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AMERICAN DEAD IN FRANCE

ALTHOUGH the french Chamber, basing its action on sanitary and economic grounds, had voted against the removal of the American dead from France until some later period, the United States War Department announced on Sept. 22 that diplomatic efforts were being made to obtain some modification of this decision. The War Department statement was in part as follows:

The number of American cemeteries in Europe has recently been reduced from nearly 2,400 to about 700. A large reduction in this number will probably be made during the process of concentration in which the military forces of England, France, and the United States are necessarily engaged.

The Graves Registration Service has placed most of these cemeteries in excellent condition and is now actively engaged in an effort to perfect the appearance of every one.

The matter of placing stone markers on the graves of our dead in Europe is engaging the attention of the Quartermaster General, and the advice of the National Fine Arts Commission is being sought with reference to fitting designs and materials.

Further progress in the matter was announced on Oct. 3 by Secretary Baker when he stated that the bodies of all American soldiers interred in Germany, Belgium, Italy, Great Britain, Luxembourg, and Northern Russia would be returned to the United States as soon as the necessary transportation could be arranged. The task had been intrusted to the traffic division of the General Staff, which had been instructed to hasten the work as much as possible. This action, Mr. Baker said, did not indicate any change in the department's attitude toward the return of the soldier dead in France. It was hoped that the great majority of American parents would decide to let them remain there, but the wishes of relatives desiring bodies returned would be carried out.

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"THE TRENCH OF THE RIFLES"

AT Douaumont, France, Cardinal Dubois, Archbishop of Rouen and former Bishop of Verdun, blessed the historic *Tranchée des Fusils*, the "Trench of the Rifles," on Sept. 14. The ceremony occurred in the presence of General Valentin, commander of the forts and heights of the Meuse; of M. Robin, Mayor of Verdun, and a delegation of the 137th Regiment. The Trench of the Rifles lies behind a humble wooden cross erected on a small placard near Douaumont, from which the spectator, looking down upon the village, sees only a shapeless mass of splintered rock, of barbed wire writhing as if in torment, of nameless litter, through which poppy and bramble tried to thrust upward during the Summer. This cross overlooks the bloodiest battlefield of the war. It was erected by men of the 137th Regiment, because close by their dead comrades are still mounting guard—there in the

Tranchée des Fusils. It was a small episode amid a cataclysm, and soon over. In Indian file the men of the 137th had crept forth to mount guard, rifle on shoulder, bayonets fixed; there came a sudden, thunderous boom; the earth shuddered and cracked open, closed again, and swallowed up all. Thrusting above the ground, aligned as on that last march down the narrow trench that led to death, the bayonets of the section rise a bare six inches. It was this Trench of the Rifles, and the dead heroes, still mounting guard below, that the Cardinal blessed.

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DUKES AS STRIKEBREAKERS

THE railroad strike demolished all social lines in London. On its fifth day, Oct. 2, a Duke drove a motor lorry and an Earl was in the chauffeur's seat in the motor heading a convoy of fish from Billingsgate. The sixth Earl of Portarlington was among those who were unloading perishable goods and milk and churns from a train, while at the Paddington Station Earl and Lady Drogheda were workers. Frederick Henry Smith, son and heir of the first Baron of Colwyn, was fireman on the Liverpool-London express when it rolled into London that day. A call for volunteers brought out members of the cavalry, the guards, and the Air Force Clubs and Colonels, Majors, barristers, and civil engineers. Men from these walks of life stood at the fire doors in big electrical power houses. Horse racing was suspended, food rationing voluntarily accepted, the driving of automobiles for pleasure was discontinued and the owners by thousands offered them for transportation purposes.

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DEPORTING RADICAL AGITATORS

THE Canadian Immigration Board, sitting at Vancouver, ordered the deportation of a number of Russians who were proved to have attempted to arouse revolutionary sentiments among workingmen. Seven radicals were arrested by the United States authorities at Gary, Ind., Oct. 19, charged with "participating in a movement to overthrow the Government of the United States," and were ordered deported. Their activities were di-

rected among union and non-union steel workers. Early in October it was announced that 1,745 aliens, who had withdrawn their declarations of intent to become citizens in order to avoid military service during the war, would be deported. Of this number 736 were Swedes and 444 Norwegians. On Oct. 17 it was announced that the State Department had decided not to deport these aliens, because of treaty obligations that exempt foreigners from compulsory service. The deportation of alien seditionists, however, was upheld. Congress on Oct. 15 passed a bill extending the wartime control of passports for one year after the proclamation of peace, its object being to keep out agitators and dangerous aliens.

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SUMMARY OF RED CROSS WORK

THE Red Cross War Council submitted a report on Oct. 18 accounting for the moneys handled from May 10, 1917, to Feb. 28, 1919. During those twenty months the Red Cross received in round figures \$400,000,000. In that period the number of chapters increased from 562 to 3,724 and the membership from 486,194 adults to 20,000,000 adults and 11,000,000 juniors.

Here are a few round figures that indicate the size of the undertaking directed by the War Council:

Red Cross workers.....	8,100,000
Articles produced by volunteer workers	371,577,000
Families of soldiers aided.....	500,000
Knitted articles given to soldiers and sailors in United States.....	10,900,000
Tons of supplies shipped overseas.....	101,000
Foreign countries in which Red Cross operated	25
Patient days in Red Cross hospitals in France.....	1,155,000
French hospitals given material aid	3,780
Splints supplied American soldiers.....	204,000
Men served by Red Cross canteens in France.....	15,376,000
Refugees aided in France.....	1,726,000

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PROHIBITION REDUCES CRIME IN PORTO RICO

PORTO RICO established prohibition four months before it became effective in the United States, the law having gone into effect there March 2, 1918. Special reports by District Attorneys showed large decrease in crime through-

out the island. The Attorney General's report says:

From a careful study of the criminal statistics of Porto Rico for the year ended June 30, 1919, comparing them with previous years, it is found that there has been a considerable decrease in crime from the day on which prohibition went into force in Porto Rico. The number of trials for homicide has decreased from 66 in 1917 to 46 in 1918 and 41 in 1919. The total number of trials by jury has decreased from 154 in 1917 and 143 in 1918 to 81 in the year 1919. The total number of cases of felonies brought to the district courts of the island has decreased from 329 in 1917 and 299 in 1918 to 254 in 1919.

Misdemeanors show a similar decrease, but the aggregate shows a total of 1,838 criminal cases in 1917, 2,239 in 1918 and 1,831 in 1919, only seven less than in 1917, but 408 less than in 1918. Convictions also decreased in about the same ratio as accusations.

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LINCOLN STATUE IN MANCHESTER

THE Barnard statue of Abraham Lincoln, presented to the City of Manchester, England, through the Sulgrove Institution by Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, "in commemoration of Lancashire's friendship to the cause for which Lincoln lived and died, and of the century of peace among English-speaking peoples," was unveiled on Sept. 15. Ambassador Davis and Judge Alton Parker of New York delivered addresses. The Lord Mayor received the statue on behalf of the city.

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A BRITISH SOCIETY'S ANSWER TO AN AUSTRIAN SOCIETY

A LETTER sent by the President of the Vienna Society of Engineers and Architects to the President of the Royal Institute of British Architects on July 15 was accompanied by a resolution appealing for confraternal aid in efforts to secure a "softening" of the terms of peace. On Aug. 8 the British society sent the following reply:

The President of the Society of Engineers and Architects in Vienna:

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated July 15, together with a copy of the resolution passed by the Society of Engineers and Architects in Vienna.

While sensible of the just severity of

the conditions in the treaty of peace to which the resolution refers, the Royal Institute of British Architects would attach greater weight to their appeal had your society taken any steps during the war to prevent, or to publicly protest against, the infamous destruction by their country's allies of those works of architecture whose immense value to the world your society was very competent to appreciate.

Nevertheless, the Royal Institute ventures to hope that the terms imposed upon your country may prove less disastrous than the resolution suggests; and that, after the treaty has been signed, they may be able to resume relations with your society in mutual effort to advance the art of architecture. I have the honor to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,

JOHN W. SIMPSON,

President of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

* * *

WAR EFFORT OF THE JUGOSLAVS

OFFICIAL figures made available in England show the magnitude of the military effort of the Jugoslavs during the world war. In July, 1914, Serbia mobilized 489,500 men. In September, 1914, she had under her flag 532,710, and in August, 1915, 572,121. She mobilized in all during the war, from July 1 to Oct. 1, 1915, a total of 707,343 men, or 24 per cent. of her whole population and 40 per cent. of her male population. If one adds all the Yugoslav volunteers from Austria-Hungary who formed special units fighting on the Russian, Saloniki, and Rumanian fronts, as well as those who fought in small units or individually in the American, French, and Italian armies, the total is still further increased. A division of 40,000 men was formed of Yugoslav volunteers by Serbia. After the Rumanian disaster 15,000 Jugoslavs were transferred to Saloniki and covered themselves with glory during the offensive of 1918. Some 10,000 others from America, France, Italy, and Russia also fought on this front. In all some 100,000 Yugoslav volunteers fought with the Allies against the common foe. The total Yugoslav loss, according to the official figures, was enormous, amounting to 292,342 dead.

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GERMAN NAVAL LOSSES

DIE FLOTTE, the official organ of the German Navy League, on Aug. 18 published the total losses of warships

sustained by the German Navy during the war. The figures given were as follows:

Battleship	1
Large cruisers	7
Small cruisers	17
Auxiliary cruisers	9
Destroyers	49
Large torpedo boats.....	21
Small torpedo boats.....	41
Special ship	1
Gunboats	7
Submarines	199
River gunboats or survey boats.....	6
Minesweepers	28
Fishing vessels	100
Other auxiliary vessels.....	22

Of these there were lost in open fight:

One battleship, 7 large cruisers and 17 small cruisers, 1 special ship, 111 torpedo boats, (of which 49 were destroyers, 21 large and 41 small boats,) 178 submarines, namely, 82 in the North Sea and Atlantic, 8 in the Baltic, 72 off the Flanders coast, and 16 in the Mediterranean.

Seven gunboats, 21 submarines (10 in the Mediterranean, 4 off Flanders, and 7 in neutral ports) were blown up or otherwise destroyed by the crews in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. Six river gunboats or survey boats were interned, disarmed, or sunk. The navy lost also 28 minesweepers, 9 auxiliary cruisers, 100 fishing boats and luggers, and 22 other auxiliary vessels.

There were lost with these vessels, Die Flotte states, 946 officers, 5,222 warrant and petty officers, and 12,686 men.

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FOCH AND YOUNG FRANCE

TOWARD the beginning of September an interesting statement of his view regarding the defeat of Germany was given by Marshal Foch while sojourning at his home in Brittany. During his stay he visited the holiday school at Kerlouis, and talked with the boys individually, encouraging them to ask him questions. One of them, who was preparing for the Ecole Polytechnique, addressed to him a question in which the whole world was interested. "M. le Maréchal," he said, "will you allow us to ask you whether "Germany is thoroughly crushed; is she "absolutely beaten?" With a striking gesture Marshal Foch pointed to one of

the Celtic crucifixes and said: "Suppose some stormy night lightning shattered that crucifix; how would one set about its restoration? Would one begin by sculpturing the fingers and the hair of Christ? On the contrary, it would be necessary first of all to rebuild the pedestal and repair the granite base of the Cross. Well, it is exactly the same with the Germany that has collapsed. A new base and new balance will have to be found for the whole of the country. Yes, Germany is beaten, and it is for you to guard, by your prudence and by your work, the precious victory that your seniors have gained by pain and sacrifice."

Marshal Foch emphasized his remarks by gestures with a stick that he carried. The boys wanted to know about this stick, and their curiosity was rewarded by an item of secret history that had remained unrecorded. "That is my weekday stick," said the Marshal; "the Sunday one is kept in its case at headquarters." The boys laughed, and the Marshal said: "As a matter of fact, it is a trench stick that was given to me by one of my poilus. Look how well it has been carved; look at it closely. It is the stick that drew out in gravel at Doullens the plan of the supreme offensive." This time there was no laughter.

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THE FRENCH ARMEN

OFFICIAL statistics of the losses of the French Flying Corps were published for the first time in August. From Aug. 4, 1914, to Nov. 11, 1918, the losses in the army zones were 1,945 pilots and observers killed; 1,461 missing, whose death may be regarded as certain, and 2,922 wounded. Outside the army zones 1,927 pilots and observers were killed, bringing the total losses in killed and wounded up to 7,757, the greatest proportion of losses in any arm of any of the allied armies.

To commemorate these losses a solemn service was celebrated on the morning of Aug. 15 in the Chapel of Nôtre Dame du Platin, the patron saint of French aviators, at Saint Palais-sur-Mer, near Royan. The chapel, which stands over-

looking the sea in a clump of pine trees at the foot of the lighthouse, was erected some years ago through the combined efforts of Blériot, the famous airman, the Abbé Chanal, the curé of Saint Palais, who figured brilliantly during the war, and a well-known Paris jeweler. Its principal features are a beautiful statue representing the patron saint of airmen (reproductions of which are in the possession of hundreds of French aviators) and a large number of penciled inscriptions which have been written on its walls by airmen who have visited it.

In an address, delivered after the celebration of mass, the Abbé Chanal, in speaking of the devotion shown by airmen during the war, stated that not less than 70 per cent. of those who had been engaged had lost their lives while on duty. The festival concluded with a procession, at the head of which marched a party of officers carrying a statue of Nôtre Dame du Platin.

* * *

REPATRIATING AMERICANS WHO FOUGHT UNDER FOREIGN FLAGS

IT was announced early in July that steps had been taken by the Bureau of Naturalization and the Department of Labor to restore the rights of citizenship to those young Americans whose ardor to get into the European war had led them to enlist under the flag of Canada or of some other allied nation. It was estimated that fully 9,000 such Americans had become, by such enrollment, Canadians. After the armistice many protests and petitions were received for reinstatement, and finally Congress amended the law so that it was made possible for such soldiers enrolled under alien flags to regain their citizenship by taking the oath of allegiance to the United States Government before the proper authorities.

* * *

HISTORIC PENS

THE majority of treaties have been signed with goose quills instead of pens. Among the treasures of the late Empress Eugénie was the pen used to draw up the Treaty of Paris in 1856; it was made from a feather pulled from

the tail of an eagle in the Jardin des Plantes. As for the Peace Treaty of 1919, a group of young girls offered David Lloyd George a gold pen, which the British Minister promised to use in signing some one of the peace documents; he had previously promised to use another pen to sign the Peace Treaty itself. The pens and penholders sent to President Wilson after the beginning of the labors of the Peace Conference were innumerable. Clemenceau also was the recipient of many similar gifts.

An item of interest in this connection is the fact that at Versailles, the day after the signing of the peace with Germany, all blotters, ashtrays, penholders, and pencils had disappeared at though by magic. If the pens of the Treaty of Amiens were valued in 1825 at 6,250 francs, what value will the historic pens of June, 1919, possess?

* * *

LONDON TO PARIS BY AIR

ON Aug. 25 three airplanes starting from Hounslow inaugurated the London-Paris Air Service, which was intended to run daily, barring accidents and prohibitive weather. Of these three planes, one, an Aircro 4, completed the return journey in schedule time; another reached Paris on time; the third, a Handley-Page, speeding seventy miles an hour, reached Paris duly, but deferred its departure to the following day. The fare charged for this trip was £15 15s. The route generally to be followed was Maidstone-Boulogne-Beauvais-Paris. On the inaugural trips as many as eleven passengers and full loads, including many daily newspapers and consignments of leather and other merchandise, were carried. Shortly before this event, a twin-engined Handley-Page machine, piloted by Captain Shakespear, successfully completed a flight to Brussels and back. On his return journey Captain Shakespear breakfasted at Amsterdam, had luncheon at Brussels, and dined in London.

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MARSHAL FOCH THANKS LLOYD GEORGE

THE following letter was sent by Marshal Foch to Premier Lloyd George toward the end of August:

The French Ambassador in London has

sent me the text of the words which you were kind enough to speak on my account in the House of Commons, as well as the substance of those which Lord Curzon pronounced in the House of Lords; he also informed me of the reception given to these speeches by the two houses.

I do not forget, however, that if I was appointed to be Chief of the allied armies it was of your initiative, and thanks to your confidence. If I was able equally to bring the war to a speedy conclusion, it was thanks to the sustained determination of the British Government to reinforce and to keep up, in 1918, sufficient effectives for its armies in France, and also to give powerful assistance in the transport of American divisions to Europe.

In the face of such confidence and such serious efforts, I employed on my part all the activity I was capable of in order to achieve victory, while making the best use of the means which had been completely assured to me.

Today it is an honor and a highly appreciated recompense to see my services recognized in such flattering terms, under particularly important circumstances, by the Government and Parliament of Great Britain, and I am profoundly grateful to you, the Prime Minister, for having taken the initiative in this token of satisfaction on their part, and I ask you to receive this assurance of my respectful devotion.

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BRITISH MUSEUM IN WAR

THE annual report of the British Museum was issued on Aug. 31, 1919. Some of the features of this report dealing with measures necessitated by German aerial bombardments are summarized below:

Warning was received toward the close of 1917 that air raids in greater force, and with much heavier bombs, might be expected in the Spring. It was then decided to remove the most valuable objects in the collections to positions of safety. The portable objects of the Departments of Antiquities, including the Frieze of the Parthenon, the best of the Greek vases and bronzes, the chief Assyrian bas-reliefs, the Rosetta Stone, and the finest examples of mediaeval art, together with practically the whole collection of coins and medals, were transferred to a station on the newly completed Postal Tube Railway, some fifty feet below the surface of Holborn. Special provision was made for protection against damp and for guarding. Some fifteen vanloads of the most

precious literary and artistic treasures were transferred to the National Library of Wales. A certain number of exceptionally valuable books were housed near Malvern. Objects next in importance were hidden in the strong rooms of the museum basement. Heavy sculptures and mummies were protected by sandbags. The Assyrian bulls, the larger Egyptian sculptures, and the Parthenon metopes were protected *in situ* by sandbags.

The restoration of the museum began at once on the signing of the armistice, and the work of bringing back the collections to their old positions continued into the present year.

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THE ISLAND OF NAURU

NAURU ISLAND is a tiny speck of land in the Central Pacific Ocean, thirty-three miles south of the equator and about equidistant from Australia, America, and Japan, that is, about 3,000 miles. It has a circumference of twelve miles and an area of 5,000 acres. This small but valuable territory passed some years ago into the possession of Germany, and was attached for administration to the Marshall Islands, which are 300 miles away and are now under the Japanese. The island, with its millions of tons of phosphate of lime, the best soil fertilizer known, was a veritable treasure-trove for the overworked agricultural lands of the German Fatherland, and thousands of tons of the precious product were annually taken to Germany, though the phosphate mines, curiously enough, were worked by British enterprise. The German treatment of the natives is said to have been barbarous. Since the beginning of the war the island has been under a British régime, and the natives have recently petitioned King George, who visited the island as a midshipman, to take them permanently under his protection.

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THE ITALIAN CROWN RENOUNCES VAST DOMAINS

IT was announced in Milan at the beginning of September that King Victor Emmanuel, after handing over six of his finest palaces, villas, and parks for the permanent use of disabled soldiers

and sailors and orphans of those killed in battle, had formally declared to Prime Minister Nitti his intention of relinquishing all the vast domains of the Crown throughout Italy for the benefit of the peasantry and of combatants for Italian unity. Possession of buildings attached to such lands would also be relinquished in favor of those institutions and charity organizations whose aim it was to mitigate the sufferings of war. The King had also resolved to offer his own patrimony for taxation, an action which would bring about a large reduction in the civil list. The annual sum of \$400,000 would be dispensed to poor and needy subjects in the future as in the past.

* * *

SALVAGED FROM THE SEA

THE British Admiralty Salvage Department, which came into existence in the Autumn of 1915, and which completed its last contract at the end of August, 1919, salvaged, in all its operations at home and in foreign waters, 440 vessels and recovered property valued at \$200,000,000. The brilliant record of its achievements is attributed to Commodore F. W. Young, R. N. R., already famous for his successful efforts to clear the harbors of Ostend and Zeebrugge. Cargo steamers were lifted off rocky ledges and dragged up from the depths of the sea pierced and battered. Whole cargoes of gold have been rescued, as in the case of the *Laurentic*, from which bullion valued at \$4,500,000 was brought up by divers working at a depth of 23 fathoms, after the strong rooms in which the bullion was kept had been blown up by high explosives and the débris removed. A collier weighing 2,700 tons (a weight which, before the creation of the Salvage Department, would have been regarded as prohibitive) was raised and put into commission again within three months. A troop ship in Folkestone which had caught fire and been scuttled was raised by four locomotives straining on the dock. A U-boat of a displacement of 700 tons, which had sunk thirty-five miles off the Tyne, was raised with wires and brought to port. Gathering of intelligence from sunken U-boats was a recognized function of the Salvage Department.

Fulfilling the German Treaty Terms

Progress Toward Reparation

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1919]

AS early as July 5 Germany indicated her desire to begin immediately her compliance with the terms of the Peace Treaty regarding reparations. Her request for oral conferences of economic experts was granted. Pending the appointment of a permanent Reparations Commission, the provisional commission created to name various conference commissions was authorized to act in the German negotiations. As to the amount of reparations due, an official report made to the Parliamentary Committee of Peace in Paris estimated the material damage done in the invaded provinces of France at \$40,000,000,000. This amount had been verified by a committee of technical experts. The damage done to agriculture alone was computed at \$7,400,000,000.

Belgium showed dissatisfaction toward the middle of July over the slowness of reparation payments. She had received no money from Germany, and little of her stolen machinery had been returned. Her ruined towns were being rebuilt; Ypres and Nieuport were stated to be beyond hope, but Louvain and Liège were being largely restored.

With regard to money reparations, Mathias Erzberger, German Minister of Finance, had completed a detailed program for raising nearly \$6,000,000,000, of which \$5,000,000,000 was to be handed to the allied Governments before May, 1920. Imperial income taxes and the searching out of hidden gold stores, it was stated, would help to raise the sum required, some of which was already credited to Germany on various accounts.

The first full meeting of the Reparations Commission provided for by the Peace Treaty was held on Aug. 1 at the Trianon Palace Hotel in Versailles. The German commissions charged with details of the delivery to France and Belgium of the stock called for by the Peace Treaty, and with the transfer of the coal mines of the Sarre Valley, ar-

rived at Versailles on this date. Testifying before the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate on Aug. 2, Bernard Baruch, economic adviser of the American peace delegation in Paris, showed how the Reparations Commission, through the plenary powers conferred upon it, would have complete control of Germany's trade and finance. All imports were to be curbed, and even production and foreign sales were to be subject to the commission's scrutiny.

One of the first questions before the commission was the recovery of goods stolen by Germany. Offices set up in Brussels and Wiesbaden had effected the recovery of about a million tons of materials, according to a report presented to the French Chamber on July 24. It was stated, however, that this was only a small portion of the total loss. As an example of this, only 8,000 head of cattle had been restored out of 850,000 head driven away.

COAL REPARATION

As regards coal, M. Loucheur, Minister of Industrial Reconstruction, speaking before the French Chamber on Sept. 12, defined the conditions of reparation to which Germany is held; these conditions were as follows: During the period of reconstruction Germany was to deliver for the coal mines of the north and the Pas de Calais the 20,000,000 tons representing the pre-war product for a five-year period, with a reduction to 8,000,000 tons for the ensuing five years. The surplus of coal production by the Sarre Basin was just equal to the coal deficit in Alsace and Lorraine, but the output of these mines was sure to be increased within a few years. For the transition period measures had been taken to assure rail transportation to the east, centre, and north of over 1,000,000 tons monthly.

In Alsace and Lorraine, it appeared from the report of the special commission, the coal situation was serious. Not

only to supply France, but other countries suffering from the dearth of coal, the Economic Council on Aug. 2 was considering means to increase the production of the German mines; in this project Herr Bauer, the German Premier, was co-operating. On Aug. 19 the delivery of coal to France from the Ruhr district had begun. It was expected that about 1,000,000 tons would be shipped the first month. On Sept. 2 it was announced that as the result of negotiations at Versailles Germany should deliver 20,000,000 tons of coal to France within the next six months, as against the 43,000,000 tons provided by the terms of the Peace Treaty. Of the present production of 128,000,000 tons, 60 per cent. of any excess was to be delivered to the Entente up to 128,000,000 tons, and 50 per cent. of any further excess until the terms of the Peace Treaty were satisfied.

RETURNING ART TREASURES

A restitution of a different kind was that of the stolen art treasures of Belgium and Northern France, most of which have already been returned. Since February convoys had been ceaselessly carrying deported works of art back to the museums from which they had been taken.

By the terms of the Peace Treaty a certain number of German vessels were to be delivered to the Allies. On July 18 some 300 German vessels whose home port was Hamburg were turned over. Of these 31 were owned by the Hamburg-American Line. In addition to these, 12 American-owned steamships, valued at more than \$10,000,000, the property of a German subsidiary of the Standard Oil Company, were ordered from German ports to the Firth of Forth for allocation among the allied and associated powers. This allocation was made by the Allied Naval Armistice Commission in contravention of the ruling of the Allied Commission at Brussels in March that the ships were American property and could not be seized.

Criticism of the delay in returning German prisoners of war was answered by the German Government on July 21 in a statement throwing the responsibility upon the Allies. Members of the German

commission at Versailles, the statement declared, had been waiting vainly for weeks for the Entente to name Commissioners, as the terms of the Peace Treaty, though demanding prompt reparation, made this subject to the control of a joint allied and German commission.

TRIAL FOR ATROCITIES

England, France, and Belgium submitted to the Peace Conference on Oct. 6 their final lists of German military officials to be delivered up by Germany in accordance with the responsibilities clause of the Peace Treaty. No list was submitted by the United States, but it was stated that the latter country would participate in the action taken against officials proved guilty. These lists were then practically completed. The name of the German Kaiser was absent, as he was to be dealt with separately. The court-martial authorities of Lille on Oct. 7 demanded the extradition of Count von Bismarck, grandson of the famous German Chancellor, for having had fourteen inhabitants of the village of Vicoigne shot "as an example" and for burning several houses there. Similar charges were made against eight other officers, whose extradition was also demanded.

On Sept. 5 the allied powers sent an official note to the German Government demanding that Article 61 of the new German Constitution, stipulating for the admission of Austria to the German Reichsrat, be declared null and void as a violation of the Treaty of Versailles. The German Government answered this demand with a note admitting the interpretation of the Entente, but stating that the elimination of the article in question was unnecessary pending the alteration by the council of the League of Nations of the constitutional position of German Austria. This reply was deemed evasive by the Peace Conference, which insisted on a written declaration that the article was not to be considered as transcending the treaty section forbidding German participation in Austrian affairs. On Sept. 21 Baron Kurt von Lersner, President of the German peace delegation, arrived at Versailles to sign the demanded protocol. The signing, which occurred the

following day, was private; the only allied representative present was Jules Cambon of the French Peace Mission.

INTERALLIED COMMISSIONS

Fifty-one interallied commissions were created by the Peace Treaty. One of the most important was the Rhineland Commission. By Sept. 5 many of the staffs composing this had arrived at Coblenz. The personnel of the American group numbered 9, the Belgian group 4, the British and French about 140 each. An entire house was taken over for use of the staff of the last-named powers. The German National Commission had also opened offices in Coblenz. Communities and districts were to be heard on all questions affecting them.

On Oct. 18 the Supreme Council passed a resolution declaring that membership on all commissions created by the treaty was a privilege rather than an obligation, and that delegates might sit on the commissions regardless of the question of ratification. By this action the Allies invited the United States to take part in the interallied commissions pending the ratification of the treaty by the Senate. On Oct. 20, however, the State Department at Washington ruled that American diplomatic and military participation in carrying out the provisions of the treaty must wait for the Senate ratification.

The task of dismantling the twelve ancient forts which surrounded Mainz had begun on Oct. 4. According to the terms of the Peace Treaty all German Rhine fortresses must be demolished. Much blasting was required, and it was stated that the process would be long.

Addressing the National Assembly on

Oct. 7 Chancellor Bauer said that two months after ratification of the treaty the German Army would be reduced to 200,000 men. All plans for maintaining a large force under disguise were emphatically repudiated by Herr Bauer.

On Oct. 16 the Germans had begun the evacuation of the first and second zones in Schleswig, in accordance with the conditions laid down by the Peace Treaty. The International Commission was preparing the arrangements for the plebiscite to decide whether the districts involved should remain German or join Denmark, and was making plans for the administration of the region. Warning had been given Germany as early as July 30 against the sale of national properties in Schleswig which were held as possible security for the payment of Germany's indemnity.

Another expected plebiscite was in East Prussia. On Oct. 5 more than 100,000 natives of the eastern province eligible to vote in the coming plebiscite had registered at the Election Bureau in Thorn, West Prussia. Branch offices had been opened in Westphalia and the Rhine provinces, and persons unable to pay their railroad fare to this district were being given free transportation.

On Aug. 27 the Japanese authorities were taking over German and Austrian properties at Tsing-tao as an installment on the German indemnity.

A United States destroyer arrived at New York on Oct. 7 and landed \$5,125,000 in German gold. This represented the first shipment of gold from the German Government in part payment of the \$158,000,000 of food and other supplies arranged for by Food Administrator Hoover in Berlin.

Ratification by Other Nations

Waiting for the United States

THE Treaty of Versailles cannot become effective until, in addition to Germany, at least three of the principal allied and associated powers have ratified it. Great Britain ratified it on July 31 and Belgium on Aug. 8, but Bel-

gium is not a great power. France completed the formal ratification on Oct. 13. Meanwhile Italy's King had signed a ratification decree on Oct. 7, and the decree was filed in Paris eight days later. Technically this completed the three rati-

fications required for putting the Peace Treaty in force and starting the machinery of the various executive commissions for which it provides. As the Italian ratification, however, still required the approval of the Parliament at Rome to become a law of the realm, it could, if the Peace Conference so ruled, be regarded as still incomplete for purposes of putting the treaty into force. England and France had shown a marked desire from the outset that the United States should be one of the three powers to confirm the treaty and take the lead in executing its many provisions. The Supreme Council, therefore, hesitated to name the date for putting the treaty into force, waiting day after day for some change in the Senate situation at Washington.

Marshal Foch also asked for more time, as his military plans had been disorganized by America's refusal to send soldiers for policing the plebiscite districts in Silesia and Schleswig. He had counted on having 5,000 American troops at his disposal, but a message from Secretary Baker had informed him that our men could not be used for that purpose, though the required number of volunteers were already on their way across to Europe. Therefore, Marshal Foch had to change his schedule and call on the English and French staffs for more soldiers.

On Oct. 26 the Supreme Council was still waiting, reluctant to act and intimating that it was willing to postpone the treaty date even to the middle of November if by so doing it could gain the immediate assistance of the United States in enforcing the treaty. Thus the matter stood when these pages went to press.

The French Chamber began its ratification debate on Aug. 26, and continued it through several lively sessions; there was a great deal of hostile comment, through which the Ministers sat in silence. A crisis occurred on the 29th, when, after a stirring speech by Maurice Barrès, who criticised the failure to make a Rhine frontier, and another by Albert Thomas, who advocated the neutralization of the Rhine Valley, more than twenty Deputies announced that they

would take no part in the debate. All the Government's supporters rallied to the defense of Premier Clemenceau. On Sept. 3 Franklin Bouillon, the fourteenth speaker, declared that he would vote against ratification, attacked America and the League of Nations, and dwelt on France's enormous war debt. Premier Clemenceau, on Sept. 19, urged immediate ratification, regardless of all other questions. Finally, on Oct. 2, the Chamber voted for ratification, 372 to 53, with 73 members abstaining from voting. At the same time it approved the protective treaties with the United States and Great Britain.

In the French Senate, on Oct. 7, Léon Bourgeois, Chairman of the Senate Committee on the Treaty, delivered his report, which called for immediate ratification. The report urged that the treaty be regarded chiefly from the viewpoint of its safeguards to France. Confidence was expressed that measures limiting armaments, though not embodied in the treaty, would ultimately be incorporated within it in the form of amendments. An argument was further made for the bringing to trial of the German Emperor, as the author of acts contrary to The Hague convention. The report ended with an expression of satisfaction over the restitution of Alsace and Lorraine, and of hope that the solidarity of the Allies would continue during the period of peace. After some debate the Senate, on Oct. 11, ratified the treaty, and also the Franco-American and Franco-British defense treaties. The vote stood 217 for ratification, and none against it. One member abstained from voting. None of the bitterness that marked the debate in the Chamber was visible in the Senate.

With the formal action of the French Executive, on Oct. 11 and Oct. 13, the treaty with Germany passed its third ratification by the principal nations signatory to the pact. In France it went into immediate effect; the state of war was declared at an end in France and Algeria, and the censorship was lifted. All war restrictions were similarly removed.

King Victor Emmanuel, acting for Italy, had issued a royal decree of ratifica-

tion on Oct. 7; this instrument itself stated, however, that it would become law only on being presented to the Italian Parliament. That body would not re-assemble until December. Both the Italian and the British copies of the treaty were deposited with the Secretariat of the Peace Conference on Oct. 15.

Ratification by Canada, as an autonomous part of the British Empire, was the chief subject of discussion at a special session of the Canadian Parliament, on Sept. 1. The urgency of proceeding immediately to the consideration of the treaty, the Governor General said, compelled him to summon the legislators to renewed labors, which, he hoped, would not be of long duration. He had been advised, he declared, that the document should not be ratified on behalf of Canada without the approval of Parliament. In addition, Parliament would be asked, he explained, to make such financial provision as may be required "in connection with the Peace Treaty and for other purposes."

Both houses at Ottawa ratified the treaty with Germany on Sept. 14 after four days' debate. Only one amendment was offered. It came from W. S. Fielding, formerly Minister of Finance in the Laurier Government, who sought to modify the Government motion by adding that in giving approval the House in no way assented to an impairment of the existing autonomous authority of the Dominion in respect to Canada's poten-

tial participation in any future war. The amendment was defeated by 102 votes to 70. One Liberal speaker criticised the Shantung agreement, and spoke in favor of Ireland. One reservation was urged, similar in tenor to the Fielding amendment. None of these motions prevailed, however, and the treaty was ratified.

China, though unable to ratify the treaty, because of her refusal to sign at Versailles, formally declared her adherence, on Sept. 24, to all the provisions of that treaty exclusive of the agreement with Japan concerning Shantung, and declared the state of war with Germany at an end.

Japanese chauvinists, on Aug. 26, made a hostile demonstration against Marquis Saionji and the other peace delegates on their return to Japan, on the ground, as explained later in a manifesto published at Kobe, that the provision of racial equality had not been put through, and that Japan, through the blundering policy of the Japanese peace delegation, had been placed in a position of isolation internationally. According to Peace Conference information, Parliamentary action on ratification was not required by the Constitution of Japan, signature by the Emperor being sufficient. The royal signature, however, had not been affixed when the present pages went to press.

The State Department at Washington was informed that the Legislative Assembly of Guatemala had ratified the treaty with Germany on Oct. 2.

Activities of the Peace Conference

The League of Nations

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 20, 1919]

THE activities of the Peace Conference at Paris continued through September and October. On Oct. 10 the Supreme Council decided to grant to the Bulgarian plenipotentiaries an extension of ten days in which to return their observations on the draft of the treaty submitted to them on Sept. 19, the additional period to expire on Oct. 24. On Oct. 14 a new Cabinet was

formed by M. Stambulowsky for the purpose of ratifying the Peace Treaty.

The council further approved the plan proposed by the Reparations Commission, providing for the dispatch to Budapest of an interallied commission, including one Rumanian delegate, to take an inventory of the objects and materials which had been seized by the Rumanian military authorities in Hungary. This

approval followed the hearing of the report of Sir George Clerk, who had been sent to Hungary and Rumania to study the situation for the council, and who had returned the previous week from Bucharest.

Another action taken by the Supreme Council was the acceptance on Oct. 11 of the demand presented on behalf of Admiral Kolchak and General Denikin, asking that Russian war material captured by the German Army be turned over to them for the use of their armies. It was decided that the Interallied Commission of Control should supervise the execution of the measure. Other measures approved by the council at this time were: The acceptance of a report regarding the formation of an international commission, sitting at Berlin, which should have charge of the interests of Russian prisoners still in Germany; and the sending to the Drafting Committee of a proposal introduced by the Italian delegation asking that a clause should be written into the treaty with Hungary, stipulating that Hungary should renounce in favor of Italy all right and title to territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy given by the treaty of Saint Germain to Italy.

The main problem still confronting the conference was that of the peace with Turkey. At various times since last December the conference had discussed the question in three phases: The dismemberment of Turkey, the possibility of her return to her pre-war status, and the retaining or dismissal of the Sultan. Incidents like the landing of Greek troops in Smyrna and of Italians at Adalia, the continuance of Armenian massacres by the Young Turk party in Asiatic Turkey, and the setting up of a new Government by Mustapha Pasha in Anatolia, had occupied the conference at various sessions. The vexed question of mandates still remained unsettled. The French delegates favored the retention of the Turkish Empire in Europe as the solution most likely to be satisfactory to all concerned.

As reflecting the attitude of the Supreme Council a speech made by Premier Lloyd George at Sheffield, England, on Oct. 17 had significance. In this speech

Mr. Lloyd George said that it was impossible to settle the destiny of Europe without knowing whether the United States was going to share the burdens of civilization. Speaking to the American Ambassador, Mr. Davis, Mr. Lloyd George emphasized this point, and added:

The people of Turkey have been living in the shadow of a great tyranny for centuries. They are appealing to America for help. I hope that the appeal will not be in vain. Such a remark might sound impertinent from a British Minister, but we are undertaking similar responsibilities ourselves and find that we are coming to the limit of our strength and that it is unwise for us to go further.

A similar appeal from an American source was made by Henry Morgenthau, former Ambassador to Turkey, on his return to the United States from Poland, where, as head of the American Commission to investigate the treatment of Jews in that country, he had passed seven months. He arrived in New York on Oct. 18, where he at once published an appeal for the acceptance by the United States of a mandate for Constantinople, Armenia, and Anatolia. His idea involved the upbuilding of a great American centre in Constantinople as a living example of democracy in the Near East.

Colonel House, the confidential adviser to President Wilson at the Peace Conference, returned to the United States early in October to recuperate after a long illness in Paris and the strain of unremitting labors on the Peace Treaty.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Plans for bringing the League of Nations covenant into force with the simultaneous publication in Paris of the ratification decrees of three of the main allied and associated powers were announced in Washington soon after the ratification by Italy. A nation-wide campaign in favor of the League was opened at the Mansion House in London on Oct. 13 under the Presidency of the Lord Mayor. Messages were read from King George and David Lloyd George, and eloquent addresses were delivered by ex-Premier Asquith, Lord Robert Cecil, Premier Venizelos, Lord Reading, and others. All the foreign Ambassadors and diplo-

mats, and men prominent in various walks of civil life, churchmen, laborites, industrialists, scientists, and lawyers, attended. The message of King George was as follows:

We have won the war. That is a great achievement. But it is not enough. We fought to gain a lasting peace, and it is our supreme duty to take every measure to secure it.

For that nothing is more essential than a strong and enduring League of Nations. Every day makes this clearer. The covenant of Paris is a good foundation. The nature and the strength of the structure we build upon this must depend on the earnestness and sincerity of popular support.

Millions of British men and women, poignantly conscious of the ruin and suffering caused by the brutal havoc of war, stand ready to help if only they are shown the way. In the knowledge of what already has been done, appreciation of the difficulties which lie before us, and a determination to overcome them, we must spare no efforts.

I commend this cause to all citizens of the empire, so that, with the help of all other men of good-will, a buttress and a sure defense of peace, to the glory of God and the lasting fame of our age and our country, may be established.

The message of Lloyd George was as follows:

Civilization cannot longer afford to squander its time and treasure on the destruction of its own handiwork. The allied Governments are pledged to the League's noble ideals. I appeal to my fellow-countrymen to support international order and good-will.

Mr. Asquith declared that the military and naval armaments of nations were being continued out of all proportion to the actual requirements for the preservation of order, and said he hoped the members of the League would fulfill their pledges under the covenant purely as a duty. Mr. Asquith added that with the people alone lay the initiative and ultimate responsibility. The alternatives before them were to relapse into the old insane hostilities or the provision and defense of a way for the free spirit of mankind.

The attitude of the smaller nations, especially Denmark and Norway, was brought out early in October. In an authorized interview the Danish Minister of Defense, Mr. Munch, denied emphatically the charge made several times in the Peace Treaty discussion in America that Denmark was afraid of the League of Nations. The Danish people, he said, had watched President Wilson's efforts to create the League of Nations with the greatest sympathy. In Denmark, he added, all political parties were agreed that the country must join the League of Nations as soon as it was formed, to contribute to this great and daring experiment to abolish international wars. In Norway on the same date the Parliamentary committee appointed to discuss the entrance of Norway into the League reported unanimously in favor of adherence.

Léon Bourgeois, former Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and French member of the League of Nations Commission of the Peace Conference, was appointed representative of France on the Council of the League of Nations on Oct. 14. This was the first formal appointment to the League of Nations; France, as the first of the principal allied and associated powers to complete the formal ratification, had won the honor of nominating the first representative.

The original American draft of the League of Nations covenant, as submitted to the Peace Conference, was sent to the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate by President Wilson, in response to a request made by the committee on Aug. 11. The American plan covered the provisions now embraced in Article X., and also embodied the clauses relating to the freedom of the seas; but the articles relating to the Monroe Doctrine and the direct reservations on domestic questions were not included.



Senate Debate on the Peace Treaty

Prolonged Contest Over Proposed Amendments to Accompany Ratification—Text of New Reservations

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 23, 1919]

THE United States continued the long debate over ratification of the German Peace Treaty throughout the period under review. At every session there were speeches for or against the amendments and reservations offered by the Foreign Relations Committee in the preceding month. Continuous efforts were made by the Republican leaders to reach a unanimous agreement. The Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator H. C. Lodge of Massachusetts, the Republican leader, strongly supported direct amendment of the treaty, and this position was sustained by thirty-six Republican Senators and two Democratic Senators, the latter being Senator Reed of Missouri and Senator Gore of Oklahoma. Another group, comprising twelve Republicans and three Democrats, opposed direct amendments, but favored specific and effective qualifying reservations. A third group, numbering forty, headed by Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, the former Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, all known as "Administration Democrats," opposed any amendments to the text of the treaty, and the greater number strongly opposed any qualifying reservations whatsoever. Nearly all the members of the Senate participated in the debate, which at times grew acrimonious.

THE GORE AMENDMENTS

The first specific issue voted on was that of thirty-five textual amendments to the treaty offered by Senator Fall, Republican, of New Mexico, intended to eliminate American participation on the commissions established under the treaty, excepting the Reparations Commission. The vote on these amendments was taken on Oct. 2 and resulted in their defeat by a decisive majority.

On the first test between the opposing sides, which came on the amendment to take the United States out of the Commission to fix the Belgian boundaries, the vote was 30 in favor of to 58 against. All the middle-ground Senators except Mr. McLean of Connecticut voted against the amendment.

MIDDLE-GROUNDERS IN CONTROL

On three other roll calls taken on the amendments there were slight changes in the attitude of the middle-ground Senators influenced by the points involved. On two roll calls, one to eliminate the United States from participation in the Sarre Valley Commission and the other pertaining to the commission to govern Upper Silesia, where a plebescite as to future government is to be held, the opposition mustered 31 votes, that being their maximum strength.

The alignment found Senator Gore of Oklahoma voting with the Republicans on all amendments, while Senator Thomas of Colorado joined them in two roll calls. Senator Jones, Republican, of Washington, voted with the Democrats on two amendments, and later switched to the opposition.

The voting gave evidence that the middle-ground Senators controlled the situation, both as to amendments and reservations. From speeches made by five of this group, Capper, Hale, Cummins, Lenroot, and Smoot, it seemed evident that, although opposed to textual amendments, they would vote against the treaty unless reservations were adopted with its ratification.

The vote on the amendment to eliminate the United States from participation in the Commission to Establish the Boundary Lines of Belgium, the first vote taken, follows:

FOR THE AMENDMENT—30.**Republicans—29.**

Ball, (Del.)	Lodge, (Mass.)
Borah, (Idaho.)	McCormick, (Ill.)
Brandegge, (Conn.)	McLean, (Conn.)
Calder, (N. Y.)	Moses, (N. H.)
Curtis, (Kan.)	New, (Ind.)
Dillingham, (Vt.)	Newberry, (Mich.)
Elkins, (W. Va.)	Norris, (Neb.)
Fall, (N. M.)	Penrose, (Penn.)
Fernald, (Me.)	Phipps, (Col.)
France, (Md.)	Poindexter, (Wash.)
Frelinghuysen, (N. J.)	Sherman, (Ill.)
Gronna, (N. D.)	Wadsworth, (N. Y.)
Harding, (Ohio.)	Warren, (Wyo.)
Knox, (Penn.)	Watson, (Ind.)
La Follette, (Wis.)	

Democrat—1.

Gore, Oklahoma.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT—58.**Republicans—17.**

Capper, (Kan.)	McCumber, (N. D.)
Colt, (R. I.)	McNary, (Ore.)
Cummins, (Iowa.)	Nelson, (Minn.)
Edge, (N. J.)	Smoot, (Utah.)
Hale, (Me.)	Spencer, (Mo.)
Jones, (Wash.)	Sterling, (S. D.)
Kellogg, (Minn.)	Townsend, (Mich.)
Lenroot, (Wis.)	

Democrats—41.

Ashurst, (Ariz.)	Phelan, (Cal.)
Bankhead, (Ala.)	Pittman, (Nev.)
Beckham, (Ky.)	Pomerene, (Ohio.)
Chamberlain, (Ore.)	Ransdell, (La.)
Culberson, (Texas.)	Robinson, (Ark.)
Dial, (S. C.)	Sheppard, (Texas.)
Fletcher, (Fla.)	Shields, (Tenn.)
Gay, (La.)	Simmons, (N. C.)
Gerry, (R. I.)	Smith, (Ariz.)
Harris, (Ga.)	Smith, (Ga.)
Harrison, (Miss.)	Smith, (Md.)
Henderson, (Nev.)	Stanley, (Ky.)
Hitchcock, (Neb.)	Swanson, (Va.)
Jones, (N. M.)	Thomas, (Col.)
Kendrick, (Wyo.)	Trammell, (Fla.)
Kirby, (Ark.)	Underwood, (Ala.)
McKellar, (Tenn.)	Walsh, (Mass.)
Myers, (Mon.)	Walsh, (Mon.)
Nugent, (Idaho.)	Williams, (Miss.)
Overman, (N. C.)	Wolcott, (Del.)
Owen, (Okla.)	

Pairs

Senator Johnson, California, for, with Senator Martin, Virginia, against.

Senator Page, Vermont, for, with Senator Johnson, South Dakota, against.

Senator Reed, Missouri, for, with Senator King, Utah, against.

Senator Sutherland, West Virginia, for, with Senator Smith, South Carolina, against.

Total—8.

Had all of the Senators, paired and unable to vote, been able to cast their votes, the vote on the Belgian amend-

ment would have been: For, 34; against, 60.

The Senate took eight votes on the Fall amendments, four by roll call and the remainder viva voce. Besides that, on the first amendment, relating to the Belgian boundaries, the votes were as follows:

Two amendments relating to commissions to fix boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, defeated by viva voce vote.

An amendment on the Sarre Valley Basin, defeated 31 for and 56 against.

Twenty-six amendments, en bloc, on commissions on boundaries relating to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Upper Silesia, the Rhineland, East Prussia, and Danzig, defeated viva voce.

An amendment barring the United States from participation in treaties with Czechoslovakia, by which the latter guarantees religious freedom to its subjects, defeated 28 to 53.

Two amendments pertaining to a plebiscite for Upper Silesia and providing that the United States send soldiers to that territory, defeated 31 to 46.

An amendment relating to the religious freedom of Poland, defeated viva voce.

An amendment touching on a plebiscite for East Prussia, defeated viva voce.

The vote on the amendment against the United States participating in the commission on the plebiscite for Upper Silesia, found Senators Sterling, Kenyon, and Cummins, who had not voted with the Republicans before, aligned with them. The aggregate of thirty-one votes in favor of this amendment would have been swelled to forty had all the Senators who had voted before with the Republicans or were absent answered the roll call.

THE SHANTUNG AMENDMENT

The second test on textually amending the treaty took place on Oct. 16. By a vote of 55 to 35, the six Lodge amendments to the Peace Treaty, providing for restoring the economic privileges on the Shantung Peninsula to China rather than to give them to Japan, as the treaty provides, were defeated. The amendments were voted upon en bloc. Immediately after the vote was announced, Senator Lodge told the Senate that, "at the proper time," he would move to strike the entire Shantung section from the treaty.

The vote on the Shantung amendments was:

FOR THE AMENDMENTS—35.

Republicans—32.

Ball,	Lodge,
Borah,	McCormick,
Brandeggee,	McLean,
Calder,	Moses,
Capper,	New,
Curtis,	Newberry,
Dillingham,	Norris,
Fall,	Page,
France,	Penrose,
Frelinghuysen,	Phipps,
Gronna,	Poindexter,
Harding,	Sherman,
Johnson,	Sutherland,
Jones, (Wash.),	Wadsworth,
Knox,	Warren,
La Follette,	Watson.

Democrats—3.

Gore,	Walsh, (Mass.)
Reed,	

AGAINST THE AMENDMENTS—55.

Republicans—14.

Colt,	McCumber,
Cummins,	McNary,
Hale,	Nelson,
Kellogg,	Smoot,
Kenyon,	Spencer,
Keyes,	Sterling,
Lenroot,	Townsend.

Democrats—41.

Ashurst,	Owen,
Bankhead,	Phelan,
Beckham,	Pittman,
Chamberlain,	Pomerene,
Culberson,	Ransdell,
Dall,	Robinson,
Fletcher,	Sheppard,
Gay,	Shields,
Gerry,	Simmons,
Harris,	Smith, (Ariz.),
Harrison,	Smith, (Ga.),
Henderson,	Smith, (Md.),
Hitchcock,	Stanley,
Jones, (N. M.),	Swanson,
Kendrick,	Thomas,
King,	Trammell,
Kirby,	Underwood,
McKellar,	Walsh, (Mon.),
Myers,	Williams,
Nugent,	Wolcott.
Overman,	

Of those not voting, Senators Edge, Republican, of New Jersey; Martin, Democrat, of Virginia; Smith, Democrat, of South Carolina, and Johnson, Democrat, of South Dakota, were paired against the amendments. Senators Elkins, Republican, of West Virginia, and Fernald, Republican, of Maine, were paired for them.

GLIMPSES OF THE DEBATE

The debate on the Lodge amendments ran from 11 o'clock until 5:30, when the vote was taken. The Republican leaders exerted every effort to save the amendments from defeat, although knowing, in advance of the vote, that they were beaten.

Senator Johnson of California denounced the Shantung award as "infamous, detestable, and abominable." He told Republican Senators who, during the debate, had said that they would favor a reservation rather than an amendment, that the way to "cut Shantung out of the treaty is to reject it outright." Although assured by the Republican leaders that the prospects were favorable for the adoption of a reservation on Shantung, Mr. Johnson insisted that the amendment route was the safer one.

In the speeches of nearly all the Republicans who voted against the amendments the preference for a reservation was emphasized. They indicated that they would be willing to support a reservation that would assert the privilege of the United States to refuse to be bound by any action of the League of Nations in any dispute relating to the Shantung Peninsula.

In his speech in advocacy of the Lodge amendments, Senator Johnson said:

All Senators seem to feel a sense of disapproval over the wrong done in the Shantung award under the treaty, but those who would retain it in the treaty argue that it was a decision, by the Peace Conference, that was dictated by expediency and that it is too late to do anything. That is a weak, a timid attitude to take.

If the United States condones this wrong to China, it will be the first time we have ever been a party to the despoiling of that nation. I insist that we ought not be bluffed into failing to do what is our plain duty. The decision of the Senate in this matter ought to be made upon the moral principle involved. If it is, the Senate will vote to cut out this infamy from the treaty.

OPPOSITION TO AMENDMENTS

Before Senator Johnson spoke, Senators Kellogg, Hale, Townsend, Sterling, and Smoot announced in speeches that

they would vote for a reservation on the Shantung award, but that, as an amendment would involve sending the treaty back to the principal signatory powers, they could not support it.

Senator Hale, in telling the Senate why he would vote against the amendment, said that while he disapproved the Shantung provisions in the treaty, he felt that the "wisest" policy was to express disapproval through a reservation in which the United States could affirm its refusal to be held to any judgment of the League relating to the Shantung rights. That, he said, would leave the Shantung award in the treaty but relieve the United States from any obligation respecting it in the future. Mr. Hale went on:

Unless reservations are made to this treaty that will make the position of the United States clear, both as to Shantung and the inequality of vote in the League assembly, I shall cast my vote against the treaty.

Senator Sterling said he felt that the Senate would be "wasting time" trying to eliminate the Shantung provision through amendment, since the treaty was practically in force now and to make textual changes would necessitate reconvening the Peace Conference.

"So far as the treaty is concerned, the Shantung provision is in force," said Mr. Sterling. "All the United States can do now is to decline, through a reservation, to become a party to it. With the United States in the League of Nations we can accomplish much to rectify the injustice done to China."

Senator Smith, Democrat, of Georgia, argued that a reservation would better accomplish what the Senate sought to do.

SENATOR PHELAN'S VIEW

Senator Phelan, Democrat, of California, while announcing that he was opposed to any amendments or drastic reservations, indicated that he would vote for an interpretative reservation to assure the United States full determination of her domestic questions, if it was thought necessary. While concerned over what he called Japanese encroachment on the Pacific Coast, he said he was not sure that, under the treaty, Japan would be enabled to extend her influence there.

I do not see how the question of Japanese immigration is involved in this treaty, [said Senator Phelan.] We will never consent to race equality, which involves immigration, naturalization, elective franchise, and ownership and intermarriage. It was rejected at Paris. These are domestic questions in which the League of Nations has no concern.

Lest there be doubt under Article XI, as to the power of the League to have jurisdiction in these matters, I would favor an explicit interpretative reservation on the matter.

Senator La Follette finished the debate on the Shantung amendment, denouncing it as a "burglary," in which, he said, the United States was asked to participate.

This award to Japan rests on force, [said Senator La Follette.] It involves robbery so barefaced that they won't dare go through with it if the United States refuses to become a party to it.

On Oct. 17 the Senate, without a roll call, defeated the two amendments proposed by Senator Fall of New Mexico designed to limit American representation on the Reparations Commission. In the debate preceding this vote there was sharp criticism of the sending of 5,000 American troops on Oct. 16 from New York to Europe, where they were to police Silesia during the plebiscite ordered by the terms of the treaty.

SENDING TROOPS ABROAD

Senator Brandegee of Connecticut stated that he had received many letters asking that something be done to protect the Armenian people from slaughter when British troops are withdrawn. He said:

Of course, we know, or have been informed through the press, that the British are withdrawing rapidly their forces from Armenia and the Caucasus and have requested this country to send from 100,000 to 200,000 men over there to take the place of the withdrawn British troops.

Senator Borah interrupted with the question: "There are not any undeveloped oil fields in Armenia or Turkey, then?" Senator Brandegee replied:

The article states that the President is very anxious that we should accept the mandate for Armenia, and, therefore I assume that there is no oil or anything else of use to this country there. * * *

I hope that somebody will introduce a resolution to find out what the proposition is in Armenia, how far we have been

committed, if at all, by the President, who has the authority to initiate agreements, and I hope that some information concerning the dispatch of our army to various parts of the world will be forthcoming.

Senator Wadsworth of New York, Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee, informed the Senate that he had made inquiries about the Silesian plan from Chief of Staff March. He continued:

I learned that the expedition consists in the aggregate of about 5,000 men, the 5th and 15th Regiments of Infantry, and suitable detachments. It is bound in the first instance for Coblenz, to be held there pending the time when directions shall be given it by some higher authority to proceed to Silesia, and there participate in the policing of a plebiscite.

This American force, I was given to understand, was to form part of a force contributed by at least two other nations, the aggregate of the allied force to consist of something like 18,000 men.

I was given to understand that the dispatch of this force was due to some arrangements made by the American Peace Commission in Paris, or some agreement made by them with the representatives of other powers, to the effect that America would join with the other powers in policing this far-away country while a plebiscite is being held. It was intimated also that the power for sending this force springs from the fact that we are still technically at war with Germany.

Complete information as to the contemplated use of American troops abroad should be given to the Congressional committees, Senator Wadsworth said, so that a military policy could be framed in accordance with the plan.

A PASSAGE AT ARMS

Just before the vote was taken Senator Fall made a bitter reply to Senator Hitchcock's warning that if action on the treaty was delayed the President could accomplish his objects by the continued use of war powers. Senator Fall declared:

There is a way reserved in the Declaration of Independence in which war powers can be taken away without the ratification of this treaty. God deliver us from the necessity of appealing to the ultimate powers of the people of the United States to change forcibly their form of government. We have declared ourselves, in violation of the terms of the armistice, justified in occupying por-

tions of Germany which were not provided to be occupied in the armistice.

Senator Hitchcock interrupted to say that the President made the armistice and had the power to change it, the armistice being a purely military proceeding.

Now there is another astounding proposition, [Senator Fall resumed.]

Any Senator who holds such ideas as those just expressed has an absolute contempt for the Constitution of the United States, an absolute contempt for the form of government adopted by our fathers and so far preserved by the sword of our people, or else has no conception whatever of what the form of government is, with its three co-ordinate branches of government. He has no conception, as I understand it, of international law or of the rules among civilized nations.

The Senator does not realize for a moment that the armistice takes the place of the treaty of peace for the time being when it is in effect, and that a violation of it by us would be as much to be condemned as a violation of its terms by Germany.

To Mr. Hitchcock's remark, "The Senator has shown no violation of it," Senator Fall replied:

But the Senator himself is suggesting that the President has the right to violate it. So long as we have not entered into a treaty of peace with the last portion of the former Austrian Empire the dictatorship in this country and throughout the world will continue. That is the only logical deduction which can be made from the war powers of the President as construed by his representatives here.

Therefore, if we can just hold off peace with any other country, the President can continue to exercise his war powers abroad, and under his war powers, being a military dictator, he can use the armed forces of the country anywhere he pleases and not be subject to punishment by impeachment through the Congress. I deny any such construction.

DEMOCRATS CONFER

On Oct. 21 fifteen Democratic Senators conferred as to a policy regarding reservations projected by the Republican majority, but no definite agreement was reached. It developed at this conference that the Democrats were not united in their position respecting reservations. Senator Hitchcock announced that no compromise would be made regarding qualifications of the treaty. The same day Senator McCumber of North Dakota,

who was the leader of the Republican group opposing textual amendments, reported seven reservations which were regarded as quite as effective qualifications of the treaty as any that had been agreed upon by Senator Lodge and the group favoring amendments. This action foreshadowed an agreement among the Republicans; it indicated that they would unanimously support the reservation program, which insured its adoption by the Senate.

REVISED RESERVATIONS REPORTED

The Foreign Relations Committee on Oct. 22 decided to report a series of revised reservations as substitutes for those of Sept. 10. The most important addition was a preamble specifying that all the reservations must be accepted by three of the four principal allied powers before they become effective. A significant feature of the meeting was the fact that Senator McCumber, the Republican leader of the group opposing amendments, voted for all the reservations, but cast his vote against the preamble on the ground that it was tantamount to an amendment. Senator Shields, Democrat of Tennessee, voted for all the reservations and the preamble.

In all, the regular Republicans of the Foreign Relations Committee had thirteen reservations to be acted upon as part of the reservation program, but three were passed over until a later time.

Of the ten reservations accepted five touched upon points already covered in the four original reservations adopted by the committee six weeks ago. These pertained to withdrawal; Article X., concerning the guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence of members of the League; the mandate over weak nations, which was formerly part of the reservation on Article X.; the Monroe Doctrine, and domestic questions, such as the tariff and immigration.

The reservation on Article X. was almost identical in phrasing with that which President Wilson denounced in his Salt Lake City speech as being a dagger thrust at the heart of the treaty. This reservation alone, if adopted, Senator Hitchcock said, would be enough to

impel the Administration forces to reject the treaty. In effect, he said, it constituted an amendment. Nearly all the other reservations, he also said, fell into the same category.

The Shantung reservation was fought out for a considerable time in the committee. As originally drawn, it provided that the United States should decline to recognize the validity of any titles which Germany assumed to have on the Shantung Peninsula, which, under the treaty, were turned over to Japan. This was struck out when Senator Lodge became convinced that it might not muster the support of the majority of the Senate.

Nine of the ten reservations were adopted by a vote of 11 to 6. On the preamble the vote was 10 to 7, with Senator McCumber switching his vote. The vote on the resolution providing that the United States shall accept no mandate except by consent of Congress was 12 to 2, Senators Shields and Williams voting in favor of it and Senators Smith and Pittman voting against it. Senators Hitchcock and Swanson did not vote.

TEXT OF RESERVATIONS

The preamble and reservations adopted by the committee read:

PREAMBLE.—The committee also reports the following reservations and understandings to be made a part and a condition of the resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said following reservations and understandings have been accepted as a part and a condition of said instrument of ratification by at least three of the four principal allied and associated powers, to wit, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan:

Reservation No. 1.—The United States understands and construes Article I. that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

Reservation No. 2.—The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X., or to

employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or to authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall, by act or joint resolution, so provide.

Reservation No. 3.—No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII., Part 1, or any other provision of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

Reservation No. 4.—The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction, and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way, either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

Reservation No. 5.—The United States will not submit to arbitration by the assembly or the council of the League of Nations (provided for in said treaty of peace) any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend on or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone, and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

Reservation No. 6.—The United States withholds its assent to Articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.

Reservation No. 8.—The United States understands that the Reparations Commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by its Congress approves such regulation or interference.

Reservation No. 9.—The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations or secretariat or any commission, committee, or conference or other agency, organized under the League of Nations, or under the treaty, or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such

expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States.

Reservation No. 10.—If the United States shall at any time adopt any plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article VIII., it reserves the right to increase such armament without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

Reservation No. 12.—The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article XVI. of the covenant of the League of Nations, to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

The three reservations passed over by the committee were:

Reservation No. 7.—The Congress of the United States by law will provide for the appointment of the representatives of the United States in the assembly and the council of the League of Nations, and may in its discretion provide for the participation of the United States in any commission, committee, tribunal, court, council, of conference, or in the selection of any members thereof and for the appointment of members of said commission, committee, court, council, or conference, or any other representatives under the treaty of peace, or in carrying out its provisions and until such participation and appointment have been so provided for, and the powers and duties of such representative so defined, no person shall represent the United States under either such said League of Nations or the treaty, or be authorized to perform any act for or on behalf of the United States thereunder, and no citizen of the United States shall be elected or appointed as a member of said commissions, committees, courts, councils, or conferences except with the approval of the Congress of the United States.

Reservation No. 11.—The United States construes sub-division "C" of Article XXIII. to mean that the League shall refuse to recognize agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children and that the League shall use every means possible to abolish and do away with such practice.

Reservation No. 13.—Nothing in Articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto, or in any other article, provision, section or annex of the treaty of peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

(This pertains to the provisions of the sections dealing with alien property.)

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Oct. 23 adopted four more reservations to the treaty, making fourteen in all. Included in these four was Reservation No. 7, as it is printed herewith, except that commissions, if any, are to be chosen by "The Senate" instead of by "The Congress." No. 12, as it appears above, was also adopted. The following new Reservation No. 13, offered by Senator Shields, Democrat, of Tennessee, was adopted by a vote of 10 to 7, one Republican member, Senator McCumber, voting No:

The United States declines to accept any interest as trustee, or in her own right, or to accept any responsibility, for the government or disposition of the overseas possessions of Germany to which Germany renounces her right and titles to the principal allied and associated powers under Articles 119 to 127, inclusive.

In putting the original Reservation No. 2 into No. 4, which provides that the United States reserves the right to determine what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction, the committee voted to add to the latter reservation the phrase: "And the suppression of the traffic in women and children, and in opium and other dangerous drugs."

Senator Shields also moved that the Chairman be instructed to draw a reservation covering the "national honor and vital interests" of the United States. This is the language of the Root treaties of 1908, and was suggested by Senator Reed of Missouri, a Democrat, but not a member of the committee. This motion was passed, 10 to 5, and the wording of the reservation was left to Senator Lodge, who offered the following on Oct. 24 as Reservation No. 14:

The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions affect its honor or its vital interests and declares that such questions are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or the Assembly of the League of Nations or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

At the time of going to press the Senate had before it the amendment of Senator Johnson of California to equalize the voting strength of the United States with the six votes of Great Britain and its dominions. It was believed this amendment would be defeated, and, it was agreed that, if so, it would be reported as the fifteenth reservation.

New Zealand's Premier on the Treaty

THE Prime Minister of New Zealand, William F. Massey, who had represented his dominion (with Sir Joseph Ward) at the Peace Conference in Paris, gave an account of his stewardship to a large audience at Wanganui, New Zealand, on Sept. 6, 1919. He said the Paris Conference was the most important the British dominions had ever taken part in, and they had been admitted on terms of equality with the empire and the allied nations.

When war broke out, Germany held two important strategical islands in the Pacific. New Zealand now held one—Samoa—and Australia the other—Rabaul.

Coming to the question of Nauru Island, Mr. Massey explained that it was

the most important phosphates bearing island in the Pacific. It was in Germany's hands when war broke out, and a company of Germans and British were working the deposits. New Zealanders had had their eyes on the island for many years, and when it was seen that Germany was going to lose the island, some New Zealanders, of whom Mr. Massey was one, thought New Zealand should get it. Australian and New Zealand delegates did not agree as to who should have the mandate over the island, so it was eventually decided, on Mr. Massey's proposal, that Great Britain should take the mandate.

So far as the New Hebrides was concerned, Mr. Massey hoped the Condominium would be ended as soon as possible.

American Demobilization Completed

Political and Economic Developments in the Transition From War to Peace Activities

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 20, 1919]

THE armed forces raised and equipped so rapidly under the exigencies of war have been to a great extent absorbed in the general life of the nation. By Oct. 14 the American Army had been virtually demobilized. The strength of the army had been reduced to less than 300,000 men, and, so far as wartime prohibition was concerned, the ban could have been lifted at once by the President, provided the Peace Treaty had been ratified and his proclamation of peace were issued.

The estimated strength of the army on Oct. 14 was 290,447. Of this number, 26,753 were in Europe, 5,672 en route from Europe, and 224,498 in the United States. From Nov. 11, 1918, to Oct. 16, 1919, a total of 3,403,796 troops were reported discharged.

The cost of the war to the United States in man power was estimated officially on Sept. 23 as 116,492 dead and 205,590 wounded, a total of 322,182. These figures include losses to army and marine units on all fronts to Sept. 1.

Those killed in action totaled 35,585, or 11 per cent. of the entire list; died of wounds, 14,742; died of disease, 58,073; died of accident and other causes, 8,092. Under the head of "missing," the announcement records a zero, with the notation "all corrected."

The War Department announced on Oct. 6 that 33.8 per cent. of our men wounded in the war were gas casualties. The number wounded in action was 220,403, of which 74,573 represented gas casualties. The number of fatal gas casualties was 1,194, or 1.6 per cent. The number of wounded from other causes who died was 13,519, or 6.7 per cent.

Those gassed and admitted to hospitals, by type of gas, were as follows:

Kind of Gas.	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Not specified.....	1,201	31,812	26,013
Mustard	822	27,046	27,868
Phosgene	415	6,698	7,113
Chlorine	32	1,890	1,922
Yperite	30	901	931
Arsine	30	569	599
Asphyxiating	3	124	127
Total	2,533	72,040	74,573
Deaths in hospitals.	26	1,168	1,194

1,700 OFFICERS QUIT ARMY

It was stated on Oct. 4 that the resignation of more than 300 officers from the regular army had been accepted by the President within the six weeks preceding, and that more were being filed and accepted daily. The last War Department report shows that 1,622 officers have resigned since the armistice, and if resignations accepted since the report was issued are added, the number, it is stated, will exceed 1,700. The high cost of living and the inability of officers, especially the younger officers in the lower grades, to make both ends meet continues to be the principal cause of the resignations. In a few months more officers have resigned than resigned in all the years from the close of the civil war up to the time this country declared war on Germany in April, 1917. Within a few weeks all the officers now holding advanced or emergency ranking in the regular army will have been demoted to their original grades in the service, which means that their pay will revert to the scale of 1908, when the last army pay legislation was enacted. The last War Department report recorded 1,565 such demotions since the armistice, and several hundred have been added since the report was issued.

To meet the emergency thus created the War Department on Oct. 22 asked Congress to increase the pay of army

officers 30 per cent. and that of enlisted men 50 per cent., in order to enable them to cope with the increased cost of living.

AIR SERVICE UNITS

Plans of the War Department for the organization and location of air service units on the basis of the temporary allotment of 12,088 officers and men to that branch of the army were announced on Oct. 9. The force to be maintained temporarily at Hazelhurst Field, Long Island, will comprise 39 officers and 284 men. The Hazelhurst Field force will consist of the 5th Observation Squadron of 19 officers and 132 men and the 14th Photographic Section of 1 officer and 20 men, which is to be newly organized.

The force to be maintained in the Philippines will be the 1st Observation Group Headquarters of 8 officers and 50 men, the 2d Observation Squadron of 19 officers and 132 men, the 3d Observation Squadron of 19 officers and 132 men, and the 6th Photographic Section of 1 officer and 20 men.

A force of equal size has been assigned to the Hawaiian Islands, consisting of the 2d Observation Group Headquarters of 8 officers and 50 men, the 4th Observation Squadron of 19 officers and 132 men, the 6th Observation Squadron of 19 officers and 132 men, and the 11th Photographic Section of 1 officer and 20 men.

For the Canal Zone the force is to comprise 28 officers and 202 men, including the 3d Observation Group Headquarters of 8 officers and 50 men, the 7th Observation Squadron of 19 officers and 132 men, and the 12th Photographic Section of 1 officer and 20 men.

PROMOTION OF GENERAL CROWDER

The Senate on Oct. 7, by a vote of 49 to 11, passed the bill which, if concurred in by the lower house, will retire Major Gen. Enoch H. Crowder, the Judge Advocate General of the Army, as a Lieutenant General of the regular establishment. Senator Chamberlain's amendment to make Major Gens. Hunter Liggett, Robert Lee Bullard, Leonard Wood, Henry P. McCain, Charles P. Summerall, Ernest Hinds, Harry F. Rogers, William C.

Langfitt, George W. Goethals, Surgeon Gen. Merritte W. Ireland, and Colonel William L. Kenley Lieutenant Generals was defeated by a viva voce vote.

Ten Democratic Senators voted against promoting General Crowder: Senators Bankhead of Alabama, Dial of South Carolina, Gay of Louisiana, Gerry of Rhode Island, Harrison of Mississippi, Owen of Oklahoma, Shields of Tennessee, Trammell of Florida, Williams of Mississippi, and Chamberlain of Oregon. The only Republican voting against the promotion was Senator La Follette of Wisconsin.

INCREASED NAVY PAY

Additional increases in navy pay sufficient to make the present rates 80 per cent. greater than the standards of 1914, to conform to the increase in the cost of living, were recommended to the House Naval Committee on Oct. 15 by Rear Admiral Samuel McGowan, Chief of the Navy Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. Adoption of this recommendation, he said, would involve an additional expenditure of \$131,000,000 a year.

Thereafter, he told the committee, the pay schedules should be frequently adjusted to meet changes in the cost of living. This could be done, the Admiral said, through a system of index numbers, such as are now in use by the Department of Labor.

Increased allowances for midshipmen at Annapolis also were urged by Admiral McGowan. Concurring in this recommendation, Representative Hicks, Republican of New York, pointed out that officers at sea have bedding, toilet articles, and other equipment furnished them, while the midshipmen must pay for all of this out of their pay.

Secretary Daniels, in conference, Oct. 13, with Chairman Page of the Senate Naval Committee, was said to have acquiesced in the Senate proposal to give the retirement rank of Vice Admiral to Rear Admirals Sims, Benson, and Mayo, instead of the rank of Admiral, which was proposed for the first two by President Wilson. The nomination of Admiral Coontz to be Chief of Naval Operations, also was discussed at the conference. This nomination had not yet been con-

firmed at that date, owing to some opposition on political grounds.

FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD REPORT ON HIGH PRICES

The bulletin of the Federal Reserve Board for October pointed out that there was no hope of a real reduction in prices until the purchasing power of the dollar was restored and production increased. Discussing the high cost of living problem, this comment was made:

That the 'high price levels which have been attained in the United States present a grave situation is clear from the attention which current discussion of the causes of industrial unrest is directing to the cost of living problem. It presents the most urgent and immediate phase of the problem of post-war business and industrial readjustment. It promises to remain a persistent phase of post-war conditions unless its nature and cause are understood and a rational economic attitude toward it is developed.

So far as the profiteering practices * * * are responsible for the price aggravations which have been experienced in recent months, some considerable mitigation of the cost of living situation may be expected. * * * The problem of reducing the cost of living is, however, mainly that of restoring the purchasing power of the dollar. The dollar has lost purchasing power because expansion of credit, under the necessities of war financing, proceeded at a rate more rapid than the production and the saving of goods. The return to a sound economic condition and one which will involve as little further disturbance of normal economic relationships as possible will be a reversal of the process which has brought the country to its present pass. In other words, the way in must be the way out. As the way in was expansion of credit at a rate more rapid than expansion of production and saving, so the way out must be an increase in production and in saving. The effect of increased production will be to place a larger volume of goods against the greatly enlarged volume of our purchasing media and thus to reduce prices. The effect of increased saving will be a reduction in the volume of purchasing media in use and, by consequence, a reduction of prices also.

The cost of living problem on its financial side is misconceived unless it is conceived as the problem of restoring the value of the dollar. To accept the depreciation worked in the dollar by war conditions and to standardize the dollar of the future on this basis would be to ratify the inflation wrought by the war and the injustice it produced. No arti-

ficial solution for an economic situation of this kind is likely to commend itself to the better judgment and the sense of equity of the country, even could some artificial method of dealing with the question of monetary depreciation be devised which would not bring in its train a crop of new difficulties and problems.

TO CUT LIVING COST

The United States Council of National Defense on Oct. 5 issued the following statement to the public defining the reasons of the high cost of living and the remedies:

The United States Council of National Defense, composed of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor, has made a careful investigation of the high cost of living problem, and finds:

That the nation's productive powers have not been fully utilized since the armistice.

That too few goods, notably the necessities of life, have been produced, and that even some of these goods have been withheld from the market, and therefore from the people.

That the high cost of living is due in part to unavoidable war waste and increase of money and credit.

That there has been and is considerable profiteering, intentional and unintentional.

The council believes that the remedies for the situation are:

To produce more goods, and to produce them in proportion to the needs of the people.

To stamp out profiteering and stop unnecessary hoarding.

To enforce vigorously present laws and promptly to enact such further laws as are necessary to prevent and punish profiteering and needless hoarding.

To bring about better co-operation and method in distributing and marketing goods.

To keep both producer and consumer fully informed as to what goods are needed and as to what supplies are available, so that production may anticipate the country's demands.

Goods and not money are the means of life. Better standards of living are impossible without producing more goods. Man cannot consume what has not been produced.

At the war's end our allies had desperate need of the essentials of life. We have had to share our resources with them, but this drain will gradually lessen. In so far as our shortage of goods is due to this cause, we can well afford to be patient.

It is just as essential that we have patience with the economic situation here at home. The process of production requires time. If production is rapidly increased, vastly improved conditions will prevail in America when the results of present and future labor begin to appear.

Team-work is imperative. It is just as

essential between retailer, wholesaler, and producer as it is between employer and employe. One group of producers cannot wait on another group. The manufacturer, the farmer, the distributor must each immediately assume his part of the burden and enter upon his task. The nation cannot afford curtailment of goods vital to the people.

On American business rests a grave responsibility for efficient co-operation in bringing about full and proportionate production. On American labor rests an equally grave responsibility to attain maximum unit production and maintain uninterrupted distribution of goods, if labor itself is not to suffer from further rises in the cost of living.

The entire nation—producer, distributor, and consumer alike—should return to the unity that won the war. Group interest and undue personal gain must give way to the good of the whole nation if the situation is to be squarely met.

Our common duty now, fully as much as in the war, is to work and to save. In the words of the President in his address to the country on Aug. 25, 1919, only "by increasing production, and by rigid economy and saving on the part of the people, can we hope for large decreases in the burdensome cost of living which now weighs us down."

Work, save, co-operate, produce.

NEWTON D. BAKER, Secretary of War and Chairman of the Council.

JOSEPHUS DANIELS, Secretary of the Navy.

FRANKLIN K. LANE, Secretary of the Interior.

DAVID F. HOUSTON, Secretary of Agriculture.

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, Secretary of Commerce.

WILLIAM B. WILSON, Secretary of Labor.

GROSVENOR B. CLARKSON, Director of the Council.

Prohibition Enforcement Law

Summary of Its Provisions

ENACTMENT of the Prohibition Enforcement bill was completed Oct. 10, 1919, when the United States House of Representatives adopted the conference report already agreed to by the Senate and sent the measure to the President for approval. Before the approval of the report by a vote of 321 to 70, a vain effort had been made to send it back to conference, with instructions to eliminate a section permitting State authorities to issue search warrants.

Complete Congressional approval of the bill meant that the days of 2.75 per cent. beer were numbered. The bill would become effective automatically by Oct. 29 if the President's illness prevented his signing it. The wartime enforcement section, as well as the constitutional enforcement portion, prohibits manufacture or sale of any liquor containing more than one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol.

Anti-prohibition members of the House made their last fight on the motion of Representative Igoe, (Dem., Mo.,) who protested against "State officers enforcing a Federal law through their

authority to issue search warrants," and complained that a similar provision had been defeated in the House. Representative Webb of North Carolina said that the House disapproval of the provision was due to the false impression that State officials would have the power of arrest as well as search. The House voted down the Igoe motion, 215 to 83.

The chief contention between the House and the Senate, involving the question whether the burden of proof that liquor held in a dwelling was lawfully acquired should rest upon the possessor or the Government, was settled by leaving the burden of proof upon the possessor. However, the possession of liquor itself in a dwelling is made legal and the owner is allowed to serve it to bona fide guests.

Under the agreement the manufacture of light wines, cider, and fruit juices is allowed in the home, and such cider and fruit juices may be sold to persons having permits to manufacture vinegar. The sale of preserved sweet cider is also allowed.

All liquors containing more than one-half of 1 per cent. of alcohol are classed

as intoxicating. That part of the conference report reads as follows:

The words "beer, wine, or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquors" in the war prohibition act shall be hereafter construed to mean any such beverage which contains one-half of 1 percentum or more of alcohol by volume, provided that the foregoing definition shall not extend to dealcoholized wine nor to any beverage or liquid produced by the process by which beer, ale, porter, or wine is produced, if it contains less than one-half of 1 percentum of alcohol by volume and is made as prescribed in this act, and is otherwise denominated than as beer, ale, or porter and is contained and sold in or from such sealed and labeled bottles, casks, or containers as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue may by regulation prescribe.

The section of the report dealing with the use of liquor in one's home reads:

It shall not be unlawful to possess liquors in one's private dwelling while the same is occupied and used by him as his dwelling only, and such liquor need not be reported, provided such liquors are for use only for the personal consumption of the owner thereof and his family residing in such dwelling, and of his bona fide guests when entertained by him therein; and the burden of proof shall be upon the possessor in any action concerning the same to prove that such liquor was lawfully acquired, possessed, and used.

The conferees made a change in the section regulating manufacture in the home, the section now reading:

The penalties provided in this act against the manufacture of liquor without a permit shall not apply to a person for manufacturing non-intoxicating cider and fruit juices exclusively for use in his home, but such cider and fruit juices

may be sold to persons having permits to manufacture vinegar.

The manufacture of near-beer was provided for by making it liable to regulations to be issued by the Internal Revenue Collector and sold in "sealed and labeled bottles, casks, or containers," which the Collector will prescribe. The House bill placed upon the seller of beverages the burden of proof to show that the beverage was non-intoxicating, but the conferees changed this to rest the burden of proof upon the manufacturer.

While the original bill provided an appropriation of \$3,500,000 for the Attorney General and the Collector of Internal Revenue for enforcement purposes, the agreement reduces this to \$2,500,000 for the Collector, and gives \$100,000 to the Attorney General for organization purposes.

Express authorization is made in the law for the manufacture of non-intoxicating alcoholic wine, and this may be sold in the same way as is near-beer. However, it must be limited to one-half of 1 per cent., unless made in the home. In the home the only limitation is that the beverage must not be intoxicating.

The penalty provision of the act as agreed upon by the conferees reads:

Any person who manufactures or sells liquor in violation of this act shall, for a first offense, be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned not exceeding six months, and for a second or subsequent offense shall be fined not less than \$200 nor more than \$2,000 and be imprisoned not less than one month nor more than five years.

King Albert's Visit to America

Honors for Royal Guests

ALBERT, KING OF THE BELGIANS, accompanied by Queen Elizabeth and Prince Leopold, the heir-apparent to the throne, arrived at New York Oct. 1, 1919, on the transport *George Washington*. It was the first time that a reigning sovereign had ever visited the United States. The royal party was greeted at the pier by Vice President Marshall. Before his formal

welcome had begun the King issued the following message to the American people:

At the moment of setting foot on American soil the King of the Belgians desires to express to the people of the United States the great pleasure with which the Queen and himself are coming to its shores at the invitation of President Wilson. The King brings to this nation of friends the testimony of the profound

sentiment and gratitude of his countrymen for the powerful aid, moral and material, which America gave them in the course of the war. The name of the Commission for the Relief of Belgium will live eternally in the memory of the Belgians.

The King rejoices at the prospect of visiting the cities whose hearts fought with the cities of Belgium, and whose continual sacrifices knew no measure. He happily will be able to meet the eminent citizens who, animated by the highest thoughts, placed themselves at the head of organizations for relieving the sufferings of the war. The American people, their splendid army, and their courageous navy powerfully served a great ideal.

The King and Queen were formally greeted at the pier by the following persons: Vice President and Mrs. Marshall, Secretary of War Baker, the Secretary of State and Mrs. Robert Lansing, Brand Whitlock, Ambassador to Belgium, and Mrs. Whitlock; General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff; Major Gen. David C. Shanks, Brig. Gen. Peter C. Davison, Prince de Croy, Pierre Mali, Belgian Consul General; Breckinridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, in charge of the reception, and G. Cornell Tarler, Secretary of Embassies in the State Department, who directed the tour of the King and Queen.

The welcoming party was arranged in a semicircle at the foot of the gangplank, with Vice President Marshall, designated to represent President Wilson as spokesman for the nation, nearest the ship. Preceding the Queen, who was followed by Prince Leopold, King Albert came down the right-hand gangplank, while the Baron de Cartier de Marchienne, selected to present officially the welcomers to the King and Queen, descended the other one.

As the royal family reached the pier the band of the George Washington began "*La Brabançonne*," the Belgian national air, the infantrymen brought their bayonet-tipped rifles to port, all civilian heads were uncovered, and the King brought his hand stiffly to the brim of his hat.

King Albert wore the uniform of a Lieutenant General of the Belgian Army, the uniform he wore during four years as Commander in Chief of his army. It is of the shade of the Marine Corps uniform and devoid of colorful touches ex-

cept for two triangular bits of red velvet on each lapel of the collar, these serving to bring out the gold of two bars, each an inch long. He wore brown kid gloves and carried a stout cane.

Queen Elizabeth, standing beside her tall husband, seemed diminutive—almost a schoolgirl in her severely plain costume of white. She wore a white serge tailored suit, a small, round white turban of white feathers, and a heavy veil, also of white. A small ermine collar was about her neck, contrasting with her black hair and eyes. Slung over her shoulder was her hard-working camera, ready for action.

Prince Leopold, who is 18 years of age, wore his uniform of a private—steel gray, edged with red tape—and his overseas cap was cocked very decidedly. Neither he nor his father wore a decoration of any sort.

When the national anthem was ended King Albert stepped directly up to the Vice President and warmly shook hands with him. Then, keeping to the program, he stepped back a few paces so that the official address of welcome of the Government might be delivered to him.

Vice President Marshall spoke as follows:

Your Majesty: The head of this Government, worn in body, is unable to meet and welcome you on behalf of the American people and himself. He has delegated this pleasing duty to my less competent hands.

This continent, poetically speaking, first welcomed to its shores a great pathfinder in Columbus, who sailed on and over unknown wastes of water and uncharted seas; seeking and finding new worlds for Crown and Church. Since then it has been the goal of many and other pathfinders striving to walk in ways both good and evil. Had we but thought, many would have been unwelcomed. But today there is no man in this broad land who loves liberty, fidelity, justice, and courage who does not gladly meet you, a King without a King's cunning, a man with a man's high sense of honor, who trod the *Via Dolorosa* and the *Via Sacra* of triumph, so by the treading of that way the world might find that treaties are not scraps of paper, that above crown and kingdom faith and courage must stand, else the banner of a people becomes the much-be-spattered badge of infamy.

If one who believes in the right and the duty of the people to rule themselves may be bold without offense, I welcome you to

the Republic, somewhat as King of the bravest people since time began, but more as a man whose conduct will be a mighty force in steadying the world to law and order, to friendship, faith, and freedom.

Speaking so low that his words almost failed to reach even those within a few feet of him, King Albert told how great was his regret over the unsatisfactory state of President Wilson's health, and said that he sincerely hoped for his speedy recovery, adding that the health of President Wilson was "precious." He said that both he and Queen Elizabeth considered their trip to the United States a distinct epoch in their lives, both being very glad of the opportunity to express their gratitude and the gratitude of their people to the people of America. King Albert said that he hoped to learn many lessons "from your great race."

After the formalities were ended the royal party was escorted to the Waldorf-Astoria, meeting with an enthusiastic demonstration from the people who lined the streets.

On Oct. 3 the royal guests were officially received by the Mayor, who presented the King with the freedom of the city. In the morning the guests took a cruise through New York Harbor and at noon were formally received by the Mayor at the City Hall in the presence of 20,000 citizens. In the afternoon 30,000 school children greeted the vis-

itors at Central Park, where the King planted a tree.

King Albert was escorted over the city on Oct. 5, after having made a flight above it in a naval hydroplane early in the morning. The important historic and commercial centres of New York were visited. Everywhere the party was warmly greeted.

From New York the royal guests proceeded to Boston, where they received another fervent welcome. Cardinal Mercier, who was visiting this country at the same time, met the party at Boston and both Cardinal and King worshipped at Holy Cross Cathedral. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on King Albert at Harvard University. From Boston the party proceeded to Niagara Falls, and thence westward to the Pacific Coast; at various cities along the route formal receptions were tendered, and everywhere there was warmth and cordiality in the greetings. Several times on this journey the King climbed into the engineer's cab and ran the locomotive for a while. The illness of President Wilson was often referred to by the King in his addresses with deep regret. The royal party expected to reach Washington on Oct. 27, where they had planned to remain until the 30th as guests of Vice President Marshall. The residence of the Third Assistant Secretary of State had been assigned to their use while in Washington.

President Wilson's Illness

Abrupt End of His Tour

THE speech-making tour of President Wilson in advocacy of the League of Nations covenant, which he had begun on Sept. 3, 1919, came to an abrupt end at Wichita, Kan., on Sept. 26, on account of illness. For more than three weeks he had been addressing vast crowds daily in large cities from coast to coast. On his homeward route he had spoken at Sacramento, Reno, Salt Lake City, Cheyenne, Denver, and Pueblo, each time giving evidence that he was still in

fighting mood; but when he reached Wichita he was forced to abandon the remaining five engagements that would have completed his original plans. He was completely worn out by the tremendous mental and physical strain to which he had subjected himself, not only on this tour, but in his long labors at Paris, and, indeed, ever since his election in 1912.

Admiral Cary T. Grayson, the President's physician, in a formal statement announced that Mr. Wilson was suffering

from "nervous exhaustion," and that while his condition was "not alarming" he would be obliged to rest for "a considerable time." All the President's engagements for the immediate future were canceled by Mr. Tumulty on the advice of Dr. Grayson, who insisted that orders for rest should be carried out to the letter.

President Wilson arrived in Washington at 11 o'clock on the morning of Sept. 28. He walked unsupported through the station to his automobile, and went immediately to the White House, where the doors were closed to all visitors except members of his family. When he had stepped from the train his face was drawn and there were other evidences of his extreme nervous condition. The first to greet the President was his daughter, Miss Margaret Wilson, who came running down the trainshed when the special pulled in. The President passed through the station with Mrs. Wilson, his daughter, Admiral Grayson, and the bodyguard of Secret Service men. A crowd of perhaps 1,000 men and women had collected in the station. Cheering was started when the President appeared, and he raised his hat several times in response. There was a group of wounded soldiers on a bench in the Red Cross canteen, and when they applauded him, the President smiled and nodded.

Word had gone out that no one should attempt to arrange for an engagement with the President or bring to his attention in any manner whatsoever the question of the contest over the Peace Treaty or other problems which were holding the stage. This order, issued by Admiral Grayson, extended even to Senator Hitchcock, leader of the Administration forces in the Senate.

In the weeks that ensued the President was compelled to abandon his public duties absolutely. He was attended by six physicians, most of them specialists. Besides Dr. Grayson, who has charge of the case, Drs. Ruffin and Stitt of Washington were for a time in daily consultation on the case. Dr. de Schweinitz, an eye specialist, was summoned to the White House to make an examination of the President's eyes. Dr. Dercum of

Philadelphia, a neurologist with an international reputation, was also summoned, and twice visited the President at the White House. Dr. Stitt, besides being head of the Naval Medical School, is an expert on the blood. The sixth physician was added in the person of Dr. Fowler, who was called in to alleviate a swollen gland.

Dr. Grayson may be considered a specialist on the President's health, having attended him ever since he first came to the White House. He and the other physicians united in declaring that the President should undertake nothing but the most important or pressing work, that he should refrain from any work as long as possible, that he must continue to have absolute rest for an extended period.

In Washington there were pessimistic and persistent rumors as to the seriousness of the President's case. On Oct. 11 these were embodied in a private letter—which became public—by Senator Moses of New Hampshire, who stated that the President had suffered "some kind of a cerebral lesion, either during his speech at Pueblo or immediately thereafter, and one of the readily discernible results is a slight facial paralysis." Dr. Grayson checked the further embellishment of this version on Oct. 13 by declaring that the President's mind was "as clear as a bell," and that if necessary he could sign important measures or do other official acts, though it was best that he should have absolute rest as long as possible. This put an end to the gossip, then current, regarding his "abdication" in favor of the Vice President. The public, however, still received no word directly from the President until his letter to the industrial conference was made public on Oct. 23. Though he remained seriously ill, this clear and characteristic utterance was welcomed by his friends as an assurance of his ultimate recovery.

The illness of the President called forth letters and telegrams of sympathy and concern from statesmen and sovereigns in all parts of the world, both for his own sake and on account of a possible bearing on the fate of the Peace Treaty.

D'Annunzio in Fiume

His Occupation of the Adriatic City in Defiance of the Peace Conference and the Italian Government

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 20, 1919]

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO, Italy's poet-soldier, after his dramatic entrance into the City of Fiume on Sept. 17 at the head of a considerable number of troops, took up his headquarters in the palace, issued proclamations right and left, distributed his forces to protect all strategic points, and settled down to defy the food and military blockade which his own Government had instituted against him. After two days of demonstrations by the soldiers and populace, the city grew calmer, and d'Annunzio remained in undisputed control. On Sept. 20 a fleet of airplanes flew from one of the Italian aviation camps, landing near Fiume, and placed itself at the disposition of d'Annunzio. A brigade of Lombardy troops, on the other hand, which arrived at Fiume to join the insurgent forces, was sent back to its garrison, mainly because of food difficulties. Another force of 5,000 volunteers which had embarked for Fiume on the steamer Prince Hohenlohe was captured and turned back. D'Annunzio's forces were estimated at 9,000. The blockade by sea and land was stated at this time to be completed, the desire of the Italian Government being to apply economic pressure, and to avoid armed conflict. As a matter of fact, the blockade was lax in the extreme, and food supplies reached d'Annunzio throughout September and October.

In answer to a stern intimation sent him by Colonel Rondaglia, head of the staff in the armistice zone, that all officers who persisted in remaining in Fiume would be considered as having passed over to the enemy, Captain d'Annunzio sent the following reply:

I have received your communication, which says that all officers who remain and defend in Fiume the honor of Italy and the army before the cowardly, vile world will be considered as passed over to the enemy. This infamous word has been uttered by you, Colonel. It is worthy

of you to ignore the Government whereof you are a servant and accomplice. It does not touch me nor my companions. We are mostly wounded and mutilated, decorated several times for valor, proud of having dedicated to our country our indefatigable devotion from the first day of the war until this undertaking, which we consider the highest and purest of all. But if you do not withdraw your infamous word I will brand you as you deserve before the nation and before the world. This I promise you. Take your warning. Italy is with me; with us, the true, eternal Italy. The enemy is around Fiume, which I will defend to the last breath with every means. Here is truth, falsehood is around us.

DEFYING THE GOVERNMENT

The Italian Government's second ultimatum ordering d'Annunzio to return to Rome with his troops expired at midnight on Sept. 21. D'Annunzio flatly refused to obey it, and began to expel all foreigners from the city. Some 920 prisoners, mostly Jugoslavs, were imprisoned. Many others left the city. Foodstuffs were commandeered. D'Annunzio spent his leisure hours flying above the Italian fleet and dropping pamphlets across the demarkation line. In all his proclamations he reiterated his intention never to return to Rome until Fiume became "Città Italianissima," (a most Italian city.) In a proclamation issued to the Italian people d'Annunzio said:

The spirit has conquered arrogance, insults, and darkness. The Italians of Garibaldi have hearkened to the despairing cries of Fiume. They are in Fiume and strong in Fiume.

Fiume's people are not sheep for sale nor is the city to be disposed of by auction. Who shall dare to separate brother from brother? The world today has nothing pure except this breath of Italian fervor, this bronze-enduring will of Italy. Italians against all and everything! Remember the pyre is lighted at Fiume and two words only are heard, "Fiume or death." Brothers, from Fiume we stretch out our hands. We

bid you spread our fidelity throughout the land. Fiume's defenders have the right to know that Italy of the victory of Veneto Vittorio is with them.

God is with us and so all will turn out as sworn by us. Have faith, pray in your churches, your homes, in public places. Let every place be a temple. Pray for the whole victory on behalf of the dead, for these brethren are now rejoicing that Fiume rules itself. Help us, Italians! One wish among us all unites our minds in one only thought: Fiume today is Italy's.

A TYPICAL ADDRESS

D'Annunzio was very indignant because General Badoglio, whom the Government had transferred to the armistice zone to replace the unpopular Colonel Robilant, sent an airplane over Fiume which dropped leaflets inviting the soldiers to return to duty not later than Sept. 18. Calling his officers and soldiers together, d'Annunzio addressed them as follows:

I will answer for you with my head, my spirit, my whole self. You are accomplishing a work of regeneration. The deserters are those who abandon our Fiume, those who repudiate her, repel her, calumniate her, committing the basest crime against patriotism ever perpetrated on earth. They are no less vile than the fugitives at Caporetto, who today are rewarded by amnesty. I repeat, I take upon myself every accusation, all the blame and the glory therein, and I answer for your immunity.

The true Italian Army is here, formed by you, combatants without fear and without reproach. To have participated in this most audacious enterprise will be the purest title to glory. All your names will be included by history, carved there as in heroic marble, and rewarded by the gratitude of the people. Meanwhile, on Sept. 20, the anniversary of the taking of Rome, I will distribute to you all a commemorative bronze medal.

Be faithful to Fiume, be true to Italy, nobody can move us from here. For myself, I shall not leave here alive, nor shall I leave here when I am dead, as I shall be buried here, to become one with this sacred soil. Every day in all parts of the world the warmest messages rain upon you. Even American citizens ask to come here to perform the humblest service. The beauty of our case touches all hearts. I trust that each one of you, firmly planted on solid feet, will repeat, with head uplifted, the Roman saying, the motto of the Legionaries, "Here I remain Irremovable."

In view of the sentiment of the people,

enthusiastic for d'Annunzio's undertaking, the Italian Government on Sept. 22 sent an appeal to the powers to dispatch an allied force, exclusive of Italians, to handle the situation. D'Annunzio, on his part, announced that he was preparing appeals to the President of the United States, the King of England, and the President of France for support. He added:

My men here are ready to die for our cause, while I will not leave Fiume either alive or dead. I have already chosen in a fine cemetery, dark with cypresses, a small hill looking toward the sea, covered with laurel, where I wish to be buried. I do not believe the Allies will do anything against me, as I will do nothing against them. I consider the blockade, however, contrary to the rights of man, no one having the right to attempt to starve the 30,000 inhabitants of Fiume simply because they wish to remain Italians forever. No conflict is possible with the Italian troops, as I do not believe there is a single soldier who would fire against my men.

SENTIMENT IN ROME

The postponement of the reopening of the Italian Parliament from Sept. 24 to Sept. 27 was considered an indication of the gravity of the situation as judged by the Government. The Tribuna on Sept. 23, commenting on the conference of political leaders and statesmen with King Victor Emmanuel called for the following day, said:

We are facing a crisis of a national character involving the highest permanent interests of the entire country, which cannot be solved from a personal point of view, even by one party, but must have behind its solution the whole national opinion. Italy must be united with a firm internal discipline, with a view of obtaining the complete satisfaction of her aspirations.

Leonida Bissolati, leader of the Reform Socialists and former Minister of Military Aid and War Pensions, in an address before the Congress of Italian Socialists, favored d'Annunzio's act in seizing Fiume for Italy, though disapproving his further project of annexing Dalmatia.

Great uneasiness meanwhile was growing in Peace Conference circles in Paris regarding the situation in Fiume. It was feared that the movement started by

d'Annunzio might spread to other parts of the Dalmatian Coast and result in the occupation of Zara, Cattaro, and other towns with large Italian populations located in districts where the majority of the inhabitants were Yugoslavs. The Yugoslav delegation in Paris feared an armed conflict. That these fears were not groundless was shown in the incident of Sept. 24 at Trau (Toguire), Dalmatia, about 150 miles southeast of Fiume, when an Italian detachment with several armored motor cars crossed the line of demarkation and penetrated the town after overcoming the resistance of a few Yugoslav soldiers. The raiders, who acted on their own initiative, were fired on by the inhabitants, and left hurriedly after the landing of some 100 American marines, who debarked at the request of the Italian authorities. Official reports sent by Admiral Knapp to Washington subsequently emphasized this request, and declared that the American officers had persuaded the Yugoslav forces about to attack the invaders to forbear on the assurance that the Italians were withdrawing.

At this time there was a rumor that a plan to make Fiume an Italian city with an internationalized port had been rejected by President Wilson. This made the situation in Italy more acute. Elements of revolution appeared, with the Italian Army divided in allegiance, the Socialists hostile to the Government, and the great mass of the people enthusiastically supporting d'Annunzio. The Yugoslavs showed restraint, and their delegates in Paris issued a statement denying that their armies were mobilizing for a march on d'Annunzio's forces at Fiume.

POET'S AMBITIONS GROW

D'Annunzio meanwhile made his position in Fiume strategically stronger by extending his cordon of guards beyond the town to the high land surrounding it, including the Yugoslav settlement of Sussak, the hills of which overlooked Fiume. A significant change of tone was observed in his proclamations, which were addressed not only to the populations of Fiume and Italy, but also to Dalmatia. An extract from a mes-

sage sent by d'Annunzio to the Dalmatians is given herewith:

A sharp thorn pricks my trusting heart. It was with regret and owing to the fact that I had not sufficient forces that I was unable to spread the sacred fire as far as Spalato on that day of Fiume, and further still. The passion of Dalmatia never tortured me so much as during my march to Fiume. What will Zara say and do when it receives the news of the enterprise? What will Sebenico, Trau, Spalato, and other sister cities say? This anxiety never abandoned me even in the height of action. Mingled with the triumphal cries of Fiume I seemed to distinguish your distant, despairing voice.

Brothers of Dalmatia, we have not forgotten you, we cannot forget you. The victorious army reorganizing itself around heroic Fiume becomes every day more numerous, more powerful, more disciplined. In me you see a servant of your cause, O brothers of Dalmatia! Confide in the fraternal victorious army.

CROWN COUNCIL SESSION

The gravity of the situation as viewed by the Government was indicated by its calling of the Crown Council, a step rarely taken except for discussions of the most momentous consequence. This council, held on Sept. 25, was opened by King Victor Emmanuel, who explained the reasons for the calling of the extraordinary meeting. It was desired, he said, to obtain the views of the most eminent men in Parliament on the grave situation. The discussion would be only of a consultative character, as no decision was to be taken by the council, this being reserved for the Cabinet, which alone was responsible to the Parliament and to the country.

Premier Nitti made a detailed report setting forth the grave consequences which might ensue for Italy, both at home and in her international relations, the latter having not only political but financial and economic bearings. Tommaso Tittoni, Foreign Minister, declared that the Peace Conference would not permit Italy to annex Fiume, because such action would authorize the Czechoslovaks to occupy Teschen; the Yugoslavs to move forces into Klagenfurt; the Greeks to claim Thrace and the Rumanians to annex Banat. Giovanni Giolitti, a former Premier, suggested that the only remedy was to have speedy general

elections, so that the country might pronounce on pending questions, and on the attitude of the Government. Antonio Salandra, also a former Premier, opposed this proposal, pointing out the danger connected with an appeal to the country at a time when, he said, the Government was not sure of its control of the army for the maintenance of public order.

The afternoon session, which lasted two hours and a half, was mostly taken up by a speech of Leonida Bissolati, Socialist, who reiterated his program providing that Italy must have Fiume in exchange for Dalmatia. Premier Nitti ended the session. After summing up the discussion, he declared that the Government would take the opinions expressed into consideration when making its decisions.

When the members of the council left the Quirinal the crowds gathered outside shouted "Long live the army!" and "Long live Italian Fiume!"

In a session of the Chamber of Deputies marked by great tumult, and even by personal encounters, the Italian Prime Minister, Signor Nitti, was given a vote of confidence on Sept. 27, the Government receiving 208 votes to 148. Foreign Minister Tittoni spoke on the situation and insisted that Italy must remain in unity with her allies. He threw the responsibility for the disastrous delay in settling the Fiume question on President Wilson, who, he said, had become the dictator of the council by reason of America's part in the ultimate winning of the war and her resources in supplying Europe with food and fuel supplies. President Wilson's uncompromising attitude toward Italy's claims and the support given him by Great Britain and France made compromise on the part of Italy necessary. The Foreign Minister said that he had suffered daily anguish over the delay, and that he had thought the departure of President Wilson would facilitate the task of the Italian delegates. On the contrary, it had been made more complicated, as the American peace delegation had to communicate with the President by cable, which made even greater delays inevitable. Signor Tittoni continued:

I should be a traitor if I did not recommend the avoidance of a course which would put Italy in open opposition to the Peace Conference, which would mean Italy's abandonment of the conference, with the loss of all the advantages coming from the peace treaties, with our complete isolation, with the renunciation of our position as a great power—the committing of a folly of which we would soon repent.

If any one will rise in the Chamber who is confident he could attain better conditions, I am ready to cede my place immediately in the interests of the country, thanking him for the relief from the heavy burden.

It is indispensable that Italy be united in an accord with her allies. The alliance formed for the war must necessarily continue during the peace.

It appeared, however, on Sept. 29 that the Italian Nation would have to decide the Fiume question, when the Italian Parliament was dissolved until Dec. 1; and elections were announced for Nov. 16.

D'Annunzio on Sept. 30 stated that he considered himself in a state of war with Yugoslavia. This announcement was made in answer to a request from the head of the French Mission to restore telegraphic communication with Agram, the Croatian capital, which d'Annunzio had interrupted. The latter also said that measures had been adopted to meet any attack from the enemy. Troops had been sent to the first line of reserves, ready to answer any need. The food blockade had become more severe. Fiume, however, at this time, had enough supplies to feed the population for three months. The French troops had all left the city. Some of d'Annunzio's volunteers were collaborating with the regular Italian troops to hold the armistice line after the closing of the Yugoslav frontier. A further statement attributed to d'Annunzio at this time was to the effect that he expected war within two weeks' time. D'Annunzio's staff was in the palace, where his headquarters were situated, overlooking the bay, engaged in working out a plan of campaign. Rumors of armed conflict with Yugoslavs were rife.

STATEMENT BY DR. VESNITCH

As for the official attitude of the Yugoslavs, Dr. Milenko R. Vesnitch, one of

the delegates to the Peace Conference, ridiculed d'Annunzio's announcement that he considered himself in a state of war with Jugoslavia, characterizing it as "only a continuation of his cinematographic procedure." Dr. Vesnitch added:

As far as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croatsians, and Slovenes is concerned, it does not know Captain d'Annunzio, and consequently has no reason to take notice of his declaration.

The National Council of Fiume on Oct. 3 sent a message to Foreign Minister Tittoni protesting against the blockade of Fiume, declaring that it was bringing about starvation in the city. The following day orders were issued by the Italian Government that the blockade be lifted, and Italian authorities in the vicinity of Fiume received directions to allow mail and foodstuffs to pass into the city. The military blockade, however, continued to be enforced.

News that Premier Nitti had received a vote of confidence aroused hostile demonstrations in Fiume among the populace, who cried: "Down with Nitti! Down with Wilson! Down with Jugoslavia! Down with Serbia!" Gabriele d'Annunzio then appeared and made a speech, in which he said:

Nitti, who, out of fear, is bowing his head to the Allies, has once more proved that he is the avowed enemy of Italy. The same is true of all those who shouted in the Chamber, "We want annexation!" and who have given a vote of confidence in Nitti's Cabinet.

On this and other occasions d'Annunzio presented a haggard and ill appearance; at the end of each day he was completely exhausted. On Oct. 5 he issued a message to the Croats, written in their language and embodying a skillful appeal against allied interference with Adriatic questions; it assured Jugoslavia of free access to the sea under Italian control.

Negotiations meanwhile were proceeding in Paris. Rome was again excited on Oct. 8 by the reported receipt of warnings from Great Britain with regard to the Fiume situation, intimating that if it continued, Italy might be put out of the alliance. This warning was expressed in a note read to the Italian Ambassador to England by Baron Hardinge, Under

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In a violent article the *Tribuna* said: "Even calumniated Germany never showed less regard for her enemies than England shows today for her ally, Italy." Later this interpretation of Baron Hardinge's note was officially denied by the British Government.

Washington advices of Oct. 10 indicated that the Italian Government was endeavoring to end the crisis amicably, and that it was willing to effect a settlement, to let Fiume become a buffer State, in connection with the adjacent coastal territory. D'Annunzio's view of this plan had been already given on Sept. 27, when he said that, supported by the whole army, he would oppose such a solution. It was stated in Rome on Oct. 11, however, that the National Council of Fiume had approved the scheme, and, in the event that it went through, would invite Captain d'Annunzio to leave the city. Foreign Minister Tittoni, who left Rome on Oct. 13 for a conference with King Victor Emmanuel at the royal shooting lodge at San Rossore, expressed confidence before his departure that his new proposal for the settlement of the Fiume and Dalmatian problem would be received with favor, because it virtually accepted the proposal of President Wilson in regard to Fiume. Specifically the new solution embodied the annexation of the District of Volosa, lying between Fiume and Trieste, to Italy in order to establish a joint boundary between the enlarged Kingdom of Italy and the proposed buffer State of Fiume.

It was repeatedly indicated that there was a current of opposition to d'Annunzio in Fiume itself. On Oct. 5 Ruggero Gothardi, claiming to represent two-thirds of the voters of Fiume directly, laid appeals for prompt action "to save Fiume from ruin" before the Peace Conference in Paris. Gothardi styled himself President of the Democratic Autonomist Party of Fiume. On Oct. 11 d'Annunzio came to an open rupture with Professor Zanella, leader of the Italian population of Fiume opposed to the annexation of the city to Italy, but in favor of an Italian protectorate over it. In a stormy interview Zanella told d'Annunzio

that his presence was perilous to the interests of Fiume. D'Annunzio then ordered him to leave the palace.

At this same date the steamer *Persia*, bound from Genoa for the Far East with a cargo of 30,000 rifles, 10,000,000 cartridges, twenty batteries of mountain guns, and two heavy guns for the troops operating under Admiral Kolchak against the Bolsheviks, arrived at Fiume, after a mutiny of the crew in the Mediterranean, who forced the Captain to take the ship into Fiume. This was the second "pirate" ship which had reached d'Annunzio within a week.

In an interview given by d'Annunzio on Oct. 15, the poet declared that if no one would attack him in Fiume, he would march on Rome. He and his men, he said, wanted to offer themselves in sacrifice, adding: "We want to light a fire that will burn high. It will awake in a portentous flame the deceived hopes of oppressed peoples, and no power of arms or money will be able to put it out." On Oct. 16 he sent a message to Premier Clemenceau asking that the French Premier take the initiative in securing a declaration from the allied Governments

making Fiume a free port. In this message d'Annunzio said that he had drafted a new manifesto inviting Serbians and Italians to recognize mutual national rights. This manifesto, which would be delivered by airplanes, would call upon the two nations to "maintain the bonds of brotherhood which have been sealed by blood."

A press dispatch from Fiume on Oct. 20 indicated that the city was growing very weary of its adventure. D'Annunzio was having financial difficulties and had forced a large tax levy upon the business men of Fiume, as the people of Italy had not furnished sufficient funds to pay the expenses of his army. Their contributions up to that time had just passed the figure of 1,000,000 lire. The pay of d'Annunzio's men was at the rate of 5 lire daily, and there were 9,000 of them, which meant a total of 45,000 lire a day, aside from the pay of the officers. Also there was the expense of food and the necessary cost of maintaining the Government, creating a large deficit, all of which had been met through "gifts" of citizens. Thus the situation stood at the time these pages went to press.

The Peril of the Fiume Crisis

By GUGLIELMO FERRERO

[ITALY'S FOREMOST LIVING HISTORIAN]

Universal Service, Paris, Oct. 14, 1919

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THE Fiume adventure of the fearless d'Annunzio has been dubbed "Garibaldian" and as such glorified. Judging by superficial appearances, in fact, it bears some resemblance to the famous expedition of 1860. But the likeness goes no further than mere appearances. Heroes, saints, geniuses, never come to life again even if the ignorant and credulous crowd kneel before their tombs praying and waiting for the miracle. The supposed reincarnations are only anachronisms, almost invariably sterile and often dangerous. If we compare d'Annunzio's expedition with Garibaldi's we soon discover a capital difference between them.

The one of 1860 was prepared and accomplished by a handful of private citizens free of military duty and "with the approval of the Government." The Fiume expedition has been conceived and carried out by fragments of the regular army, which refused obedience to the law, and it was against the wish of the Government. The outside world, I know, will not believe the bona-fide sincerity of the present Italian Government. But this will prove nothing more than that outside public opinion is at present misinformed. The Government was endeavoring to solve the question with other means, and the Fiume "coup" upset all its plans. This is the truth.

It is not necessary to be a great politician to understand how greatly the two adventures differ. The heroic self-abnegation of the great Garibaldi consisted chiefly in the fact that he assumed all risks and left no responsibility whatever to the Government. Had he failed he would have been disavowed, while in case of success he was embarrassing greatly the two powers which opposed the idea of Italy's unity, because they would have been obliged to start a war in the south of Italy in order to vanquish the conqueror and re-establish the Bourbons on their throne.

The Fiume expedition, instead, is such that, whether it fails or succeeds, it will get into further trouble the Italian Government and not the Allies. And when you say "Italian Government," you say "Italy" as a nation. The experience of a few days shows this clearly. If my information is correct, one among the Allies and associated powers wanted to meet the expedition with guns and high explosives. Let us suppose that this ferocious suggestion had been accepted and that the expedition had been defeated by superior forces. Could the Italian Government have disavowed it and washed its hands of the whole affair? It would be idle to even imagine such a course.

The Italian Government would have been placed in the dilemma of either accepting humbly an action which would have offended the whole country like a bloody and atrocious humiliation, or of declaring war upon the entire universe.

It seems, instead—always if my information is correct—that one of the Allies, the one nearer Italy geographically and historically, intervened and used pressure upon the impatient members of the world entente.

The d'Annunzio expedition has been able to reach and take Fiume. But what about Italy? The Allies have withdrawn without a fuss, and, smiling the while, have said to the Italian Government: "You are a loyal ally and we do not wish in any way to harm any of your men. We believe you when you say this expedition is none of your fault. But those men now in Fiume are soldiers of your army and therefore you have power

over them. Use it. We shall wait for you to persuade them to leave the place and to make room for us and our rights. It is for you to act."

This, in my mind, is the most terrible problem of the Government. It cannot persuade the thousand or ten thousand Italians who are in Fiume. It has no strength to force them to its will. Yet it must honor its word to the Allies.

The difficulty is a terrible one, and I do not think I am exaggerating it. If the Italian Government does not succeed quickly in giving satisfaction to the national sentiment and to the Allies at the same time, we Italians, and with us the whole of Europe, might face a great catastrophe. It would be even more terrible if some one among the allied and associated Governments should try to settle the Fiume question before satisfying Italy's just demands. In such a case no crown council would have any power in Italy.

It is human and understandable that Poland, Bohemia, Rumania, and other small States, old and new, which in Paris are the judged and not the judges, have tried rebellion against some judgments of the Peace Congress. But Italy, which, at the Peace Conference, is, like Great Britain, France, America, and Japan, judge and at the same time judged, cannot possibly disavow this very tribunal whereof she is part and parcel by attacking one of its verdicts simply because it is iniquitous and against her. Such action would be tantamount to abdicating her position as a great power. It would light another torch of anarchy in the heart of Europe.

Italy is the first among the victors of the war to find herself between two fires: The Red revolution and the White revolution. There is unquestionably some one openly working to transform the army into a means to provoke civil war. Taken as a symptom of the disorder and anarchy blossoming forth all over the world, it must be admitted that it looks serious.

Western European civilization finds itself today in a terrible crisis. The world's war has disorganized it. Every Government is threatened by an incurable disorder. And with it industry,

commerce, agriculture, administration, the State, spiritual culture, are all insecure.

No country can return to its old condition of peace and security without the help of a firm Government. But everywhere Governments have been weakened and reduced to almost powerlessness by the war, and at this very moment, when the most intelligent, vigorous action is necessary by those in authority to govern

with wisdom, justice, and power. The world's war has not been won on the Piave, nor on the Meuse, nor in Champagne, nor in Belgium, because it is not yet won anywhere! It will be definitely won by that people or those peoples who succeed in saving from universal anarchy an authoritative Government. Those peoples will be tomorrow the arbiters and perhaps the masters of Europe.

Repatriation of War Prisoners

How Thousands of Captured Soldiers and Interned Aliens Were Sent Home—Problem of Russian Prisoners

ONE of the most important problems after the signing of the armistice was that of the repatriation of hundreds of thousands of war prisoners, as well as a considerable number of interned aliens. The most difficult part of the whole undertaking was the repatriating of the more than 250,000 Russian prisoners in Germany. After signing the armistice Germany released her Russian prisoners just as she released French, English, and American prisoners. They were all turned out to get home as best they could. The French, British, and Americans made their way through the allied lines, but the Russians could not pass the Bolshevik fighting lines, which barred them from their homes, and they soon became a problem for Germany. So serious did the situation become that the Allies took cognizance of it, and the American and British Governments, with the Red Cross, decided to get them home. To facilitate this a quarter of a million Russians that could be corralled were placed in forty camps, containing from 3,000 to 40,000 men each, scattered in East Prussia. Twenty were placed under American protection and twenty under British protection.

The American Mission, with a detachment of several hundred unarmed soldiers, left Coblenz Feb. 14, and took up the task of guarding camps three days later. Each camp was in charge of a

field officer and his staff, with twenty-five enlisted men. The work of feeding and clothing the men began at once. Then they were also entertained in their own language, and an effort was made to raise their morale from the low state into which it had sunk. The Americans had found the prisoners in a wretched condition, with many cases of typhus. American dentists went to care for their teeth. Plentiful supplies were furnished, and the physical condition of the Russians improved materially.

MASSACRED BY BOLSHEVIKI

In the meantime General Harries and his co-workers in Berlin were trying to arrange the movement homeward. The Germans appeared perfectly willing to get rid of the Russians. No statement could be got from Russian leaders. However, early in April several trainloads of troops, mostly officers, started through to the East Prussian border. Bolshevik troops stopped the trains, and offered the Russians the choice of joining them or being killed. The officers of the old régime, who numbered about 600, refused, and most of them were shot. The Germans tried to send other prisoners by this same route, but General Harries, in the name of the President of the United States, forbade this as inhumane. An effort was then made to get the prisoners home through Austria, but the Red lead-

ers there, on request of Trotzky, balked the movement.

Discussing the difficulties still standing in the way of sending the Russian prisoners home, Vorwärts toward the end of April published the following comment:

Despite the greatest good-will, the repatriation of the Russian prisoners of war can be accomplished only very slowly, especially because there are great transportation difficulties on the railroads. Furthermore, the Russians can be sent through at only one point on the Russian front, and recently the delivery of the captured Russians has been held up because fighting is going on just at that point. The negotiations being carried on with the Polish Government through the Entente's mediation looking toward the returning of the Russian prisoners of war to their homes via Poland have not yet been concluded. The sea route over the Baltic cannot be used until the middle of May. We lack ship tonnage for the purpose of using the other sea routes, such as via the Black Sea. The difficulties are also made greater by the fact that we always try to send the Russians back to their real homes. For instance, we don't send South Russians to North Russia. And, then, all the camps are treated alike in the matter of repatriation. And it must also be pointed out that, because of the unreliability of the Russians, large groups cannot be sent home together, especially not through the fighting district in the east.

Early in May the repatriation of Russians was virtually abandoned. However, some 15,000 Letts and Lithuanians, whose territories on the Baltic Coast were not in the hands of the Reds, were safely landed. The last lot of 1,500 were moved this way about the middle of August.

ACTION OF SUPREME COUNCIL

This question of repatriation of Russian prisoners in Germany gave the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference much concern, and the problem was discussed at many sessions. On July 18 it was pointed out during discussion that many of these prisoners were infected with Bolshevik theories, and that their repatriation would mean that they would join the Bolshevik forces. If they did not, indeed, they would be executed, as experience had shown.

On Aug. 2 Marshal Foch appeared be-

fore the Supreme Council in connection with this problem, and the council decided to inform Germany that all restrictions on the movements of Russian prisoners held in Germany had been lifted. Germany was given permission to release all such prisoners and would thereafter be responsible for their maintenance. In view of Poland's representations against releasing them on account of the additional strength they would give the Bolshevik forces, the council decided to consult its military advisers.

On the same date it was officially announced in Berlin that 50,000 prisoners whose homes were in the Caucasus and Transcaucasus were to leave shortly from Hamburg by water for the Black Sea. This long voyage, which would take four weeks, was made necessary because of Poland's refusal to allow their passage over her territory, on the ground already stated. The 200,000 prisoners remaining faced the prospect of spending another Winter in German camps.

Early in August the American Mission in Berlin received an order to withdraw its men, wind up its affairs, and leave Germany. The mission turned over its twenty camps to the Germans, leaving instructions regarding the care of the prisoners, and orders that they be sent home as soon as possible. American officers who saw the conditions on arriving regretted the necessity of giving the Russians back into German hands. These officers said that considerable stores of provisions and other supplies had been left at the camps, but expressed the fear that the Germans, and not the Russian prisoners, would consume those supplies, pointing out that during the time the Americans were in charge of the camps the German population resented the fact that the Russian war prisoners were fed much better than the natives.

On Oct. 11 the Supreme Council decided that the Allies would try again to get the unfortunate Russian prisoners home. The first attempt, which had encountered failure, was made through purely humanitarian motives; this new attempt, it was stated in Paris, would be dictated both by humanitarian motives and by the allied desire to secure rein-

forcements for the anti-Bolshevist armies of General Denikin and Admiral Kolchak. At that time about 150,000 of the Russians could still be located. The Allied Mission was authorized to co-operate with the German Mission in sending these men to the anti-Bolshevist armies. Thus the solution of the whole problem seemed near when the present pages were going to press.

RELEASING GERMAN PRISONERS

On the reverse side of the problem it was reported in the *Kölnische Zeitung* of April 19 that the repatriation of the German prisoners of war in Bolshevik Russia could be regarded as practically finished. Only a few thousand persons, some of whom had entered the Red Guard or the international regiments, had voluntarily remained in Russia. On May 15 a Paris cablegram said that the Council of Foreign Ministers had decided that the prisoners of war held by the Russians in Siberia, the Baltic Provinces, and the Caucasus might be sent home at once and that those in Soviet Russia would be repatriated later.

The release of British captives in Germany was effected soon after the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918. According to Berlin information, on Dec. 29 the British war prisoners in Germany still numbered 24,900, of whom 5,000 were in trains proceeding to Holland, and 8,000 more were soon to be sent there. British prisoners to the number of 7,000 were being repatriated by way of Baltic ports. Since the armistice 6,814 officers, 126,729 of other ranks, and 4,483 civilians had been repatriated.

The return of German prisoners of war from Great Britain, which began after Germany had ratified the Peace Treaty, was contemplated with a certain amount of anxiety. The Pan-Germans had asserted that German soldiers and civilians had been harshly treated in England. The *Elberfeld* correspondent of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* telegraphed on Sept. 2, 1919, that the first group of unwounded German prisoners had arrived in Cologne, and that the men looked well-nourished and were provided with good clothing. The *Lokal-Anzeiger* asserted that this was due to a sudden

change of treatment when the prospect of sending the men home arose. The German prisoners, as they passed through Cologne, were given an ovation by the populace, and there were scenes of great enthusiasm, particularly on Sept. 3, when trams and ambulances came through the main streets of the city packed with prisoners waving handkerchiefs and cheering loudly. Women threw them gifts, and many wept. Crowds surrounded the trams, and the prisoners were questioned about their treatment while in England. The inhabitants were heard commenting on their good appearance.

PRESIDENT EBERT'S ADDRESS

Every returning German prisoner of war received a copy of the following welcome-home address by President Ebert:

I bid you a warm welcome to your native soil. You have bitter days behind you, days of hardships, of mental depression, and of unsatisfied longings for home and family. Through numerous reports I have seen how you, the defenseless ones, have had to feel the hatred of our enemies. I, together with the entire German people, know how to appreciate fully your position and your feelings.

You are returning at a time when our Fatherland is being shaken to its very base by our enemies' will to destruction, and by the transitional pains of a new order. Return to your homes as good Germans, determined to co-operate with all your powers in the restoration of the new republican fatherland, for only level-headedness, unity, and work can save us from the collapse aimed at by our enemies.

The Government, in so far as it lies in its power, will do everything to meet your wishes and relieve your troubles.

May you find your relatives in good health, and may you soon recover, both mentally and physically, from the sufferings you have endured. This is my honest desire!

EBERT,

National President.

As the result of a conference with the British representatives at Cologne, which opened on Sept. 6, the Imperial Central Bureau for War and Civil Prisoners announced that the British Government would supply the means of transport and hand over 3,000 prisoners daily in Cologne until further notice, and would send 3,000 additional prisoners to Rotterdam weekly in its own ships. This

delivery of prisoners at Cologne was still in progress when the present issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* went to press in October.

INTERNEED IN HOLLAND

The work of the Red Cross for the interned British prisoners in Holland was of the greatest value. The British Commissioner for Holland was Mr. Francis Voulés, who supervised and directed the whole work of relief. When the interned men were first expected in Holland, toward the end of 1917, the reaction of war conditions on Holland imposed many obstacles to the work of the commission. The attitude of the Dutch labor unions was hostile. The labor market was overstocked, and the first condition laid down was that no prisoner should be provided with employment unless it was clear that Dutch workmen were unavailable. A carpenter shop was started, however, which paid its way and trained a large body of skilled men. The tailors' and bootmakers' shops at The Hague received the uniforms and army boots from England intended for the use of the prisoners themselves, and it was their duty to fit and repair them. They carried out the whole of this work for the 5,000 or more men interned in Holland up to the date of the armistice. As the scheme developed, many other trades were included. Besides these trade activities, many purely educational courses gave instruction in various languages and commercial subjects.

During 1919 the commission also distributed available supplies among the famishing Russians near the Dutch frontier. In a short time the commission was providing for the wants of 45,000. Of the effectiveness of this humane work it is sufficient to say that the monthly death rate, which in January was 272, fell from the moment that the Red Cross assumed control to twenty-nine for the month of May.

As for the 7,000 German deserters who arrived in Holland during the war and were interned, The Hague paper *Vaderland* on Aug. 8 announced that they would all soon be compelled to leave the country.

Two reasons were assigned for this decision: First, that Dutch laws provided that foreigners could be admitted only on foreign passports, and the deserters had no passports, and, secondly, that these deserters had enjoyed the right of asylum during the war, when deportation would have meant death, but that Germany had now granted amnesty to all deserters.

INTERNEED IN AMERICA

Some 1,200 German sailors and civilians interned in the United States left Atlanta, Ga., on Sept. 23 under guard of 200 American soldiers on a special train which included nine cars of baggage. Nearly 150 of the German seamen had made application to become naturalized American citizens, but only seventy-three of the applications were granted, and these provided only for probationary citizenship. Many dogs, much American-bought clothing, and many supplies accompanied the departing Germans, who had considerable money. Some 100 enemy aliens from Ellis Island were sent to the transport to take the Germans home, and a number of interned German soldiers arrived from Fort Douglas, Utah, and other camps. The Germans, numbering about 1,600 in all, departed on Sept. 26 on the steamship *Pocahontas* under a military guard. The men all seemed glad to be returning to Germany, and chatted, laughed, played cards, and sang.

The Chilean Government on Aug. 9 set free the crews of the German cruiser *Dresden* and the German raider *Seeadler*, the members of which had been interned in Chile for a long period, the men of the *Dresden* since 1915.

LAST GREAT A. E. F. PARADE



Airplane view of 1st Division and "Pershing's Own" passing down
Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, Sept. 17, 1919

(© Wide World Photos)

GENERAL PERSHING RECEIVES THANKS OF CONGRESS IN JOINT SESSION, SEPT. 18, 1919



For the twenty-sixth time in the history of the nation the thanks of Congress were extended to a soldier when General Pershing received that honor. He is here shown making a brief address in reply

(© Harris & Ewing)

SIGNING OF AUSTRIAN PEACE TREATY



Frank L. Polk, American delegate, signing treaty Sept. 10, 1919



Dr. Karl Renner, Austrian Chancellor, affixing signature at St. Germain-en-Laye, France

JOHN FITZPATRICK



Chairman of National Committee for organizing steel strike, addressing steel mill strikers at Chicago

(© International Film Service)

ELBERT H. GARY



Head of United States Steel Corporation and leader of contest against
demands of unions

LABOR CONFERENCE APPOINTEES



THOMAS L. CHADBOURNE
New York



ROBERT S. BROOKINGS
St. Louis



BERNARD M. BARUCH
New York



CHARLES W. ELIOT
Cambridge, Mass.

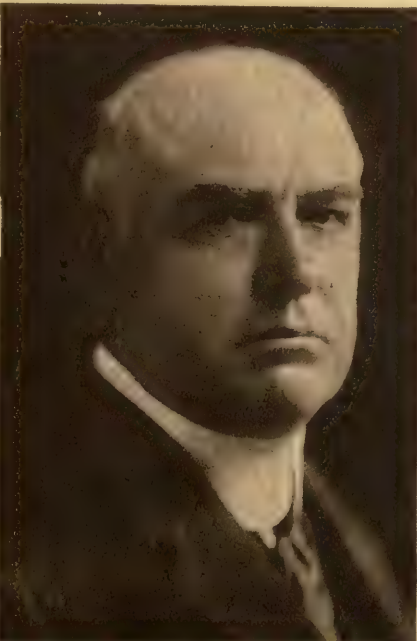
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Chicago



GAVIN McNAB
San Francisco



JOHN SPARGO
Vermont

BEGINNING BUSINESS ANEW IN DEVASTATED CITY OF LENS



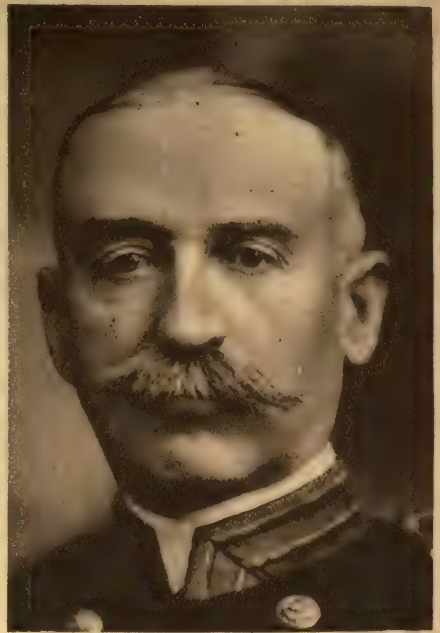
Farmers and merchants from surrounding country selling to the people of Lens, France, from open air booths set up in the ruined town

(© L'Illustration)

ADMIRALS FIGURING IN RECENT CHANGES



VICE ADMIRAL W. S. SIMS
Honored by Representatives
(© Western Newspaper Union)



REAR ADMIRAL W. S. BENSON
Retired after forty years' service



REAR ADMIRAL A. GLEAVES
Commander of Asiatic Fleet



REAR ADMIRAL R. E. COONTZ
Nominated as Chief of Naval
Operations

NEW HOME PURCHASED BY EX-KAISER WILHELM IN HOLLAND



Mansion at Doorn, near Utrecht, Holland, bought by the former Kaiser, to which he removed in the Autumn of 1919 from the Castle of Amerongen, where he had resided since his flight from Germany, Nov. 10, 1918

(© Wide World Photo Service)

FIGURES OF INTERNATIONAL INTEREST



CARTIER DE MARCHIENNE
First Belgian Ambassador to
United States
(© Underwood & Underwood)



VLASTIMIL TUZAR
New Premier of Czechoslovakia



KEI SHIDEHARA
New Japanese Ambassador to
United States



ARCHDUKE JOSEPH
For a brief space Dictator of
Hungary

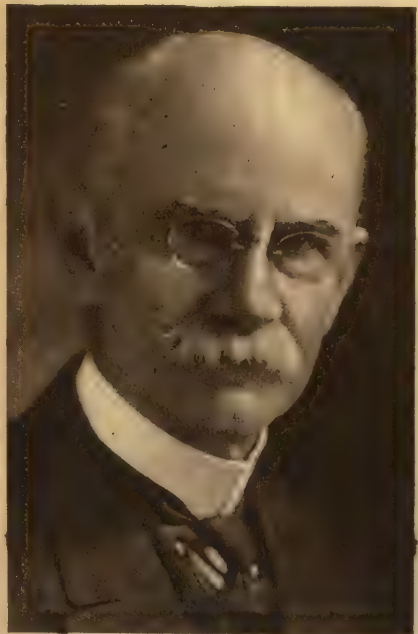
SENATE OPPONENTS OF LEAGUE COVENANT



GEORGE MOSES
Republican, New Hampshire



THOMAS P. GORE
Democrat, Oklahoma



CHARLES S. THOMAS
Democrat, Colorado



HIRAM W. JOHNSON
Progressive Republican, California

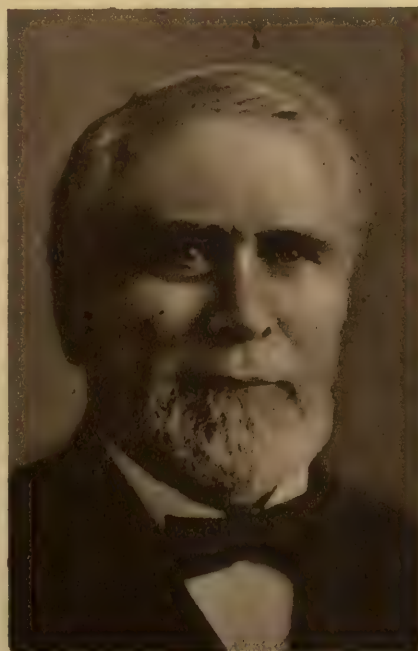
SENATORS FAVORING TREATY RESERVATIONS



CHARLES L. McNARY
Republican, Oregon



PORTER J. McCUMBER
Republican, North Dakota



KNUTE NELSON
Republican, Minnesota



IRVINE L. LENROOT
Republican, Wisconsin

POSTAGE STAMPS OF NEW NATIONS



First stamp, upper row, Yugoslavia; next two, same row, Czechoslovakia; next five, stamps of new Republic of Poland; bottom row, first two, Ukraine; last one, Bolshevik Russia.

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO



Italy's famous poet, novelist, orator, aviator, and adventurer at Fiume, making an address to his countrymen

MAP OF CENTRAL EUROPE SHOWING BOUNDARIES AS DE- FINED BY PEACE TREATIES

This map shows some of the vast territorial losses of the Central Powers, as a result of their defeat in the war. In Europe alone Germany has been compelled to relinquish sovereignty over 47,787 square miles that were formerly included within her borders. Austria has lost still more from forced concessions to Italy, from the secession of Hungary and the formation of the new States of Jugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. From a territory of over 240,000 square miles ruled over by the Hapsburg Monarchy, Austria has become a third or fourth class State, with an area of between 5,000 and 6,000 square miles, and is now about three-fourths as large as the State of Massachusetts



Genesis of the Secret Treaty of London

By GORDON GORDON-SMITH

[CAPTAIN OF THE ROYAL SERBIAN ARMY AND ATTACHE OF THE SERBIAN LEGATION AT WASHINGTON]

THE factor in post-bellum politics which has done most to threaten the good understanding of the Allies has been the situation created by the secret treaty of London entered into by Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy on April 26, 1915. This document has been referred to in the harshest terms by many students of international politics. It has been characterized as "infamous" and "iniquitous" by men of "light and leading" in the world's affairs. It is, therefore, of interest to study the genesis of this much-discussed document and see if an explanation, if not a justification, can be found for the act of four statesmen of the eminence of Viscount Grey, M. Paul Cambon, the Marchese Imperiali, and Count Benckendorff in signing a document of which all right-thinking men are today heartily ashamed.

The excuses for it on the part of two of them, Viscount Grey and M. Cambon, were ignorance and dire necessity. In the case of the Marchese Imperiali there was no ignorance, (no one knew the scope and extent of the advantages for Italy contained in the treaty better than the Italian Cabinet whose mandatory he was,) but there was, in 1915, a comprehension of Italian interests which explains, if it does not excuse, the drawing up of what is now seen to be an iniquitous pact and one which Great Britain and France would today be only too glad to repudiate if they could do so without breach of their plighted word. In the case of the Russian plenipotentiary there was, perhaps, less ignorance of the interests at stake, but there was undoubtedly the same constraint of dire necessity which forced the hands of his British and French colleagues.

The principal rôle in the negotiation and conclusion of the secret treaty was that played by Italy. At the moment of the outbreak of the world war Italy was

still a member of the Triple Alliance. The Consulta, however, did not regard the cause of the conflict put forward by the Central Powers as a *casus foederis* provided for in Italy's treaty with them. The Italian Government, therefore, informed its German and Austrian allies that it intended to remain neutral during the conflict. This the Rome Cabinet declared to both groups of belligerents, but without furnishing either with any absolute guarantee as to how long and under what circumstances this neutrality would be maintained.

BOTH SIDES COURTED ITALY

This uncertainty was a cause of deep anxiety and embarrassment, both to the Central Powers and to the Powers of the Entente. Their anxiety was further increased by the fact that there were in Italy two powerful parties, (minorities, it is true, but such as had to be reckoned with)—the pro-German party under Signor Giolitti, and the war party headed by the Independent Socialists under Signor Mussolini and the advanced wing of the Liberal Party, which were each trying to influence the policy of the Government in favor of its views.

As a consequence it became almost a matter of life or death for each of the belligerent groups to get Italy to "come off the fence" for good and come down on its side of the barricade.

Germany knew that it was hopeless to expect Italy to take up arms on the side of the Central Powers. But she hoped to obtain from her a cast-iron treaty of neutrality such as would relieve the Wilhelmstrasse and Ballplatz of all anxiety and allow them to shape their policies with the Italian danger eliminated. Prince Bülow, the German Ambassador to the Quirinal, therefore commenced a series of negotiations with this object in view. Then began an era of sordid huckstering which forms one of the most unlovely episodes of the recent

world conflict. The negotiations between Berlin and Rome were carried on for weeks. They were the more long-drawn-out as it became increasingly difficult for Prince Bülow to get the Vienna Government to entertain the proposals of the Rome Cabinet. Finally, however, in April, 1915, the Wilhelmstrasse and the Consulta reached an agreement, and the terms on which Italy agreed to guarantee her neutrality to the Central Powers were committed to paper by Baron Sonnino, and on April 8 were formally submitted to the Central Powers.

WHAT GERMANY OFFERED

This document ran as follows:

ARTICLE 1.—Austria-Hungary cedes the Trentino to Italy, with the frontiers which the Kingdom of Italy had in 1811, that is to say, after the Treaty of Paris of Feb. 28, 1810.

Note to Article 1.—The new frontier separates itself from the present frontier at Mount Cevedale: it follows for an instant the rising ground between Val Venosta and Val de Noce, then descends on the Adige to Gargazone, between Meran and Botzen, follows the plateau on the left bank, cuts the Sarentina Valley in halves from the Isarco to the Chiusa, and rejoins the present frontier by the Dolomite territory of the right bank of the Avisio, not including the Gardona and Badia Valleys, but including the Ampezzan Valley.

ARTICLE 2.—A revision, in favor of Italy, will be made of her eastern frontier, by including in the territory ceded the towns of Gradisca and Goritzia. The new frontier separates from the present one at Troghofel, running toward the east to Osternig, whence it descends the Carnic Alps, to Saifniz. Then, by the rising ground between Selsera and Schliza, it remounts to the Wirscheberg, then again follows the present frontier to the Nevea Pass, and then descends the sides of the Rombone to Isonzo, passing to the east of Plazzo. It then follows the line of the Isonzo to Tolmino, where it leaves the Isonzo to follow a line more to the east, a line passing to the east of the Pregona-Planina plateau and following the hollow of the Chiappovano, descends to the east of Goritzia, and, across the Carso de Comen, runs to the sea between Monfalcone and Trieste, near Nalresina.

ARTICLE 3.—The town of Trieste, with its territory, which will be extended to the north to Nalresina (inclusive) so as to touch the new Italian frontier, (Art. 2,) and to the south in such a way as to include the present judiciary districts of Capo d'Istria and Pirano, will be constituted as an autonomous and independent State, as far as concerns international,

military, legislative, financial, and administrative affairs, Austria-Hungary renouncing all sovereignty over it. It shall remain a free port. Neither Austro-Hungarian nor Italian militia shall enter it. It will take over its quota of the Austrian public debt, in proportion to its population.

ARTICLE 4.—Austria-Hungary cedes to Italy the group of the Cursola Islands, including Lissa (with the adjacent islets of S. Andrea and Busi) and Lesina, (with the Spalmadores and the Torcola,) Curzola, Lagosta, (with the adjacent islets and reefs,) Cazza, and Meleda, and, in addition, Pelagosa.

ARTICLE 5.—Italy will occupy the ceded territories (Arts. 1, 2, and 4) immediately. Trieste and its territories will be immediately evacuated by the Austro-Hungarian authorities and militia. All the soldiers and sailors from the towns and territories serving in the Austro-Hungarian Army will be at once mustered out.

ARTICLE 6.—Austria-Hungary recognizes the full sovereignty of Italy over the town and Bay of Valona, including Sasseno, with, in the hinterland, the part of territory necessary to their defense.

ARTICLE 7.—Austria-Hungary will cease completely to take any interest in Albania, comprised within the limits assigned to it by the conference of London.

ARTICLE 8.—Austria-Hungary will grant a complete amnesty and will immediately liberate all persons sentenced for military or political offenses, who belong to the territory ceded (Arts. 1, 2, and 4) or evacuated, (Art. 3.)

ARTICLE 9.—Italy, for the liberation of the territories ceded, (Arts. 1, 2, and 4,) of the quota of the Austrian or Austro-Hungarian public debt and for the pensions payable to former imperial and royal functionaries and in exchange for the complete and immediate transfer to the Kingdom of Italy of all real and movable property, excepting arms, on the territories and in compensation for all the rights of the State on the said territories, for the present and the future, without any exception, will pay to Austria-Hungary a capital sum of 200,000,000 Italian lire in gold.

ARTICLE 10.—Italy undertakes to observe complete neutrality during the present war as far as Austria-Hungary and Germany are concerned.

ARTICLE 11.—During the whole duration of the present war, Italy renounces her right to invoke later in her favor the dispositions contained in Article 8 of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, and Austria-Hungary makes the same renunciation for the Italian occupation of the Dodecanesus.

(Signed)

SONNINO.



MAP SHOWING CHIEF POINTS ON THE ADRIATIC EAST COAST CLAIMED BY BOTH ITALY AND THE SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE STATE, INCLUDING FIUME AND VARIOUS ISLANDS NAMED IN THE TREATY OF LONDON

AUSTRIA'S OBJECTION

Prince Bülow and his Government thought that they would be able to bring such pressure to bear on their Austrian ally that the Vienna Government would agree to these terms. But there was one point on which the Ballplatz remained adamant, and that was the immediate carrying out of the terms asked by Italy. Austria was willing to subscribe to them, but on condition that their execution be postponed till after the war. The point on which the long and painful negotiations met shipwreck was Italy's demand for the *immediate* military occupation of the territory ceded to her and the *immediate* evacuation by Austrian troops of the territory to be erected into the autonomous and independent State of Trieste.

To this the Vienna Government absolutely refused to consent, while Baron Sonnino, on his side, declared it was a

conditio sine qua non of Italy's signature of a treaty of neutrality. All further negotiations were therefore broken off.

This was the opportunity of the Entente Powers. London, Paris, and Petrograd approached the Consulta and asked what it would demand as the price of coming into the war on the side of the Entente. In view of the offer Italy had just turned down it was clear that the price would be high. The Entente statesmen were, however, not a little horrified when the Rome Government disclosed its conditions in all their nakedness. But the situation of the Allies was such that they were forced to pay almost any price to assure themselves of Italian support. As long as Italy was "on the fence" France had to keep at least 500,000 men to guard her southern frontier, and this at a moment when every soldier was worth his weight in gold.

As the Entente Powers regarded it as

a life-and-death matter to get Italy into the war on their side, they signed on April 26, 1915, the following secret treaty:*

The Marquis Imperiali, acting on the instructions of his [the Italian] Government, has the honor to communicate the following memorandum to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey; the Ambassador of France, M. Cambon, and the Ambassador of Russia, Count Benckendorff:

ARTICLE 1.—A military convention is to be concluded without delay between the General Staffs of France, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy to determine the minimum number of troops which Russia would have to throw against Austria-Hungary if the latter should want to concentrate all her forces against Italy. Russia should decide mainly to attack Germany. Similarly the said convention is to regulate the questions relating to armistices, in so far as such armistices form an essential part of the competence of the Supreme Army Command.

ARTICLE 2.—On her part Italy undertakes by all means at her disposal to conduct the campaign in union with France, Great Britain, and Russia against all the powers at war with them.

ARTICLE 3.—The naval forces of France and Great Britain are to render uninterrupted and active assistance to Italy until such time as the navy of Austria has been destroyed or peace has been concluded. A naval convention is to be concluded without delay between France, Great Britain, and Italy.

ARTICLE 4.—By the future treaty of peace, Italy is to receive the district of Trentino; the entire Southern Tyrol up to its natural geographical frontier, which is the Brenner Pass; the city and district of Trieste; the County of Gorizia and Gradisca; the entire Istria up to the Quarnero, including Voloscoe and the Istrian islands of Cherso and Lussina, as well as the smaller Islands of Plavinika, Unia, Canidoli, Palazzuoli, S. Petro dei Nembi, Asinello, and Gruica, with the neighboring islets.

Note 1.—Here follow the details of the frontier delimitations: In execution of the conditions of Article 4 the frontier line should run as follows: From the summit of the Umbrile northward as far as Stelvio, thence along the watershed of the Rhetian Alps as far as the sources of the Adige and the Eisach; after which it will cross the heights of the Reschon and the Brenner and those of the Etz and the Tiller. The frontier will then turn southward, passing round Mount Tobloch in order to reach the real frontier of Carniola, which is near to the Alps. Passing

along this frontier, the line will reach Mount Tarvis and follow the watershed of the Julian Alps beyond the crests of the Predil, the Mangart, and the Tricorne, (Triglav,) and the defiles of Podberdo, Poldansko, and Idria. Thence it will turn in a southeasterly direction toward the Schneeberg, in such a way as to exclude the basin of the Save and its tributaries from Italian territory. From the Schneeberg the frontier will descend toward the seacoast—Castua, Matuglia, and Volosca being considered as Italian districts.

ARTICLE 5.—Italy will likewise receive the Province of Dalmatia in its present frontiers, including Lissierica and Trebigne, (Trebanje,) in the north, and all the country in the south up to a line drawn from the coast, at the promontory of Planka, eastward along the watershed in such a way as to include in the Italian possessions all the valleys of the rivers flowing into the Sebenico—viz., Cikola, Kerka, and Buotinsnica—with all their affluents. Italy will likewise obtain all the islands situated to the north and west of the coasts of Dalmatia, beginning with Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Skerda, Maob Pago, and Puntadura, and further north, and down to Melada in the south, with the inclusion of the Islands of St. Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Torcola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta, with all the adjacent rocks and islets, as well as Pelagosa, but without the Islands of Zirona Grande and Zirona Piccola, Bua, Solta, and Brazza.

The following are to be neutralized: (1) the entire coasts from Planka, in the north, to the southern extremity of the Sabbioncello peninsula, including this last-named peninsula in its entirety; (2) the part of the littoral from a point ten versts south of the promontory of Ragusa Vecchia to the Viosa (Vojuzza) River, so as to include in the neutralized zone the entire Gulf of Cattaro, with its ports of Antivari, Dulcigno, San Giovanni di Medua, and Durazzo; the rights of Montenegro, arising from the declarations exchanged by the two contracting parties as far back as April and May, 1909, remaining intact. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that those rights were guaranteed to Montenegro within her present frontiers, they are not to be extended to those territories and ports which may eventually be given to Montenegro. Thus, none of the ports of the littoral now belonging to Montenegro is to be neutralized at any future time. On the other hand, the disqualifications affecting Antivari, to which Montenegro herself agreed in 1909, are to remain in force; (3) lastly, all the islands which are not annexed to Italy.

Note 2.—The following territories on the Adriatic will be included by the powers of the Quadruple Entente in Croatia, Serbia, and Montenegro: In the north of the Adriatic, the entire coast from Volosca Bay, on the border of Istria, to the northern frontier of Dalmatia, including the entire coast now belonging to Hungary,

*This treaty was published in CURRENT HISTORY, March, 1918, soon after the Bolshevik Government at Petrograd had made it public; but it is given again here to complete the author's statement.—EDITOR.

and the entire coast of Croatia, the port of Fiume, and the small ports of Novi and Carlopago, and also the islands of Veglia, Pervicchio, Gregorio, Coll, and Arbe; and in the south of the Adriatic, where Serbia and Montenegro have interests, the entire coast from Planka up to the River Drin, with the chief ports of Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, Antivari, Dulcigno, and San Giovanni di Medua, with the islands of Zirona Grande, Zirona Piccola, Bua, Solta, Brazza, Jakljan, and Calamotta.

The port of Durazzo may be given to the independent Mohammedan State of Albania.

ARTICLE 6.—Italy will receive in absolute property Valona, the Islands of Saseno, and as much territory as would be required to secure their military safety—approximately between the River Voyazza in the north and in the east down to the borders of the Chimara district in the south.

ARTICLE 7.—Italy, having received Trentino and Istria in accordance with Article 4, and Dalmatia and the Adriatic islands in accordance with Article 5, and the Gulf of Valona, is not, in case of the creation of a small autonomous and neutralized State in Albania, to resist the possible desire of France, Great Britain, and Russia, to distribute among Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece the northern and southern parts of Albania. The latter's southern littoral from the frontier of the Italian district of Valona to Capo Stylos is to be neutralized. Italy is to have the right to conduct foreign relations with Albania; at any rate, Italy is to agree to the inclusion in Albania of a territory large enough to allow her frontiers to touch those of Greece and Serbia, west of Ochrida Lake.

ARTICLE 8.—Italy will obtain all the twelve islands (Dodecanese) now occupied by her, in full possession.

ARTICLE 9.—France, Great Britain, and Russia admit in principle the fact of Italy's interest in the maintenance of the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her rights, in case of a partition of Turkey, to a share, equal to theirs, in the basin of the Mediterranean—viz., in that part of it which adjoins the Province of Adalia, in which Italy has already acquired special rights and interests defined in the Italo-British Convention. The zone which is to be made Italy's property is to be more precisely defined in due course in conformity with the vital interests of France and Great Britain. Italy's interests will likewise be taken into consideration in case the powers should also maintain territorial integrity of Asiatic Turkey for some future period of time, and if they should only proceed to establish among themselves spheres of influence. In case France, Great Britain, and Russia should, in the course of the present war, occupy any districts of Asiatic Turkey, the entire territory adjacent to Adalia and defined

more precisely below (?) is to be left to Italy, who reserves her right to occupy it.

ARTICLE 10.—In Libya, Italy is to enjoy all those rights and privileges which now belong to the Sultan in virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne.

ARTICLE 11.—Italy is to get a share in the war indemnity corresponding to the magnitude of her sacrifices and efforts.

ARTICLE 12.—Italy adheres to the declaration made by France, England, and Russia about leaving Arabia and the holy Moslem places in the hands of an independent Moslem power.

ARTICLE 13.—Should France and Great Britain extend their colonial possessions in Africa at the expense of Germany, they will admit in principle Italy's right to demand certain compensation by way of an extension of her possessions in Erythraea, Somaliland, and Libya, and the colonial areas adjoining French and British colonies.

ARTICLE 14.—Great Britain undertakes to facilitate for Italy the immediate flotation on the London market of a loan on advantageous terms to the amount of not less than £50,000,000.

ARTICLE 15.—France, Great Britain, and Russia pledge themselves to support Italy in not allowing the representatives of the Holy See to undertake any diplomatic steps having for their object the conclusion of peace or the settlement of questions connected with the present war.

ARTICLE 16.—The present treaty is to be kept secret. As regards Italy's adhesion to the Declaration of Sept. 5, 1915, this declaration alone will be published immediately on the declaration of war by or against Italy.

Having taken into consideration the present memorandum, the representatives of France, Great Britain, and Russia, being authorized thereto, agreed with the representatives of Italy, likewise authorized thereto, as follows:

France, Great Britain, and Russia express their complete agreement with the present memorandum submitted to them by the Italian Government. In respect of Articles 1, 2, and 3 of the present memorandum, regarding the co-ordination of the military and naval operations of all the four powers, Italy declares that she will actively intervene at an earliest possible date, and, at any rate, not later than one month after the signature of the present document by the contracting parties.

The undersigned have confirmed by hand and seal the present instrument in London in four copies. April 26, 1915.

(Signed) GREY,
CAMBON,
IMPERIALI,
BENCKENDORFF.

In the light of subsequent events this treaty seems a flagrant betrayal of one

of the bravest and most loyal allies of the Entente, the Kingdom of Serbia. The carrying out of the secret treaty would indeed have been a terrible blow to the aspirations of Serbia and the Southern Slavs for unity, as, by its terms, nearly a million of them would, without their consent being asked, have been transferred from the yoke of Austria to that of Italy.

What arguments can be advanced in palliation of this apparent betrayal? As concerns Great Britain and France the chief cause was probably, as I have stated above, ignorance and dire necessity. The world war had opened up so many and such vast problems that the statesmen of the Entente were not able to grasp them all. One of these was the aspiration for unity on the part of the various sections of the Serbo-Croatian race, that is to say, Serbia, Montenegro, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Provinces of the Austrian Empire, (Bosnia, Herzegovina, Istria, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Carniola, Croatia, the Banat, and the Batchka.)

Of all the international questions raised by the war the Yugoslav one was probably the furthest removed from the beaten tracks followed by European statesmen. The Polish question, *Italia Irredenta*, the Danish duchies, the future of Constantinople, and similar problems were more or less familiar and within the range of practical politics. But the study of the Yugoslav question had been confined to a few experts like Dr. Seton-Watson, Mr. Wickham Steed, and Sir Arthur Evans in England, and Professor Denis, M. André Choradame, and M. August Gauvin in France. But they were experts, and it is notorious that during the recent world conflict the men in power showed a curious disregard of expert advice and preferred to follow rule-of-thumb methods imposed on them from day to day by the march of events.

OLD IDEALS STILL PREVAILED

Another point which contributed to their shortsighted policy was their curious skepticism as to the ultimate and complete break-up of the Austrian Empire. The statesmen in Vienna had balanced successfully on the tight rope

for so long that they were credited with being able to continue the performance indefinitely. The idea that the Poles, the Czechoslovaks, the Rumanians, the Italians, and the Southern Slavs could break away completely from the Austrian yoke, either forming new States or joining others already in existence, was not realized by the statesmen of the Entente Powers till nearly the end of the war. And if they knew little, the peoples at large knew still less. The result was that there was no force of public opinion to check the arbitrary course of the men in power. These nearly all belonged to the old school of diplomacy, which was accustomed to assembling around a board of green cloth and to shuffling the smaller and subject races about, without consulting them in any way, as the pawns on the European chessboard. The Southern Slavs were subjects of Austria, an autocratic and reactionary empire; Italy was a free and enlightened democracy; therefore, the transfer of the Southern Slavs from the Emperor Franz Josef to King Victor Emmanuel was, in the opinion of the Entente, all to their advantage. Any protest on their part would be base ingratitude. In 1915 President Wilson had not yet enunciated the freedom-giving principle of the self-determination of peoples.

THE ENTENTE VIEW

The argument of the British, French, and Russian statesmen was therefore: "If we cannot bring Italy in on our side we may lose the war. If we lose the war the Southern Slavs will remain forever under the yoke of their Austrian masters. If we, by granting Italy's demands, win the war, the Southern Slavs will be incorporated in a free and democratic state like Italy. It is true they might, and doubtless would, prefer to join with their brothers-in-race of Serbia and Montenegro and form an independent Yugoslav State, but this is at present a Utopia, and the times are too critical for us to waste time on dreams that cannot be realized. They must understand that a 'half-loaf is better than no bread,' and let us, the Great Powers, in our wisdom, settle their destiny."

Of course, this was a purely unjusti-

fied conception of the problem of the Austrian Empire. A little study would soon have convinced the Entente statesmen of their complete error. They would have found that the Yugoslav and Czechoslovak aspirations were a tremendous force, and one with which the whole world would have to reckon. They did not realize that, as Joseph le Maître declared, "*une aspiration Slave fera sauter une forteresse*," and that when twenty-odd million Austrian Slavs had declared for independence no questions of policy or opportunity put forward by the so-called great powers would make them consent to become subject to any power against their will. Britain, France, and Russia could not plead entire ignorance of Yugoslav aspirations, for these, a few days before the signing of the secret treaty, were voiced with no uncertain sound in the Serbian Parliament by M. Pashitch, the Prime Minister.

In spite of the secrecy of the negotiations regarding the secret treaty, rumors had begun to circulate and had caused a certain amount of anxiety in Serbia. On April 15, eleven days before it was signed, M. Drogoľub Pavlovitch, a member of the Skupchina, addressed the following question to the Government:

In the foreign press and in our own, rumors are obstinately in circulation concerning an early action on the part of Italy. This action is to be determined by certain compensations. These are again to be made at the expense of the Serbian, Croatian, and Slovene peoples. I ask the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister if these rumors correspond to the truth.

STATEMENT OF M. PASHITCH

In reply to this interpellation M. Pashitch, the Prime Minister, made the following declaration:

All I can say for the present in reply to the question of M. Pavlovitch is the following: It is true that rumors have reached us from various sides of pourparlers that have been begun between Italy and the powers of the Triple Entente for the participation of the former alongside the latter in the solution of the various questions. As before, rumors have been current that pourparlers have also been begun between Italy and Germany and Austria regarding the concessions which Italy could obtain by remaining neutral and associated with Germany and Aus-

tria. These rumors are not confirmed officially. This is why we cannot know whether or not they correspond to the truth. For it often happens that false rumors are spread with a view of bringing about declarations and of sounding the opinions and sentiments in certain quarters.

For the moment I cannot put faith in these rumors or believe that they conform with the truth, for I believe that Italy will not violate the principles in the name of which she realized her own unity. I do not think she will abandon this just principle at the time when we are seeking the solution of the problem of nationalities.

Italy realized her unity on the basis of the principle of nationalities. All her juridical science leads up to the inviolable postulate that the State must maintain and respect the principle on which it is founded. If it abandons it, it shakes its own foundations. This is why I think that Italy, in ranging herself alongside the Triple Entente, will be guided by the principle of nationalities and that she will be able to arrange her interests in the Adriatic in such a way that there will be no regrettable consequences either for her or for us, and that there will not be a disaccord between the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and the Italians. For it is only an accord between these two peoples that would furnish the surest guarantee against the "push" of Germany toward the Mediterranean.

In Italy there are great political men whose wisdom is able to appreciate the importance of an accord between the Serb-Croat-Slovene people and Italy, an accord which alone can assure the prosperity of the two peoples by increasing their mutual friendship and by assuring the communications between them for the development of their commerce. This is why, gentlemen, I think that the Italian statesmen will not be guided by the idea of obtaining a town or an island more or less. They must know in advance that Italy's force does not lie in this or that town or island, but in the friendly relations between her and the Serb-Croat-Slovene people.

These friendly and statesmanlike utterances of M. Pashitch found, however, no echo in Rome nor in the capitals of the Entente Powers, and did not prevent the signing of a treaty which bartered away the freedom of nearly a million Yugoslavs.

ITALY'S VIEWPOINT

If want of knowledge cannot be invoked on the part of Italian statesmen, what arguments, it will be asked, can be put forward by them in justification of

the terms of the secret treaty? The answer is: Reasons of strategy, and the necessity of assuring the safety of Italy in the future. In 1915 Italy had to consider two possibilities regarding the conclusion of the war. One was that it would end in a drawn battle, a kind of stalemate, as the result of which Germany and Austria would still remain in being as great powers, and still be a future menace for Italy. In these circumstances it was to Italy's interest, and it was even her duty, to assure herself of every possible strategic advantage, so that if she had ever to renew the struggle against Austria she would do so with as many trump cards in hand as possible. If the Austrian Empire still continued to exist, no free and independent Yugoslavia could come into being, so that Italy's annexations could not harm a State that was nonexistent.

The second hypothesis was that Austria should be defeated and dismembered, but that Russia should still exist as the greatest military and autocratic power in Europe. She would naturally establish herself as the protector of all the smaller Slav nations. Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia would therefore only be outposts of the Russian Empire, and the menace of Pan-Slavism would replace the menace of Pan-Germanism on the Adriatic and elsewhere. By the secret treaty entered into by France, Britain, and Russia before the war, the latter power was assured the possession of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, so that, as the Black Sea fleet could enter the Aegean at any time, Russia might become a formidable rival to Italy in the Mediterranean. Through Yugoslavia she could challenge Italy's mastery of the Adriatic and from the Croatian and Dalmatian ports could threaten Italy's Adriatic coast line.

THE CHANGED SITUATION

Such a danger might be an excuse, if not a reason, for Italy's claim to Istria, Dalmatia, and the islands. In 1915 the realization of either of these hypotheses was possible and could be pleaded in justification of the terms of the secret treaty.

But in 1919 no such reason can be in-

voked. The Austrian Empire has ceased to exist, and Russia, as a military and autocratic power, has disappeared forever from the political stage. The new State of Yugoslavia has come into existence, but cannot threaten Italy or challenge her supremacy in the Adriatic. The new kingdom possesses no navy, and the great powers can make it a condition of its existence that it shall not create one. A country may raise an army in secret, but can never create a fleet without its being known. With the possession by Italy of Brindisi and Valona, Trieste and Venice, the Adriatic, from the point of view of naval strategy, becomes an Italian lake.

There is now no reason whatever why Italy should insist on receiving the strategic guarantees contained in the secret treaty. Great Britain and France both realize today the bitter injustice they did their gallant ally, Serbia, the "Piedmont" of the new Yugoslavia, by signing the secret treaty; but they do not, as long as Italy insists on her pound of flesh, know any way to escape from the dilemma in which they have placed themselves. The only solution would be that Italy should voluntarily renounce the terms of the secret treaty and thus set them free.

But this Italy shows no signs of doing. On the contrary, she even went beyond that document and claimed Fiume, to which in the treaty she renounced all claim, categorically admitting that it was a Croatian port.

ITALIAN IMPERIALISM

This is a fresh proof of the truth of the French proverb that *l'appetit vient en mangeant*. The concluding of the secret treaty has been the starting point of a wave of imperialism which has swept over the whole Italian peninsula. In addition to Yugoslav territory the secret treaty also assured to Italy the permanent possession of the Dodecanese, the twelve Greek islands she seized during the war with Turkey, and which, in spite of her written promise to evacuate them made in the Treaty of Lausanne, she still holds. She further disputes Greek claims to Northern Epirus, has proclaimed an Italian protectorate over

Albania, and demands large territories on the Turkish mainland.

We are thus brought face to face with a new Eastern question. With the possession of the Eastern Adriatic ports of Trieste and Fiume Italy would complete her control of the Mediterranean traffic to and from Switzerland, South Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Jugoslavia, and thus arm herself with an economic weapon of the first importance. Trieste has long been a centre of trade with the Levant. Its shipping and banking facilities will now fall into Italian hands and provide a powerful agency of peaceful penetration. The possession of the islands of the Dodecanese is a step-

ping-stone to the domination of a section of the Turkish Empire. But the realization of such vaulting ambitions can only be achieved by making *tabula rasa* of all the principles for which the United States and the Allies fought the war, and would simply be the substitution of Italian imperialism on a small scale for German imperialism on a grand.

Every real friend of Italy regards with anxiety the line of policy on which Baron Sonnino and Signor Orlando embarked, and is hoping that Signor Nitti and Signor Tittoni will renounce the grandiose visions of their predecessors and adopt a more sane and moderate policy.

[A Reply to the Preceding Article]

Italy's Rights Across the Adriatic

Italian Official Review in Justification of the Treaty of London and Italy's Claims

By CAPTAIN ALESSANDRO SAPELLI

[FORMER GOVERNOR OF BENADIR, EAST AFRICA; DIRECTOR OF ITALIAN BUREAU OF INFORMATION, NEW YORK]

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, in accordance with its non-partisan policy, submitted Captain Gordon-Smith's article on the Treaty of London, with his knowledge and approval, to Italian official representatives in America for a reply. The Italian view of the subject is given below.

THERE has been growing up in certain quarters a curious predilection to visit many of the ills of the Peace Conference on the Treaty of London—to hold up that document, amid all the covert diplomacy of the war, as the most iniquitous example, compared with the impiety of which the contracts of England and France to bestow Constantinople on Russia, Shantung on Japan, and to divide Asiatic Turkish vilayets between them, and even England's recent treaty with Persia, which renders the League of Nations still-born, loom almost in the light of sanctified covenants. Many censors of this supposed nefarious document cheerfully admit that it would not gleam with quite such an unholy light if only Italy would

do what England and France, however, reveal little intention of doing in regard to their own advantageous private engagements, and denounce the Treaty of London as a "scrap of paper."

The methods employed, the pressure brought to bear on Italy in order to have her Government consummate "*il gran rifiuto*," are quite familiar. They are not particularly praiseworthy, but that may be due to the character of the result they are feverishly striving to reach. And now the moral aspects of these methods and this pressure, which could hardly be attractively sustained by the British desire to perpetuate the Cunard concessions in the Adriatic and the French jealousy of Italian expansion in the Mediterranean, are receiving a con-

stantly increasing ethical impetus from the attractively advertised claims of the Yugoslavs.

It is quite natural, therefore, that Captain Gordon-Smith, in the light of his titles and his office, should ignore all less popular considerations and base his argument for the denouncement of the treaty chiefly upon this ground. His method, if allowed to go unanalyzed, his conclusions, if left unanswered, would be singularly appealing. It is my purpose to analyze his method and to answer his conclusions. I shall try to do so as politely as possible by showing the same consideration for the contentions and claims of Yugoslavia that he does for the contentions and claims of Italy.

In the first place he is to be congratulated on his method. Singularly impressed by his opening denunciations, the gentle reader glides smoothly on from the abstract to the concrete, from the general to the specific with intellectual, even emotional satisfaction, so that the final apostrophe arrives with peculiar clearness, force, and beauty:

Every real friend of Italy regards with anxiety the line of policy on which Baron Sonnino and Signor Orlando embarked, and is hoping that Signor Nitti and Signor Tittoni will renounce the grandiose visions of their predecessors and adopt a more sane and moderate policy.

I have heard that there are some benighted persons who consider themselves "real friends of Italy" who might resent this imputation, and, while criticising the statesmanship of Sonnino and Orlando, would deny that their policy embraced "grandiose visions," or that what are called grandiose visions must be renounced by Nitti and Tittoni for the reasons so cleverly set forth by Captain Gordon-Smith.

THE DOCUMENTS INVOLVED

His argument, chiefly concerned with Italy's iniquity, with the former gullibility but present contrition of England and France, and with the worthy ambitions of the Yugoslavs, is based upon three documents. In such cases it is customary to employ authentic documents, or, failing these, candidly to admit their shortcomings. Captain Gordon-Smith does not employ authentic docu-

ments, yet he has nothing to say about the untrustworthiness of those he does employ. It would be quite unnecessary to dwell upon this fact were it not for the advantage he takes of it.

His documents are (1) a perverted translation of a fragment of a dispatch sent by Baron Sonnino to the Duke of Avarna, the Italian Ambassador at Vienna, on April 8, 1915, and his designation of this fragment that it represents a German-Italian agreement is quite gratuitous; (2) the version of the Treaty of London contained in F. Seymour Cocks's book, "The Secret Treaties," (London: The Union of Democratic Control,) which is open to serious objections, as will presently be seen; (3) a garbled translation of a speech made by M. Pashitch, the Serbian Prime Minister, which, however, might be ignored except for the fact that it makes the speaker presuppose an expanded Serbian unity which at the time had no existence.

There is nothing in the Italian Green Book to show that von Bülow had a hand in framing the Italian proposals of April 8; there is much in the Austrian Red Book to show that he did not see them until after they had been sent. For example, the dispatch Baron Macchio, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at Rome, sent Baron Burian, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, on April 14, reads in part:

Prince Bülow has given me the following information on a conversation he had yesterday with Baron Sonnino:

The two gentlemen went over each individual article of the latest Italian demands together. In the matter of the Trentino, Baron Sonnino admitted that he had included purely German districts, but endeavored to excuse this by saying that you in your proposal had retained purely Italian districts for the Dual Monarchy. Prince Bülow gained the impression that the Italians would be open to negotiations as to the extent of territory to be ceded as well as on the question of the Isonzo border.

Prince Bülow considered the stipulations about Trieste to be entirely too obscure in their disclosures of Baron Sonnino's real aspirations. When Baron Sonnino explained that he had in mind a status similar to that of Hamburg, Prince Bülow retorted that Germany was a confederation of States and that therefore an analogy between the two situations could hardly be established. Moreover, he re-

capitulated with all his available energy all the reasons why Austria-Hungary could not renounce Trieste. . . .

The chief elements which dominate the Italian Government still remain the same: Fear of England, fear of revolution—and at court revolution seems to be feared even more than war—and on the other hand the uncertainty as to the relative power of the two camps.

It certainly does not look as though the proposals sent on April 8 were the result of an agreement between Wilhelmstrasse and the Consulate, as Captain Gordon-Smith affirms. Even the preface to the Sonnino dispatch would have enlightened him. Was its avoidance innocent or calculated? An oversight that is certainly innocent is to be noticed in the last paragraph of the proposals, where he mentions Article 8 of the Triple Alliance Treaty, when, of course, 7 is intended.

TREATY OF LONDON TEXT

The authentic text of the Treaty of London should, without transgressing one of its stipulations, be known only to the Governments of the signatories. That President Wilson in his "Memorandum concerning the question of Italian claims on the Adriatic" presented to the Italian delegation at Paris, on April 14, 1919, and in his statement to the Italian people on the same subject nine days later, should have shown a singular knowledge of the details of the treaty is beside the point. That mystery may be cleared up some day. All published versions are based on a Russian translation made from the French original in the Russian imperial archives and published in the *Izvestia* of Petrograd by orders of the Lenin Government in December, 1917. The New Europe of London published an English version of the Russian text, and from it an Italian translation was made which was read in the Rome Chamber by Deputy Bevione, and its accuracy challenged, but naturally without corrective specifications. The origin of the Cocks text employed by Captain Gordon-Smith is quite unknown, but its substance shows that it is even further remote from the original than the Bolshevik publication obviously is. At least its careless construction is revealed in the last sentence of Article I., where the

context plainly shows that between the words "such armistices" and "form" a negative should have been inserted.

In the *Izvestia* version the geographical designations are shown to be so inexact



FIUME AND DISPUTED POINTS ON THE NEIGHBORING COAST

that they could hardly have been that way in the authentic text. This is proved when they are compared with those portions of the treaty incorporated in the armistice of Nov. 4, 1918. The concessions to Croatia are lightly passed over. The insignificant ports of Novi and Carlopago are mentioned, but the larger ports of Buccari, Segna, and Cirquenizza are omitted.

As to the Pashitch speech, according to the official English version sent out by the Serbian Press Bureau at Nish the last sentence should read:

I believe that Italian statesmen will not fix their aim on the acquisition of a town more or less or any particular island, because they know that the strength of Italy will lie, not in any such town or island, but in harmonious relations with the Serbo-Croatian and Slovene peoples.

INACCURATE CONCLUSIONS

It will be admitted, I think, that the further any documents depart from their authentic sense, form, and setting, the greater become the opportunities for casuistry. The opportunities thus presented in the present instance are not shunned by Captain Gordon-Smith. From his gratuitous assumption that the proposals of April 8 are of German-Italian origin, it is but a step to designate them as German, and so to pass nonchalantly

on from what he calls the "era of sordid huckstering" to that other era in which he represents the Entente statesmen as "not a little horrified when the Rome Government disclosed its conditions in all their nakedness."

And so in making this approach he is able to impart the important information that while "Germany knew it was quite hopeless to expect Italy to take up arms on the side of the Central Powers," this was all artfully concealed from the Entente statesmen, who "were forced to pay almost any price to assure themselves of Italian support," for, writes Captain Gordon-Smith: "As long as Italy was 'on the fence' France had to keep at least 500,000 men to guard her southern frontier, and this at a moment when every soldier was worth his weight in gold."

Is it possible that he does not know that because of the assurance given France by Italy in early August, 1914, a measurable majority of these troops were removed and incorporated in Foch's Ninth Army, where they played an important, possibly a decisive, rôle in the battle of the Marne?

In a similar manner Captain Gordon-Smith's special text of the Treaty of London, ignoring as it does the concessions made to Croatia and disparaging those made to Serbia and Montenegro, enables him to state with unblushing assurance that the document "seems a flagrant betrayal of one of the bravest and most loyal allies of the Entente, the Kingdom of Serbia," and that its carrying out "would indeed have been a terrible blow to the aspirations of Serbia and the Southern Slavs for unity."

And although later he speciously admits Italy's justification on two hypotheses, it is not before he has attempted to annihilate their moral value by making the most of M. Pashitch's righteous objections uttered at about the time the treaty was being negotiated.

BASIS OF ITALY'S CLAIMS

Now, the negotiation of the Treaty of London was much more complicated, the tentative proposals advanced by the various parties much more complex, than Captain Gordon-Smith probably has any

idea of. The boundaries put forward by Italy were purely defensive. For centuries she had been invaded, because she lacked them, by German, Magyar, and Slav, and unless she now secures these defensive ramparts her future will still be menaced by the same races. The laws of racial migration are immutable and their execution can only be prevented by force.

Italy's claims as represented in the Treaty of London do not therefore constitute, in so far as the Adriatic is concerned, her maximum demands, but rather her minimum postulates. They were the result of a compromise adjusted, I believe, from the following formulæ, the first presented by Italy, the second by Russia:

1. Istria, (including Trieste;) Pola, as a military and naval base; and Fiume.
 2. The Croatian coast, from Fiume southward to the neighborhood of Zara.
 3. The Dalmatian mainland from Zara to the Montenegrin frontier, with the naval bases of Sebenico and Cattaro.
 4. The Dalmatian Archipelago, which constitutes a formidable maritime position.
1. A part of Istria, including Pola as well as Trieste, to belong to Italy.
 2. A part of Istria, with Fiume, to belong to a future independent Croatia, together with the present Croatian coast and with Dalmatia as far as the river Narenta.
 3. Dalmatia, from the Narenta southward, to belong to Serbia.
 4. The greater part of the Dalmatian Archipelago to belong to the future Serbo-Croatia.

When the treaty was negotiated the national attitude of Greece, with dynastic proclivities toward the Central Powers, was problematical. Italy had taken the Dodecanese from Turkey, not from Greece. According to the Treaty of Lausanne these islands were to be returned to Turkey when the last Turkish officer had been removed from Libya Italiana. At what period of the war would Captain Gordon-Smith suggest that Italy should have returned them? And has he so carelessly followed the diplomacy of M. Venizelos as not to know where Greece stands in the ultimate readjustment?

THE ALBANIAN PROTECTORATE

Italy proclaimed a protectorate over Albania—whose students for centuries have been educated in the universities of the Peninsula—much less selfishly than England did over Egypt, and to offset the claims of Austria-Hungary, which had already proclaimed a protectorate there. The Italian proclamation delivered on June 3, 1917, at Argyrocastro, by General Ferrero, reads in part:

By this act, Albanians, you will have free institutions, troops, law courts, and schools directed by Albanian citizens; you will be able to manage your properties and the product of your labor to your own advantage, and for the ever-increasing well-being of your country.

As the Treaty of London provides for Italian concessions in Asiatic Turkey dependent on British and French acquisitions there, and as further Franco-British acquisitions are provided for in a treaty concluded behind the back of Italy in 1916, quite out of order with the letter and spirit of the London covenant, it seems unnecessary to do more than mention Captain Gordon-Smith's statement that Italy now "demands large territories on the Turkish mainland," and to add that such demands exist nowhere except in the Captain's imagination.

"Ignorance," it has been seen, is hardly the word to apply to the British and French negotiators of the Treaty of London. "Dire necessity" was theirs, but it was hardly Italy's fault, for she, aside from making it safe for the withdrawal of French garrisons in the south, had forced Austria-Hungary to keep half a million men inactive on the Italian frontier.

SERBIA'S ASPIRATIONS

But let us return to the burden of Captain Gordon-Smith's remarks—his solicitude for Greater Serbia, for the monarchy of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, for Yugoslavia. He will probably not deny that during the negotiation of the Treaty of London M. Boskarich was made conversant with the Serbian provisions in the document and approved of them. M. Boskarich was the Serbian Minister at the Court of St. James's. At any rate a note was sent to the press stating that Serbia had re-

ceived "her little window on the sea." Nor is he likely to deny that Italian ships rescued the survivors of the Serbian Army from Montenegro and Albania, and conveyed them to Corfu. And Serbia, betrayed by her great allies in the Autumn of 1915, as Captain Gordon-Smith has already shown in the September number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, is still worthy of special consideration. Unfortunately, since her rescue and rehabilitation her condition has become somewhat complicated by her assumption of larger powers, of greater responsibilities. Prudence does not always go hand in hand with valor, and Serbian aspirations are now arousing considerable apprehension among her former admirers.

Her expansion into Yugoslavia was achieved by three events: The Declaration of Corfu, July 20, 1917, which placed the Monarchy of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes on paper; the Pact of Rome, April 10, 1918, which gave Croats and Slovenes and the subject Serbs the moral support of the allied and associated nations, just as it did the subject Poles, Rumanians, and Czechoslovaks, in their projected revolt against the Hapsburgs—an advantage of which the subject Poles, Rumanians, and Czechoslovaks quickly availed themselves, and the Croats, Slovenes, and Serbs did not—and, finally, the recognition by the United States of the Greater Monarchy, Feb. 7, 1919, which raised the mandate of the Serbian delegates at the Peace Conference so that they were able to plead the cause of the Croats and Slovenes, as friendly peoples, and dispute the claims of Italy based on the Treaty of London.

Really this distinction bestowed on the Croats and Slovenes was hardly deserved. Their revolt against the Hapsburgs never occurred. Even the prisoners among them in Italy declined to fight for freedom, and showed their contempt for the Czechoslovaks, who eagerly embraced the opportunity to do so. They transgressed the spirit of the Pact of Rome by conducting an anti-Italian propaganda in France, England, and the United States, until those Italians who had generously labored to make the Rome Convention a success revolted at their ingratitude. The

Austro-Hungarian divisions in which Serbo-Croats and Slovenes predominated fought cruelly at Caporetto, committed unspeakable atrocities in Veneto, and fought to the last at the Piave for the Dual Monarchy of the Hapsburgs. Their numbers are upon record: The 28th, 31st, 36th, 42d, 58th, 44th, 52d, 55th, 60th, 32d, 49th, 50th, 57th, and 70th, and the 53d Regiment of Zagabria with 95 per cent. Croats, the 79th Regiment of Ottociaz with 100 per cent. Croats, and the 37th Regiment of Gravosa with 95 per cent. Serbo-Croats. A Slav General commanded the enemy's armies on the Isonzo. To a Croatian regiment was promised the privilege of being the first to enter Venice and to loot the Pearl of the Adriatic. Some of the attachés of the Yugoslav delegates at Paris are said to be under indictment in Italy for having committed atrocities in Veneto.

THE CASE OF FIUME

And yet it disturbs some persons that Italy does not surrender Fiume to the tender mercies of these people—Fiume, whose deputy, Andrea Ossoina, on Oct. 18, 1918, defied the Hapsburgs in the Parliament of Budapest by declaring that his city was and would always remain Italian; Fiume, whose people a week before the armistice elected a National Council to proclaim its union to Italy; Fiume, whose people resented President Wilson's advice, given last April to the Italian people, to surrender their city to the Croats, in the following language:

The population of Fiume, assembled under the Italian flag, in the presence of representatives of the glorious American Army, replies to your proclamation by conferring full power over the city upon the representatives of the Italian Government.

In the name of our dead on the Piave and Isonzo, we express to you our greatest gratitude for provoking by your attitude the highest and most solemn manifestation in favor of Italian sentiment, which this city could make before the whole world.

We inform you that Fiume's union with Italy is an accomplished fact.

And yet Captain Gordon-Smith appears to be grieved that Italy should

have gone beyond the Treaty of London "and claimed Fiume, to which in the treaty she renounced all claim, categorically admitting that it was a Croatian port."

Well, we have seen why it was not claimed by Italy in the treaty; also, we may at length have some idea why the treaty "is now seen to be an iniquitous pact and one which Great Britain and France would today be only too glad to repudiate if they could do so without breach of their plighted word"; of the "ignorance and dire necessity" of their plenipotentiaries "in signing a document of which all right-thinking men are to-day heartily ashamed," of gross neglect of the said plenipotentiaries to realize the fact that "the study of the Yugoslav question had been confined to a few experts like Dr. Seton-Watson, H. Wickham Steed, and Sir Arthur Evans in England, and Professor Denis, M. André Cheradame, and August Gavrin in France," so that they seemed to rely on such ignoramuses as Richard Bagot, G. T. Plunkett, Julius M. Price, and Thomas G. Jackson in England, and Adolph Landry, Gabriel Hanotaux, Jules Destrée, and Robert Lambel in France, and thus "bartered away the freedom of nearly a million Yugoslavs."

Now, as I understand it, while the maxim, "self-determination of nationalities," was an inspiring phrase for martial sentiment its practice was never intended to be paramount to the exigencies of national defense, or even to large national interests. I may be wrong, but the remaking of the maps of Europe, Asia, and Africa, as far as it has proceeded, does not prove me so.

And there is one word more: If Serbia had defeated the Central Powers unaided she could scarcely dictate more arrogantly to Europe than she does today with the self-assumed mandate of Jugoslavia; if Italy had been indifferent to the "dire necessity" of the Entente and had let them fight the Germans without her she could scarcely receive less consideration than she does today through the disloyalty, injustice, and contempt of her allies.

General Ludendorff's Memoirs

Many Interesting Points of Inside History Told in the German Commander's Narrative of the War

GENERAL ERICH VON LUDENDORFF'S book, "My War Memoirs," published late in the Summer of 1919, throws new light on many points in the progress of the war as conducted on the German side. It reveals the author's personality as possessing a stern fidelity to military discipline and a profound devotion to the Hohenzollern dynasty. With this goes a conviction "of the greatness and significance of the peaceful services rendered by the Fatherland to civilization and mankind." His book is written in the impersonal vein characteristic of a soldier, and discloses a straightforward honesty of purpose. Throughout, he makes plain his distrust of those whom he terms the "politicals."

General Ludendorff was with the first German column to enter Belgium. He attributes the plan to invade France by way of Belgium to "one of the greatest soldiers that ever lived," General Count von Schlieffen. He sums up his part in the attack on Liège as "a bold stroke in which I was able to fight just like any soldier of the rank and file who proves his worth in battle."

On Aug. 22 he was summoned from headquarters of the 2d Army between Wavre and Namur to General Headquarters at Coblenz to take the position of Chief of Staff of the 8th Army in East Prussia. En route to the east front he reported to the Kaiser, who bestowed upon him the Order Pour le Mérite for his services at Liège. Referring to that occasion, Ludendorff remarks: "All my life this will be a proud if sad memory." At Hanover he picked up General von Hindenburg, and wishes it understood that this was positively the first time he had met his titular superior in that close relationship which was to last until the end of the war. Though General Ludendorff does not state as much precisely, yet it presently becomes clear that his

was the directing hand thereafter, thus upsetting much that was written at the time regarding Hindenburg's strategy based upon foreknowledge.

A MILITARY OPPORTUNIST

In approaching the decisive victory over the Russians at the battle of Tannenberg, Ludendorff states that there had been no previously settled plan of action. He practically admits being somewhat of a military opportunist, if the later charge of "gambler" made against him can hardly be sustained. "The civilian," writes Ludendorff, "is too inclined to think that war is only like the making out of an arithmetical problem. On both sides it is a case of wrestling with powerful, unknown physical and psychological forces, a struggle which inferiority in numbers makes all the more difficult. It means working with men of varying force of character and with their own views. The only quantity that is known and constant is the will of the leader." From this time forth Ludendorff figured as a bold though not reckless watcher for any promising weakness in the enemy's strategy. His victory at Tannenberg shows that where the enemy's morale was undeniably weaker than that of the German Army, tremendous will-to-conquer blows, combined with fortuitous circumstances, bade fair to be successful, but in the west, where both resistance and resilience were as great, if not greater, than his own, his theory proved disastrous.

Following Tannenberg, a very large part of Ludendorff's book is taken up with events in the east. Tannenberg merely served to open his eyes to the precarious situation with which he had to deal. This was specially manifested in the weakness of Germany's allies. From both the military and the political point of view he had only contempt for

Austria-Hungary. While admitting the complaint of Austria that Germany had failed in France in the Autumn of 1914, and that she was left without assistance to fight the Russian hordes, he argues: "In any case, it was fatal for us that we allied with decaying States like Austria-Hungary and Turkey. A Jew in Radom once said to me that he could not understand why so strong and vital a body as Germany had allied herself with a corpse. He was right." After Mackensen's victory at Gorlice, Ludendorff proclaimed him "a brilliant soldier whose deeds will live in history for all time." He also praises his adversary, the Grand Duke Nicholas, as a really great strategist.

WORKING WITH HINDENBURG

One of Ludendorff's most illuminating chapters deals with the military crisis of 1916, after the disastrous six months' attempt to capture Verdun, and upon the eve of Rumania's entry into the war on the side of the Entente. On Aug. 28 Hindenburg and Ludendorff received orders to proceed to General Headquarters at Pless. There General von Falkenhayn, Chief of Staff, was dismissed, and Hindenburg appointed in his place. Explanation is given of the somewhat curious military position of First Quartermaster General assigned to Ludendorff. The title of Second Chief of the General Staff had been intended for him, but at Ludendorff's request the other was granted him. He confesses a deeper personal anxiety over the task before him than was known at the time. "I realized only too fully that my post was thankless," he writes. "I entered it with the solemn resolve that my deeds and actions should have no other motive than to lead the war to a victorious end. For that alone had the General Field Marshal and I been summoned. The work was stupendous. I never felt free from a heavy weight of responsibility. The sphere of effort was in many respects new to me and was multifarious; the mere extent of the duties was more than I was accustomed to. Never did fate lay so suddenly so heavy a burden on a mortal."

Rumania's entry into the war first oc-

cupied the dual German High Command. Falkenhayn's plan for Mackensen to cross the Danube and march on Bucharest was rejected as leading to certain disaster, and the march into the Dobrudja was substituted. Its ultimate success was praised by enemy military critics as a great strategic movement, the credit for which, at the time, mainly went to Mackensen.

Turning to the west, Ludendorff was profoundly concerned with the gravity of the situation. Nothing but heavy losses had resulted from the Verdun failure. The Somme battle progressed without satisfactory promise. The fear of a breakdown on the western front carried with it a threatening probability of the loss of all their efforts in Russia. Ludendorff's mind was occupied with tactics of defense. Marshal Hindenburg agreed with him that the German infantry could not be utilized to the best advantage by merely doggedly clinging to their lines; that the deep dug-outs and cellars too often became man-traps, and that the rifle had been forgotten in the use of the hand grenade. All this must be changed.

GERMANY'S PEACE OFFER

The move of Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg to induce President Wilson to act as peace mediator was attractive to Ludendorff. He agreed to a direct proposal, but stipulated that it should not be made until after the fall of Bucharest. That event took place on Dec. 6, 1916. It was followed by the offer on the 12th. Its reception by the Entente press and the reply of Jan. 30 convinced Ludendorff that an acceptable arrangement was impossible, that the Entente were bound by secret treaties to destroy the Central Powers. Henceforth, therefore, the watchword must be "Victory or Downfall!" The later draft of a proposed basis for President Wilson's intervention, dispatched to Ambassador Bernstorff on Jan. 29, 1917, contained, in Ludendorff's words, "the only terms of peace which ever reached the enemy from our side with my co-operation." They read as follows:

Return of the part of Upper Alsace occupied by the French. Establishment

of a frontier securing Germany and Poland strategically and economically against Russia.

Restitution of the colonies in form of an agreement securing to Germany colonial domains in proportion to her population and economic interests. Return of French territory occupied by Germany, with provision for strategic and economic rectification of frontiers and financial compensation.

Restoration of Belgium, with definite guarantees for the security of Germany, these to be arranged by direct negotiation with the Belgian Government.

A commercial and financial agreement on the basis of the exchange of territory captured by either side and to be returned when peace was concluded.

Compensation to German undertakings and private persons injured by the war.

Repudiation of all arrangements and regulations which might interfere with normal trade and commerce after the peace, by the abrogation of the treaties concerned.

Establishment of freedom of the seas.

General Ludendorff devoted considerable space to his conflict with the Civil Government. His chief accusation is that it was insufficiently "national." It failed to work out a strong and consistent peace policy. It expressed itself clumsily, and laid itself open to attacks of clever enemy propaganda. The author complains of the difficulty of persuading the Government to adopt the army command's demand for the better organization of Germany's man power. When the Government was pressed to this course, it presented a changeling. Manifest injustices appeared in the bill laid before the Reichstag. To Ludendorff's mind a glaring instance among these was that troops withdrawn after heavy battles saw in the military stations the new auxiliary helpers, male and female, receiving for peaceful labor much higher pay than that of the soldier.

THE SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN

Coming to the unrestricted submarine campaign, both Hindenburg and Ludendorff were somewhat slow to assent, not so much on principle as on questions of policy. Ludendorff was for waiting until the end of the Rumanian campaign in order to bring troops from the east; then he thought it advisable to defer action until the peace proposals terminated. Its effect on America was considered.

The General continues:

The Government * * * thought it very probable the United States would join in the war against us. The Supreme Army Command had to take into account, in dealing with the military situation, the views thus expressed in responsible quarters. It would involve an addition to the armed forces of the Entente of five or six divisions in the first year after America entered the war, and later on, if the submarine war did not have a decisive effect, a serious, indeed, a vital, increase in the strength of the enemy. It could not be doubted that America, if she came into the war, would arm herself in the same way that England had done, and that the Entente would lead the United States from one energetic step to another. I had, however, no serious fear as to any increased output of munitions in the States, as they were already working with all their might for the Entente.

General Ludendorff goes on to quote the Chief of the Naval Staff, a friend of the Chancellor and a warm partisan of unrestricted submarine war—presumably Admiral von Tirpitz—as being confident that the campaign would produce decisive results within six months, that in the loss of freight space and the reduction of overseas imports England would be compelled to abandon the war. It would also make it impossible for America to transport large forces overseas. While Ludendorff was doubtful of these promises, being mindful of the American Navy, he finally arrived at the conclusion that, given twelve months of unrestricted submarine warfare, a decisive result would be reached before America could throw formidable armies into the conflict. The actual decision was made on Jan. 9, 1917, but Ludendorff adds that had a hint of the forthcoming Russian collapse reached the High Command at that moment it would "have altered the whole situation, and would have had the greatest weight in the formation of our opinions."

It will be recalled that at this period Ludendorff was freely spoken of in the Entente press as the dictator of Germany. From his own narrative it appears the position was within his grasp. At the crisis reached with the resignation of Bethmann Hollweg in July, 1917, the "Dictatorship of Berlin" was offered or proposed to him. After much anxious consideration he refused it. In the Spring

of that year had come the Russian revolution and the break with the United States. Ludendorff enters into the probable effect of these events at length. In the meantime he was occupied in shortening his line in accordance with his new plan of defensive warfare. Hence the construction of the Hindenburg and Siegfried lines, and the devastation of the vacated Somme districts, which he seeks to explain.

THE LAST GERMAN DRIVE

The motives which prompted him to decide on the last and greatest battle of the war may be summed up in a now-or-never chance. He regarded the military situation as more auspicious for Germany than he had ever anticipated. True, the submarine war had not produced the results forecast by the Naval Staff, and American formations had to be reckoned on as arriving in the Spring of 1918; but, at the beginning of that year, due to the Russian collapse, Germany was numerically in greater strength than she had ever been relative to that of the Entente. As the year drew beyond mid-summer this advantage would decrease with the pouring in of American legions.

In Ludendorff's reckoning this was an incontestable argument for a great Spring offensive, though there were many other contributing factors. Of these he enumerates the following:

The Quadruple Alliance was only held together by the hope of a German victory.

In Germany the national spirit appeared to be better than with our allies; nevertheless, it had sunk very low. I must admit I formed too favorable an estimate of our energy.

The army had come victoriously through 1917, but it had become apparent that the holding of the west front purely by a defensive could no longer be counted on, in view of the enormous quantity of material of all kinds which the Entente had now at their disposal.

The troops no longer displayed their old stubbornness in defense, they thought with horror of fresh defensive battles; they longed for the war of movement. Skulkers were already numerous.

In defense the army was bound gradually to succumb to the ever-increasing hostile superiority in men and material. This feeling was shared by everybody.

All that had gone before was merely a

means to the one end of creating a situation that would make it a feasible operation. Until now the situation had not arisen.

While the final decision rested with Ludendorff, opposition developed which postponed it. "The American danger rendered it desirable to strike as early as possible." Ludendorff's impatience grew, until on Jan. 23, 1918, he practically forced a settlement.

PREPARING FOR THE BLOW

Ludendorff enters into the preparations for his great offensive. This part provides an interesting illumination of its many phases, of especial value to the military student. It comes with somewhat of a surprise to read a criticism of the use of mass attacks, a method previously in high favor with the German command, and Ludendorff's profession of faith in extended order "to be grounded afresh" in his army. "On the attack," he writes, "just as had been the case during the defensive, the main thing was to loosen formations and sharpen up the shooting group tactics of the infantry." Of the light machine gun he had formed a very favorable opinion, but was not much impressed with the value of tanks. Nerve discipline and fearlessness were the best weapons against the tanks. He gives several instances of how readily they were put out of action at close range. "It was only as discipline declined and the fighting strength of our infantry weakened that the tank in mass formation and in combination with artificial fog secured a disastrous influence upon the course of events in the field."

Turning to his artillery, Ludendorff's plan included "twenty or thirty batteries, or about 100 guns, to every 1,000 yards of the front of attack. These were figures such as no man had thought possible, still less had there ever been any idea of the quantities of ammunition these guns discharged against the enemy. These were indeed massed attacks." In the discussions relative to the area of attack, the centre at St. Quentin was finally chosen. At that point the enemy line was found to be weakest. The plan was to drive in between the French and

British Armies, and crowd the British Army back to the sea. This was the stupendous task undertaken by First Quartermaster General Ludendorff. He marshaled his armies as follows:

6th Army, Armentières.

17th Army, (von Below,) Arras.

2d Army, Moeuvres to Omignon Brook.

18th Army, (von Hutier,) St. Quentin.

7th Army, La Fère.

THE RESULTS DISAPPOINTING

He frankly confesses that the battle, beginning on March 21 and continuing until April 4, was a disappointment. He states that in the failure of the 17th Army to keep in touch with the onswEEPing barrage lay the key to the whole situation. Also, in fighting in too close formation it lost heavily on the 22d, and by the 25th was exhausted. The 2d and 18th Armies did better, but failed to pass beyond Albert. Ludendorff holds that the battle was a brilliant feat "in accomplishing what the English and French had not succeeded in doing," but adds, "strategically we had not achieved what the events of the 23d, 24th, and 25th had encouraged us to hope for," especially the capture of Amiens. He expresses the belief that the German failure was due to the fact that the men were still fighting in too close formation and were not in all cases under the firm control of their officers. They were checked by finding provisions, and valuable time was thus lost. He regarded the strategical situation as now by no means favorable. In this battle Ludendorff lost his youngest son, later identifying the grave by the English inscription, "Here rest two German flying officers." He adds feelingly, "The war has spared me nothing."

FACING AMERICAN TROOPS

The offensive of the Lys Valley was even more disappointing to Ludendorff. Again the 17th Army, "which fought under an unlucky star," failed in its attacks. At this period he refers to the American troops. He observes: "The individual American soldier fought well, though our success had been easy." He adds that by June 20 sufficient American divisions had landed in France to

equalize the German superiority of March. That was decisive. At the same time a mental "disease" infecting the German people was transmitted to the army. Disintegration was one of its manifest symptoms. "Time and again," he writes, "I communicated my anxieties to the gentlemen who, together with me, were appointed to effect a cure and to ascertain the origin of the disease. I did not find a ready hearing. The German people, itself, not altogether blameless in the matter, is now paying for this with its life."

The Entente offensive which now commenced is somewhat ramblingly treated by Ludendorff. He wanders from the field of action to dwell upon subjects remote from the last scene of the great military drama. The defeat of the Bulgarian Army in the east and the events of Aug. 8 on the west front, however, stand out in his narrative as leaving Germany without a shadow of hope to continue the conflict. He writes that Aug. 8 was "the black day of the German Army in this war." He graphically describes the breach made in the German line between the Somme and the Luce, resulting in an "uncommonly serious situation." It grew daily more so in the face of German losses, diminishing reserves, and demoralization sweeping through the German Army. Of the latter he instances a division going up gallantly to the attack and being assailed with German shouts of "Blacklegs!" and "War-prolongers!" He thus concludes:

Everything that I had apprehended and against which I had uttered such countless warnings had come to pass at a single spot. Our fighting weapon was no longer full weight. * * * Aug. 8 marked the decline of our fighting power, and the man power situation being what it was, it robbed me of the hope of discovering some strategic expedient that might once more stabilize the position in our favor. * * * The war would have to be ended.

Defeat of the German Army Ludendorff does not concede, but rather a stern chastening by Providence of those he holds guilty for the degeneration of German morale.

AMONG THE NATIONS

Survey of Important Events and Developments in Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 18, 1919]

THE BALKANS

THE publication of the Bulgarian treaty of peace, including the taking away of a part of Thrace given to Bulgaria by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913 and the partial withdrawal of the Rumanian troops from Budapest, somewhat modified the situation in the Balkans, although lack of comprehensive communication from the States concerning their policies since these events has made it impossible to say to what extent.

BULGARIA.—The day after receiving the treaty, General Theodoroff and the Bulgar delegates departed from Paris for Sofia. This was on Sept. 20. The text of the document was published in the press of Sofia in the first week in October. On the 8th *La Epocha* inaugurated a movement, alleged in Vienna to be supported by the Government, to prevent the signing of the treaty and the carrying out of its terms by force of arms, if necessary. The features of the document particularly resented were the demand for the payment of \$445,000,000, the loss of Thrace, and the rectification of the western frontier in favor of Greece and Serbia, the cutting of the army to 20,000 men, the surrender of the movable spoils of war, and the exigency of being obliged to deliver 250,000 tons of coal to Serbia.

In the midst of the agitation the intransigent ministry went out of office and M. Stambuliwsky, on Oct. 14, was reported to have succeeded in forming a new one for the express purpose of signing the treaty. M. Kaloff took the portfolio of War, M. Dimitreff that of Interior, and M. Maggiaroff that of Foreign Affairs. All were members of the political faction which did its best to prevent Bulgaria from going over to Germany in the Autumn of 1915.

Bulgarian propaganda instituted for the purpose of confuting the charges of atrocities made against the Bulgars by the Interallied Commission investigating under the auspices of the Peace Conference received renewed impetus. Hitherto this counter propaganda had concerned itself chiefly with denying the charges of the commission, or refuting its evidence, and, by copious extracts from the Rockefeller report of 1913, seeking to show that Bulgarians had also been victims of savage Serbs and Greeks. Its new phase finds expression in four publications, issued from the headquarters of Bulgar propaganda in Switzerland, of a series known as "The Library of the Balkan Peoples." The first is a volume of 216 pages with material arranged after the fashion of the commission's report; in a similar manner it deals with the alleged atrocities of the Serbs, arranging the evidence in a like manner. It copiously cites the documents of the Carnegie Foundation and the stories of newspaper correspondents. Its material is just as horrible. The compiler is M. D. Skopiansky, former editor of the Macedonian Fatherland. The other publications in the series are "A Maligned People," by B. Velianoff, "The Detractors of the Bulgarian People, with Special Reference to Léon Savadjian," by Georges Maritzine, and "Bulgars and Greeks Before Swiss Public Opinion," by J. Ivanoff of the University of Sofia, all issued at Lausanne in French.

GREECE.—The provisions of the Bulgarian Peace Treaty, while they deprived Bulgaria of Thrace, did not assign that territory elsewhere. On Oct. 20 the Peace Conference was still seeking a solution of the problem. Meanwhile, Greek refugees in Thrace addressed an appeal to the American people and press, and a petition to President Wilson was



BULGARIAN TREATY, PART II., SECTION 3.—THRACE.—Bulgaria renounces in favor of the principal allied and associated powers all rights and title over the territories of Thrace which formerly belonged to the Bulgarian Monarchy, and which, being situated outside the new frontiers of Bulgaria, have not at present been assigned to any State. Bulgaria undertakes to accept whatever settlement may be made by the principal allied and associated powers in regard to these territories and the principal allied and associated powers undertake, on the other hand, to insure economic outlets for Bulgaria to the Aegean Sea under the conditions which will be fixed at a later date.

being signed throughout the disputed territory (on Oct. 4 it had 87,380 signatures from the Saloniki region alone) asking him to give his approval to the union of Thrace and Greece. The appeal, after expressing surprise that the American peace delegation should have ignored or violated "the very principles for which President Wilson and the American people stand, viz., the right of self-determination and the condemnation of the old diplomacy whereby countries and populations were disposed of without being consulted," continues:

It is a well-known fact that of the population of Bulgarian Thrace and Turkish Thrace the Turks and Greeks together form 85 per cent. and the Bulgarians only 6 per cent., and the latter are nowhere in compact groups. . . . The artificial and unjust solutions proposed by the American delegation will only create immediate trouble and future wars.

Before this appeal reached the United

States, however, it had been deprived of its impetus by the terms of the Bulgarian treaty, which, naturally, gave relief to the 90,000 Greek refugees of West Thrace, who had been living for the last five years in Greece, and who began to look forward to a speedy return to their homes, freed henceforth from the incubus of Bulgar rule. So their aspirations took a new form which found expression in the Greek press in terms such as the following:

In the first place the conference must at once take effective measures to secure the peaceful evacuation of Western Thrace by the Bulgars. Besides the Bulgarian troops there were some thirty Comitadjis or irregulars, armed by the Government and officered by regulars, scattered over the country. In the second place, an immediate settlement of the political status of Thrace was urgently

demand. To send an allied commission there would, it was said, be like putting the cart before the horse, because there were in Greece alone nearly 200,000 Greek Thracians from Bulgarian and Turkish Thrace, who had been driven mercilessly from their homes and property in 1913, 1914, and 1915, and who had since been living in Greece at the expense of the Government. Thousands had also in those years fled to America. What was needed, therefore, according to the Hellenic press, was a large allied repatriation commission to reinstate these exiles in their homes and lands and expel therefrom the Bulgarian and Turkish squatters, who had since taken possession. "Only after these preliminaries have been completed," it was added, "can the question even be discussed as to what portion, if any, of Thrace should be annexed to the proposed International State of Constantinople."

RUMANIA.—The evacuation of Budapest was begun in the third week of September and then discontinued on the discovery of an alleged plot on the part of Premier Stephan Friedrich to restore King Charles, and the subsequent publication of the Bulgarian Peace Treaty forecasting the probable surrender to Bulgaria of the Bulgar portion of Dobrudja. The effect of these developments revealed in Rumania a national spirit satisfied with work well done and a consciousness of self-reliance as to the future. The people, therefore, to judge from the unified opinion of the press, awaited the terms of the Hungarian Treaty with no misgivings. This treaty, which would, it was expected, settle the northwestern frontier, had long ago been drafted by the Paris Conference and was waiting for some representative of a responsible Government at Budapest to come and get it.

On the receipt of what Bucharest considered an ultimatum from the Conference, the troops, it was said, simply began the evacuation of the dual city on the Danube without leaving any constituted, responsible authorities in charge.

"Let the Conference attend to that,"

was the opinion of the Bucharest press. "We ousted Bela Kun, for which we received small thanks. But let us advise the Conference to lift the blockade from Hungary, otherwise the country of the Magyars is doomed."

The whole tenor of opinion was neither that of resignation nor of defiance, but of unbounded faith in people capable of great social and political idealism, and in the country's resources, which were described, as far as food and clothing were concerned, as being self-sustaining. It was admitted, however, that a foreign combination bent on preventing Rumania from reaching her rightful destiny as the pre-eminent State in the Balkans might debase her currency and, for a time, arrest her industrial development by preventing her from receiving the necessary tools and machinery on which her immediate reconstruction depended.

The resignation of Prince Carol as heir to the throne was accepted by the King at a council of Ministers.

Prince Nicholas, whose position as hereditary Prince was recognized, is the second son of King Ferdinand, and was 16 years old on Aug. 18. When his mother, Queen Mary, visited France and England last Spring, she placed him at Eton. Accounts received in Budapest represented him as a boarder at Herbert Brinton's house and as entering with great spirit into the sports of the famous school among the pupils of which he was a great favorite. It was reported from Bucharest that orders had been issued in Bessarabia for the male population of military age to be prepared to accept conscription in the Rumanian Army. Bessarabia was a Russian province, lying to the northeast of Rumania, from which it was separated by the Danube and the Pruth. Its area is 18,000 square miles. It has a population of 2,000,000, half of whom are Rumanians and the other half Russians, various Slavs, Jews, (190,000,) Tartars, gypsies, Greeks, Armenians, and Germans. The Rumanian troops were authorized by the Central Powers in January, 1918, to enter Bessarabia, ostensibly for the purpose of restoring order. They remained there after the collapse of the Central Powers on ac-

count of the danger of Bolshevism reported at the Paris Conference. On Sept. 23, Bessarabian delegates at Paris transmitted a memorandum to President Wilson protesting that Rumania had established a complete civil service in Bessarabia.

SERBIA.—The Davidovitch Government, which came in on Aug. 16, and registered its policy on the 23d, went out of office in the first week in October. Then the predecessors of M. Davidovitch, Stoyan Protitch, who had resigned because of his inability to get along with his colleagues, was asked by the Prince Regent to return, but meeting with less than the requisite support he gave way to M. Trikovitch, who tried in his turn to form a radical Government, but was equally unsuccessful. Failing to conciliate the Serb and Croat elements he, on Oct. 7, gave way to M. Pavlovitch, who, it was reported from Belgrade, could rely upon the full support of the Prince Regent and a majority of the Provisional Assembly. The Government of M. Davidovitch, it will be recalled, consisted of thirteen Democrats, mostly Serbs, and three Socialists, all Croats. In his letter to the Prince Regent M. Davidovitch told why it resigned:

The Government and our delegation have in vain made every endeavor to obtain the suppression, or at least the mitigation, of the stipulations contained in the treaty of peace with Austria and in the political treaty relating to the protection of minorities. These stipulations constitute an infringement of the sovereignty of our State and our nation, and show disregard for our peaceful development in the future. The Government neither can nor will accept on behalf of the country stipulations with restrictions on our sovereignty, and, taking into account the state of feeling in the nation, it therefore tenders its resignation to your Royal Highness.

Behind the intransigence of the situation, according to advices from Belgrade, was a duel for supremacy between the veteran M. Protitch, leader of the Old Serbian Radical Party of M. Pashitch, and M. Pribitchevitch, the founder and leader of the Democratic Union, whose lieutenant is M. Davidovitch. The Old Radicals represent a purely Serbian constituency, but are accused by the Demo-

crats of trifling with the sacred ideal of national union between the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and even of regarding it as a temporary expedient to be set aside in favor of a Greater Serbia when the international question becomes settled. The Old Radicals hotly deny this, but declare that the occasion calls for deliberation, both nationally and internationally.

On the other hand, the Democratic Party, otherwise known as the Serbo-Croat Union, principally made up of the opposition in the old Skupshtina, aspires to carry out vast schemes of social reform which shall provide national bonds for all Yugoslavia in the shortest possible time. Its advance tendencies were indicated when it favored three Socialists, out of eleven members of the Provisional Assembly, with important portfolios in the late Davidovitch Government, and when six of its Croatian members, led by M. Medacovitch, formerly President of the Croatian Diet, voted against their own party on the motion to accept the Davidovitch program. On the question of agrarian reform the Democrats are for the most drastic measures; the Old Radicals would proceed with caution and moderation, which policy particularly appeals to the big Croatian and Bosnian land owners.

The balance of power, until the election of the promised Constituent Assembly, is held in the Provisional Assembly by the Catholic Clerical Party of nineteen Slovenes led by M. Koroshetz, and the National Club, or Party of the Right, with twenty-nine Croats under M. Lazinya, which stands for the economic autonomy of Croatia within the kingdom.

BELGIUM, HOLLAND, LUXEMBURG.

The Belgian-Dutch dispute reached an acute stage, but ended on Oct. 14 by the Brussels press declaring and The Hague press intimating that an alliance was about to be formed by which, for concessions ranging anywhere, it was surmised, from the surrender of a Dutch province to the freedom of the Scheldt and the Ghent-Terneuzen Canal, Belgium would give Holland military guarantees.

The trouble began as follows: The Belgian delegate, M. Segers, had just finished his plea for freedom to the sea

before the Dutch-Belgian Commission in Paris, and had ended with the words, "It is, therefore, through the apprehension that Germany may eventually be able to exercise pressure on Holland that we demand bolts for our door," when the Dutch press printed a secret note, issued from the Belgian Foreign Office on May 29, from which the following is a quotation:

At this moment all Belgian agents in Dutch Limburg must to the limit of their capacity assist in the preparation of the return of this province to the mother country.

Thereupon the Dutch Government sent a formal letter of protest to the Belgian Government, and excitement ran high in each country, even after it was pointed out that the note was issued before the Paris Conference had put aside the question of any change of sovereignty in Dutch Limburg, and no longer represented the policy of the Belgian Government. In his note of protest the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs said:

The Government of her Majesty the Queen has instructed me to inform you [the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs] of the exceedingly painful impression made upon their minds by the perusal of the original document, from which it appears that the Belgian Government has thought fit to permit itself to organize a political propaganda in Dutch Limburg with the object of severing that province from Holland and to prepare for its annexation to Belgium. * * *

In replying to the Dutch protest the Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs, after disposing of the current value of the note, seized the opportunity to set before the public the whole case of Belgium in a manner which was highly praised by diplomats all over the world for its cleverness. He proceeded:

The observations of the Dutch Government and the protest which it formulated can only be explained by fundamental differences in the manner of regarding the situation. The Belgian Government, without ever having raised any formal claims upon any portion of Dutch territory, did not lose sight of the fact that the Supreme Interallied Council, in approving on March 8 the report of the Commission on Belgian Affairs, had proclaimed:

(1) That the treaties of 1839 had been so attacked that their revision was essential in the interest of general peace.

(2) That all the clauses formed a complete whole.

(3) That the territorial and waterways clauses of the treaties were seriously prejudicial to Belgium.

In view of this decision the Belgian Government considered that a solution of the problems thus brought forward could include modifications in the allocation laid down in the treaties of 1839 between Belgium and Holland of territories reunited in 1815 to the Netherlands.

If since then Belgium had consented to seek by means of an international commission a solution which would not admit of any transference of sovereignty, it was in the firm hope that the procedure adopted on June 4 would not deny Belgium sufficient acceptable guarantees for the security of the free development of her economic relations. Until May 20 no limit had been set to the search for new formulae to replace the articles of the treaties of 1839, the revision of which was necessary.

Therefore, the Dutch Government is wrong in considering that the preoccupation of the Belgian Government to which the official note of April 20 bears witness, is incompatible with the sentiments of friendship and good understanding which exist between the two countries. The very terms of the note show that respect for established authority was the dominant principle of the instructions contained therein. It was in no way a question of striking a secret blow at the rights of Holland, which in Limburg arise from the treaties now submitted to revision. It was a question in particular of creating a reaction within permissible limits against the effects of German propaganda, hostile to Belgian interests, the development of which had been reported to us.

Queen Wilhelmina made a veiled reference to the matter in her speech from the throne on Sept. 16, and she said nothing in favor of the League of Nations, merely remarking that the question would in due time be submitted to the States General. Meanwhile the controversy, omitting of course the scandal over Limburg, had been submitted to the experts appointed by the joint commission. They delivered their report on Oct. 6. The report was based upon the following claims of Belgium, offset by a definite refusal of Holland to grant them, save in a few concessions made in regard to the navigation of the Ghent-Terneuzen and Muse Canals.

Economic claims: (1) The right to control the Dutch waterway (the Scheldt)

and to execute all works of repair and improvement considered necessary for the prosperity of Antwerp; (2) the cession of the Ghent-Terneuzen canal and railway, with the execution thereon of any work tending to improve the prosperity of Ghent; (3) the suppression of the commercial barrier created by the Maestricht enclave, giving Belgium the control of the communications by water between Antwerp and Liège; (4) the right to build through Dutch Limburg the Rhine-Meuse canal referred to in the Peace Treaty.

Military provisions: (1) A military arrangement with Holland for the common defense of the line of the Meuse, (Limburg); (2) the free use of the Scheldt in time of peace or war by Belgium and her allies for the relief of the country attacked.

In spite of the French and British support of the military provisions, the report of the experts, while acknowledging that it was to the interest of Belgium to use the Scheldt in wartime, pointed out that it was impossible to reconcile this interest with Dutch neutrality; the same argument was used in regard to the Meuse line. Finally the report submitted this formula for Belgian and Dutch agreement:

(1) An arrangement on economic questions where agreement is possible; (2) a Dutch declaration considering the violation of Dutch neutrality late in October, 1918, when German soldiers retreating from Belgium crossed Dutch territory; (3) a declaration in which Holland undertakes to ask for immediate admission to the League of Nations.

As a vehicle through which Belgian loans might be placed in the United States, and as an assistance to the Belgian Treasury in other matters, Premier Delacroix announced on Sept. 16 an agreement with J. P. Morgan & Co. and the Guaranty Trust Company of New York.

According to a report made to the Department of Commerce at Washington by Harry T. Collins, United States Trade Commissioner at Brussels, Belgian railroads were working with 60 per cent. of pre-war efficiency; but the figures he gave should not indicate equivalent traffic of either passenger or freight, as fares have increased from 40 to 50 per cent. and freight rates 40 per cent.

In anticipation of the Peace Treaty's going into effect, Holland hastened all

transactions with Germany, the Batavia Petroleum Company exporting large quantities of oil fuel to Germany and receiving machinery. In the first week of October Dr. Erzberger, the German Minister of Finance, announced that Holland had made Germany a credit of 1,200,000,000 marks; advices from The Hague on Oct. 7 were that a Dutch forced loan of 450,000,000 guilders, or \$180,000,000, might be expected soon.

The long-awaited Luxemburg plebiscite, in which women also had a vote, took place on Sept. 28. It resulted in a majority, in proportion of 3 to 1, in favor of the two principal questions: The retention of Grand Duchess Charlotte as ruler and the institution of an economic alliance with France instead of Belgium. Alternatives of the first were the selection of another ruler of the same family as Charlotte, substitution of another dynasty, or the establishment of a republic.

FRANCE

M. Clemenceau, assisted by his able lieutenants inside and outside the Ministry, continued his campaign for the ratification of the German Peace Treaty. He was particularly eloquent in the Chamber on Sept. 25, when, at the end of a long speech advocating the solidarity of the United States and associated nations in peace as it had been in war, he suddenly ended with:

After the elections I will retire with the great reward that comes from the satisfaction of having done one's duty and with the friendship of my dear pollux, of whom I shall think always.

The Chamber, which had begun its debate on the document on Aug. 26, ratified it on Oct. 2 by a vote of 372 to 53, 73 members abstaining from voting, and gave a unanimous vote for the American and British military agreements. Those abstaining from voting were made up principally of Socialists and Nationalists, the former deeming the treaty "imperialistic," and the latter because the Rhine boundary had not been secured.

On Oct. 7 Léon Bourgeois, Chairman of the Peace Commission of the Senate, and who was subsequently to be appointed the first Councilor to the

League of Nations, introduced the documents in the Senate, which ratified the treaty by the vote of 217 on Oct. 11, only one Senator, M. Delahaye, abstaining from voting, and even he voted for the military agreements, making the vote a unanimous 218. On Oct. 13 President Poincaré attached his signature to the documents, thereby promulgating them.

The effect was instantaneous in all departments of State. Decrees were published putting interior affairs on a peace basis, ending the state of siege, lifting the censorship, transferring the jurisdiction of the police from the army to the prefectures, and ordering general demobilization.

Although the votes of both Chamber and Senate gave M. Clemenceau an approbation he had never before received, there were, besides, two special votes of confidence received from the Chamber—one during the debate on Sept. 30, in which he was sustained by 262 to 188, and one on Oct. 15, after the ratification, 324 to 132.

The latter was when the Chamber adopted the Government's policy on the chronological order of the elections, placing the elections for the Chamber first, on Nov. 16, to be followed respectively by the Senatorial and the municipal. The "Tiger" thus emerged victoriously from one of the most bitter and best organized assaults which a Government of the Third Republic has ever faced.

The strongest party in the war and emerging from it as such was the Radical Socialist, whose character as being neither radical nor socialist, but rational, was recently described in these columns. The Unified Socialists, who first tended toward Germany and defeatism, and then toward Bolshevism, and were never able to summon more than thirty votes, lost two prominent members, Jean Erlich of the Notre Dame constituency of Paris, and M. Nectoux, one of the Deputies for the Seine. M. Erlich's letter of resignation explained the defection of both. After declaring that he was still a Socialist, he accused his party of being pure Bolshevik, and then proceeded:

You will perhaps now understand my painful and indignant astonishment at finding on my return to France the Uni-

fied Socialist press plainly treating the Russian Bolsheviks as comrades and friends. In economic and social matters Bolshevism has resulted in a tremendous catastrophe and general ruin. The so-called methods of Bolshevik dictatorship leave far in the background the worst horrors of the Inquisition and Czarism.
* * * I refuse to follow it on this road. As a Socialist and a democrat I will have nothing to do with any dictatorship.
* * * I am convinced, moreover, that all Socialists who have done their duty during the war will agree with me, and that they will not permit the sabotage of a victory which has been won at the cost of so great sacrifice.

The coming election, which will be under the new law already described in *CURRENT HISTORY*, showed no signs in the political campaign of old Royalist propaganda, or of anti-Clerical, or, among the Clericals, of a return to the concordat propaganda. The incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine will add twenty-eight Deputies to the 602, and four Senators to the 300.

The termination of the military control of the railways marked the inauguration of an interesting experiment on Oct. 15—the collaboration of delegates from all the different classes of railway workers with heads of departments and the Board of Directors in the management of the roads.

In accordance with a bill passed in August providing for the extension of the commercial attaché service, the Minister of Commerce began to appoint commercial agents to the principal countries. These agents were placed under the control of the diplomatic representative and in a position similar to that occupied by military and naval attachés, while over them were the commercial attachés proper, of whom there were only four, but whose number will be increased as the occasion demands.

ITALY

While the crowds in the streets were expressing their enthusiasm over the d'Annunzio coup at Fiume, the King and Signor Nitti, President of the Council and Minister of the Interior, were doing their best to maintain the proper relations between the Consulta and the Chancelleries of London, Paris, and Washington, and to prevent the populace, army,

and political parties from committing some overt act which might prejudice those relations, if it did not, indeed, produce a revolution.

After Signor Tittoni, Foreign Minister and head of the Italian Peace Delegation, had outlined his policy in the Chamber of Deputies on the night of Sept. 27, and the Chamber in closing its session had given the Government a vote of confidence amounting to 208 to 140, the Minister, in communication with the associated Chancelleries, began to seek for a formula which should end the Fiume impasse. A measure which had greatly tended toward strengthening the vote of the Government was the calling of the Crown Council by the King on Sept. 25 at the Quirinal Palace—an extraordinary procedure which had not been resorted to since the days of the Resorgimento. The council consisted of the national, civil, political, and military leaders and ex-Premiers, supposed to represent every ramification of the body politic.

Then, with Parliament inoperative until the elections of Nov. 16 should provide a new Chamber to meet in December, and with a policy supposed to be based upon the advice received from the Crown Council, the Nitti Government began operations on its own responsibility, and on Oct. 6, as an expression of good-will toward the associated Chancelleries and the Peace Conference, the King issued a decree approving the German and Austrian treaties, thus practically ratifying those documents and leaving to the new Parliament the sole duty of acting on the decree. This decree, which per se re-established peace between Italy and the Teutons, contained two articles, the first authorizing the Government to execute the treaties fully and the second requiring that the decree be presented to Parliament for conversion into law. Only once has Parliament declined to ratify such a decree. That was in 1860, when the Chamber rejected the treaty of Villafranca, which had been negotiated by France and Austria behind the back of Cavour.

The foregoing measures restored the tranquillity of the crowds in the principal cities, and the Deputies, almost in a body,

left Rome to consult the local Prefects and to prepare their constituencies for the coming election. In this election for the first time an organized Catholic party will take part, voting for Catholic candidates. The decree of Pius IX. in 1870, strictly enforced by his successor, Leo XIII., prohibiting Catholics from being either electors or the elected, was modified under Pius X. so that Catholics were allowed to vote for non-Catholic candidates who pledged themselves to refrain from legislation condemned by the Vatican. Last January Pope Benedict XV. removed the entire inhibition, and a political party was formed under the name of the Partito Popolare Italiani, or the Italian Popular Party.

Like the Socialist Party, this new organization depends upon recruits from the masses—the former among the workers of the towns and the latter among the peasants. Each of these parties has a well-defined program, with common aspirations on certain points which Signor Nitti has attempted to consolidate. Aside from these two parties, which hold the balance of suffrage, if not of legislation, there are the factions of the various political leaders calling themselves Democrats, Liberals, Conservatives, or Radicals, but differing in the main as they support or oppose the present Government. Then there is the Republican Party, which, like the Socialists and the Catholics, also has a well-defined national program. It preserves the traditions of Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Minghetti, and its best known member is the former Minister Barzilai. In the recently dissolved Chamber, however, it had only sixteen members out of a total of 513.

Owing to the political crisis few comprehensive measures were taken to mitigate the economic. A scheme for a forced loan touching everybody who possessed capital exceeding \$4,000 calculated at par was prepared by a special commission of financiers, bankers, and Senators, but its execution was indefinitely postponed on account of opposition, not from the people but from certain big financial interests. The nation's war debt was officially announced to be \$20,000,000,000,

which was over 200 times the pre-war public debt.

Both grain and coal were being sold by the Government at below their real cost. The slow recovery of Italian industries for export, partly due to labor troubles and partly to the shutting off of certain foreign markets which had learned to subsist without Italian commodities during the war, kept up the adverse rate of exchange, which continued to show a depreciation of 93 per cent. in the case of the dollar as compared with the rates before the war, and 60 per cent. in the case of the pound sterling. The price of bread rose from 75 to 85 centimes per kilo.

On the other hand, the bill passed in August for the immediate electrification of the railways throughout Italy was rapidly put into execution. The conversion of Italy's water energy—harnessing the white horse, as it is called—will give the country over 5,000,000 electrical horse power, an energy equal to working all the railways and all the industries of the peninsula.

The attempt to attract foreign capital was continued by the principal banking companies extending their institutions to North and South America. The Banca Italiana Disconto established the Banca Italo Caucasica Disconto with a capital of 40,000,000 lire with its main office in Rome and projected agencies for the Near East.

Indeed, Italy began to look toward the East more than toward the West—to secure the coal output of the Heraclea region in Asia Minor, which formerly netted 1,150,000 tons annually to the German concessionaires, and the oil from the Caucasus.

On Oct. 10 and 13 a rising of peasants was reported in Rome from Caltanissetta, the central province of Sicily. Four thousand people were involved and thirty deaths were recorded before the troops managed to secure order. The uprising was an attempt to gain possession of the historic sulphur mines near Riesi and was otherwise due to the objection of the populace to having their district policed by the military from the Italian peninsula.

LATIN AMERICA

The Brazilian Director of Immigration has sent to the representatives of those Governments likely to be most affected a well-printed copy of the immigration laws now in operation. Transportation within the country is offered free to points of destination; also complete provision for the immigrant for a limited period after his or her arrival there. According to the report made on the subject by J. E. Philippi, the American Commercial Attaché at Rio de Janeiro, issued at Washington Oct. 16:

The amount of land assigned to each settler is 25 hectares (about 62 acres), and is sold at the price of 8 to 30 milreis per hectare. There are farms with houses and without houses, these being sold for the cost of improvements. The Immigration Service will provide temporary quarters for those settlers who wish to erect a dwelling for their own account. Amortization on the debt of the colony must be begun at the end of the third year, and in annual payments thereafter for a period of from five to eight years. After the land is paid for, the legal title will be transferred to the immigrant. The Government will refund to the immigrants located in the Federal colonies the amount of their passage from the country of emigration to Brazil, by crediting it to their account.

On the same day the report was issued 406 German veterans arrived at Rio on board the Dutch liner *Hollandia*, the majority of them, however, bound for Argentina. On Sept. 23 formal negotiations were opened by Germany for a loan of \$100,000,000 from Argentina in order to facilitate, it was said, the purchase of raw materials from Argentina. To encourage German emigration to Paraguay the Land and Colonial Office, on Oct. 8, offered eleven acres each to agricultural immigrants.

President Augusto Leguia was proclaimed Constitutional President at Lima, Peru, on Oct. 12 for a period of five years. His inauguration was under the new Constitution, already described in these columns.

In the third week in September a Cabinet crisis was caused in Chile by a Radical convention at Concepcion demanding that members of its party withdraw from the coalition. So, on Sept 23, a

new Ministry was formed, whose personnel showed it to be made up of members of the Liberal Party reunited with Liberal Democrats and Nationalists. The slate is as follows:

Minister of the Interior—ENRIQUE BERMUDEZ, Minister of War in the recent Cabinet.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—LUIS BARROS-BORGOVO.

Minister of Finance—JULES PHILIPPI.

Minister of Justice—JULES PRADO-AMOR.

Minister of War—ANIBAL RODRIGUEZ, a former holder of this portfolio.

Minister of Industries—MALQUIAS CONCHA, who had previously occupied this post and was Minister of Public Works and Railways in the recent Ministry.

SCANDINAVIA

The great war interrupted the international conference at Copenhagen which was to have decided the national status of the Spitzbergen archipelago in the Arctic Ocean north of Scandinavia. Over these islands, which had been discovered by the Dutch navigator Barents in 1596 and claimed by the British on account of Hudson's subsequent visits, British sovereignty practically ceased in 1670. During the war it was revived, and since the armistice period the London press has been extensively advertising the resources of the islands said to be under the jurisdiction of British companies. On Sept. 25 the Spitzbergen Commission handed in a report, which was approved by the Council of Five at Paris, giving the sovereignty to Norway.

On Oct. 10 the German authorities began the evacuation of the first and second zones in Schleswig, in accordance with the Peace Treaty conditions, and the International Commission began to prepare arrangements for the plebiscitum to decide whether the regions involved shall remain German or become Danish. The treaty, it will be recalled, divided the neck of land between Denmark and Holstein into three zones, with the intention that each zone, the pure Danish, the mixed, and the German-speaking, should decide its own nationality. At the request of Denmark it was ultimately decided that no plebiscitum should be held in the third or German zone.

TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

The situation in Asiatic Turkey was measurably complicated for the Peace Conference by the following events: The Turkish National movement under Mustapha Kemal, resulting in the advance of the Nationalist troops to within fifty-seven miles of Constantinople and the deflection to their side of the Persian Province of Azerbaidjan; the landing of more Greek and Italian troops at, respectively, Smyrna and Adalia, and finally, in the first week in October, the fall of the pro-Entente Ministry of Damad Ferid Pasha, and the inauguration of what turned out to be a Nationalist Cabinet under the Grand Vizier, General Ali Riza Pasha, which at once began to work to hold elections for a new Parliament based on the general program of maintaining the integrity of the Empire in both Europe and Asia. The Cabinet, which contained several names proscribed by the Interallied Commission, was as follows:

Minister of Foreign Affairs—MUSTAPHA RECHID PASHA.

Minister of War—DJEMAL PASHA.

Minister of the Interior—DAMAD SHERIF PASHA.

Minister of Justice—MUSTAPHA BEY.

Minister of Public Works—HAMED ABOUK PASHA.

Minister of Agriculture—HADI PASHA.

Minister of Instruction—SAID BEY.

Colonel Haskell, High Commissioner in Armenia, on his arrival at Privau, made the following statement to the Armenian Parliament, later to be elaborated by his full report to the Peace Conference:

The most important question at the present time is to decide upon the nature of the support which the Allies can offer to the Armenian people, who have suffered so terribly during the war. Military support is only for the defense of the frontiers of Armenia. These forces will in every case protect the frontiers as they are at present fixed.

After careful study of the present position, I have arrived at the conclusion that military assistance is indispensable for Armenia, and that the British troops should not evacuate Transcaucasia until they are relieved by other allied forces.

It is proved that Azerbaidjan has violated the frontiers which were assigned to it by the British Government.

This compels me to return immediately

to Tiflis and to Baku to warn the Government of Azerbaidjan that if prompt measures are not taken to remedy this state of things, and if they do not soon conclude the military operations they have begun, grave consequences will ensue. If my communications are not valued at their real importance at Paris, I shall return there in person to obtain from the Peace Conference the dispatch of speedy help for Armenia.

As regards frontiers, the occupation of a few square kilometers by one State or another cannot have any decisive importance. At the present time the Armenian people must accept the co-operation which will be offered them, leaving the rest to the future, for once fundamental questions have been decided secondary matters will settle themselves.

On Sept. 17 an agreement was reached by Messrs. Lloyd George and Clemenceau in Paris which definitely disposed of the Syrian problem. The documents presented on the British side tended to establish the fact that there was no contradiction between the promises made by the British Government to the Sheereef of Mecca and the Anglo-French Agreement of 1916, in spite of the charges of the popular press of Paris. [The general lines of the new Anglo-French agreement are given on pages 239-241.]

THE UNITED KINGDOM

On Sept. 27 the great strike of the United Kingdom's railway employees began, directly involving over 600,000 workers and blocking traffic all over the island. Emergency measures carefully prepared in wartime were put in force by the Government in order to keep food moving to the centres of population. The strike lasted until Oct. 6, when the National Union of Railwaymen agreed to call it off, and the Government consented to a renewal of the negotiations, the continuance of the existing wage scale for another year instead of six months, as previously offered, and the establishment of a minimum wage of 51 shillings (\$12.75) while the cost of living is 110 per cent. above the pre-war level. The following were the terms as officially stated:

First—Work shall be resumed immediately.

Second—Negotiations will be resumed on the understanding that they shall be completed before the end of the year.

Third—Wages will be stabilized at the present level until Sept. 30, 1920, and at any time after Aug. 1 they may be resumed in the light of circumstances then existing.

Fourth—No adult railwayman in Great Britain shall receive less than 51 shillings (\$12.75) per week while the cost of living is 110 per cent. above pre-war level.

Fifth—The Railway Union agree that their men will work harmoniously with the men who returned to work or who remained at work during the strike. Nor shall there be any victimization of strikers.

Sixth—Arrears of wages will be paid on resumption of work.

The ultimatum of the Executive Committee of the N. U. R. was delivered on the very day that the powers of the Board of Trade over the railways were being transferred to the new Minister of Transportation. The last act of the board, however, was an attempt to meet the situation by the following offer, which the Minister of Transportation will try to negotiate:

1. The Government offer, as submitted by the Board of Trade, gives to the grades in question as a permanent wage an average advance of 100 per cent. on pre-war wages, even if the cost of living falls to pre-war level.

2. The pre-war wage, with an additional war wage of 33s., will be continued so long as the cost of living is 110 per cent. above pre-war prices.

3. The present wages were fixed at 33s. above pre-war wages in accordance with a sliding scale agreed upon in November last between the Board of Trade and the National Union of Railwaymen at the time when the cost of living was 125 per cent. above pre-war prices.

4. No reduction will take place until the cost of living has been brought down below 110 per cent. above pre-war prices and has remained so for at least three months.

5. No reduction in present wages can take place this year at all, as it was agreed in March that present wages should be stabilized until Dec. 31, and in accordance with the offer in Paragraph 4 any reduction is practically impossible before next April.

6. Should there be a reduction in the cost of living below 100 per cent., in accordance with Paragraph 4, any change in wages will be determined either by using the sliding scale agreed to by the railwaymen in November last, or by such other methods as may be agreed upon by the Government and the Railway Unions after discussion.

Poland's Many Problems

Young Republic's Struggles Against Bolshevism, German Militarism, and Adverse Industrial Conditions

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1919]

POLAND'S new army continued its successes against the Bolsheviki during September and October.

Authorized by Marshal Foch to occupy the Vilna-Dvinsk railway as far as Dukušty, a place about twenty-five miles south of Dvinsk, the Poles had subsequently advanced to the River Beresina, and, in order to use the Dvina to protect their left flank, had pushed forward almost as far as Dvinsk and occupied the railway some twenty miles beyond Dukušty. This advance brought the Polish troops into conflict with the Lithuanians, who held that the Poles had no right to be on the northern sector of the railway.

The Poles, however, developed undeterred their prearranged campaign against the Bolsheviki. News of the capture by assault of the fortresses of Borysov and Bobruisk, defending the passages of the Beresina, arrived on Sept. 3. The Poles crossed the river and continued their pursuit of the fleeing Bolsheviki until stopped by order of the High Command; then they withdrew behind fortifications on the site of the old trenches erected by Napoleon in 1812. The Polish press, commenting on the motives of this sudden halt, mentioned the occupation of Courland by the army of General von der Goltz and the concentration of Lithuania of the volunteer forces under Prince Lieven. This mysterious army corps was very near the demarkation line between Poland and Lithuania, which passes within ten kilometers of the principal railway line and the City of Vilna.

In the direction of the Dvina, however, the Poles cleared the whole lake region south of Dvinsk (Dunaberg) of Bolshevik bands. Polish official reports of Sept. 16 indicated that heavy fighting was in progress on the Lithuanian front, with Bolshevik reinforcements attacking strongly in the neighborhood of Koplau,

east of Dvinsk. Two days later the Poles had driven the Bolsheviki to the northern bank of the Dvina as far as Disna, and had advanced northward approximately 100 miles from Borysov, which is on the east bank of the Beresina, fifty miles northeast of Minsk.

On the eastern front, the Poles had succeeded in cutting railway communication between Kiev and Petrograd, and were making important progress toward the Dnieper, Mohilev, and Orsza. On Sept. 25 the Bolsheviki were abandoning in haste the region surrounding Vitebsk and Mohilev, taking Polish notables residing in these districts away with them as hostages.

HALTING THE POLISH ADVANCE

It was stated in Paris on Sept. 18 that the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference was considering action to urge Poland to halt decisively her invasion of Russian Bolshevik territory. The conference held that Poland's advance, which had penetrated to a depth of 200 miles, had gone far enough for purposes of self-defense, and that the Allies had no disposition to encourage Poland to wage a war of mere conquest of territory; the young republic's main need was for reconstruction, which could not be accomplished while a war of aggression was going on, and the financial aid required for this work could not be obtained until Poland ceased hostilities.

Polish statesmen in Paris, on the other hand, reported that with the approach of Winter Poland's Army of more than half a million men was in bad plight, and it was uncertain if her military problems could be resolved. Polish troops, it was declared, were successfully opposing Russian Bolshevism along an irregular front of more than 400 miles, extending from Dvinsk in the north to a point on the west bank of the Dnieper River, about

fifty miles south of Gomel. The forces on this long front were without Winter clothing, and many of them lacked even shoes. Prime Minister Paderewski and other Polish leaders stated that though the Poles had willingly acceded to the request of the Peace Conference to push back the Bolsheviks and protect Europe against their inroads, they were now facing problems of the greatest difficulty. The Bolshevik Government at Moscow was constantly attempting to make peace with the Poles, and the army, in its destitute condition, was much tempted by these overtures, and by the possibility of returning home, especially in view of reported negotiations opened by Esthonia, Letvia, and Lithuania with the Soviet Government.

PADEREWSKI'S STATEMENT

The situation in Poland, especially in relation to Germany, was summed up by M. Paderewski, who appeared before the Supreme Council in Paris on Sept. 5, in an interview in which he said:

The Germans, defeated on the west, have now turned eastward, where they are waging a battle in the hope of achieving a victory they were unable to win on the other front. In Upper Silesia, East Prussia, Lithuania, along the Bolshevik front, near Minsk, along the Ukrainian front, the Polish armies are forced to face armed enemies.

Where these enemies were not Germans, said M. Paderewski, they were aided by Germans, who were pushing Bolshevism forward in every possible way to embarrass Poland. "Our new Government," he continued, "with limited supplies and little clothing for the army, finds the situation desperate." Germany, he intimated, intended to crush Poland, and might succeed, unless the latter country obtained speedy succor. Regarding the situation in Silesia, where the Germans had put down a Polish revolt with an iron hand, and whence vast numbers of Polish refugees had fled across the border, the Polish Premier said:

Until the German treaty is ratified we cannot get the foreign troops necessary to steady the situation. The Poles are eager to rush into Silesia to avenge the wrongs inflicted on our countrymen. It is difficult to restrain them, as they are

daily stirred by blood-curdling stories told by refugees of German atrocities. In the Baltic States of Russia the Germans are fomenting disorder and lending the Bolsheviks assistance. On all sides we are forced to face the new war Germany is waging against the allied cause. She is determined to conquer Russia at any cost, and is making every effort to hamper us in our battle against disorder. There is a studied effort to ruin our reputation throughout the world and prevent our acquiring the international standing we merit. We are unable to defend ourselves against all these calumnies; we are too busy fighting the enemy with guns. We hope for a speedy ratification of the treaty and pray for the steady influence of allied troops in the harassed districts.

POLAND'S HOPE IN LEAGUE

On his return to Poland, M. Paderewski, on Sept. 18, issued a statement in which he dwelt upon the desperate nature of the situation with which Poland had to deal and on the necessity of her possessing the strong moral and material support that would be afforded her by the existence of the League of Nations. This statement was as follows:

From a Polish point of view, our one hope of future security as a State lies in the League of Nations. Upon it, and I fear upon it alone, depend the liberty of the Polish people and the successful development of democratic and liberal government in Poland. Standing, as we are, between Germany on one side and Russia on the other, we cannot hope to maintain our integrity during these years, while we build up the strength of our people, unless we have the protection of the League.

Poland at the present moment has 500,000 men under arms. Our people are short of food supplies, short of clothing, short of many of the necessities of life. We are compelled to make every sacrifice to sustain the army, and this, with our population needing its resources for the upbuilding of the nation, in order that we may protect ourselves from encroachment.

Today we are defending 1,500 miles of front against Bolshevik forces, and, in so doing, we stand as the front line in Europe against Bolshevik invasion from the east.

We are endeavoring to maintain this front line and at the same time to achieve an economic stability, to recuperate our people from the effects of repeated invasions of German and Russian armies. The task is a terrible one. The tax upon our strength will be too great unless we can have the assurance that there will be



MAP UP UPPER SILESIA WITH SHADING TO INDICATE THE PROPORTIONS OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES

a body in the world to whom we can appeal for aid in the righting of our wrongs.

Poland has set up a democracy under the inspiration of the American people. Had it not been for American intervention in Europe we might possibly have had some semblance of independent Government under an autocratic overrule, but with American intervention and American help we have sought to establish not only the independence of the State, but also the internal liberty of our people, through the difficult road of democracy.

The pressure is upon us on all sides through military action and through Bolshevik propaganda and an intense propaganda from Germany. Unless we have a protective power in the world, under whose strength we can secure an opportunity for peaceful development and the solution of our internal problems, free from distracting and antagonistic influences, I fear for the safety of our democracy. . . .

The great power and the support which it may furnish need not be military, its moral and economic force is all that we ask, and that power is the League of Nations.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The portions of Poland recently recov-

ered from the Bolsheviki were visited by Herbert Hoover and found to be in a state of complete economic demoralization. The population consists in large majority of Ruthenian peasants and large Polish landholders, the peasants cultivating their own lands and in normal times hiring themselves to the great land owners. In addition there is the town population, consisting half of Poles and half of Jews. All alike are now suffering from the paralysis of business. Mr. Hoover said on Aug. 19:

As a result of seven invasions by different armies the country has largely been denuded of buildings. The estates of the larger landowners have been destroyed, and while the peasants are cultivating approximately enough foodstuffs for their own supplies, these regions, which in normal times export large quantities of food, mostly from the large estates, are four-fifths uncultivated.

In normal times the town populations exist by exchanging manufactured goods to the peasants and landowners for food. There has been virtually no import of manufactured goods for years, and the supplies of foodstuffs having vanished, the town populations are left entirely

without support or employment. As there have been no manufactured goods to exchange, and as the currency no longer has any purchasing value in goods and the peasants do not care to exchange food-stuffs for it, there has been a total breakdown of the economic cycle.

In addition to the destruction and robbery which accompanied the repeated invasion of rival armies, these areas have been, of course, through a caldron of Bolshevik revolution and the intellectual classes either fled from the country or to a considerable extent were imprisoned. Some were executed. The Ruthenian peasants have been stirred up against the great landowners, which accounts for the destruction of the equipment of the large landed properties. It appears to us that it will require years for this region to recover, for animals must be provided, agricultural implements imported and the whole agricultural production restarted.

In an effort to solve the unemployment problem a contract has been made with France whereby Poland is sending 100,000 men to work in the devastated regions of France. As for the food crisis, the Polish Government, frankly alarmed by the perils of social unrest created by the prolongation of the miners' strike in Upper Silesia, had begun early in September to give more careful attention than ever to the problem, and had taken steps to limit consumption and to put into operation a more effective system of distribution.

Warsaw dispatches of Sept. 19 revealed the organization of a Polish Navy, to become operative with the ratification of the Peace Treaty. This organization was proceeding rapidly at the date mentioned. The fleet was to consist of four armored cruisers and twelve large torpedo boats. It was to have a personnel of 3,500, including 150 officers.

CONDITIONS IN UPPER SILESIA

It was officially announced in Warsaw on Sept. 5 that the Polish Government had decided to issue a "Black Book" dealing with atrocities committed in Upper Silesia by the Germans in suppressing the insurrection of the Polish portion of the population. A considerable staff was examining the facts. There were in hand already more than 1,500 cases of outrage and brutal treatment of Poles by German soldiers. No evidence other than first-hand testimony had been ac-

cepted. Much of the data was being supplied by a Polish bureau, which, under the protection of the Allied Commission, had begun activity at Katowitz; much evidence was also being gathered from the thousands of refugees who had crossed the Polish-German frontier. The Germans themselves officially admitted thirty-nine executions, but pleaded great provocation from Poland's arming of the Polish inhabitants, and from the irruptions of armed Polish bands. The whole trouble, according to the German authorities investigating the occurrences, was caused by the secret plottings of the Poles to secure the province for their own country. The Poles, on the other hand, charged that Berlin was strenuously colonizing Upper Silesia from all parts of Germany with a view to winning the plebiscite called for by the Peace Treaty. This popular vote was to be taken three weeks after the treaty came into force. It was provided that allied troops under Marshal Foch's orders should be on hand to see that the balloting was free and fair. At a meeting of the Supreme Council in Paris on Oct. 13 the United States was asked whether it would furnish its quota of troops for this work, but as Washington had not yet ratified the treaty it was unable to give an immediate answer. In order to avoid trouble the Polish Government meanwhile had withdrawn its troops a kilometer from the border of the disputed province.

The coal problem remained critical. The Germans, alarmed by the gravity of the situation, had begun to take energetic measures to secure a full resumption of work. By enforcing an order of State Commissary Hoersing that any idle workman was liable to arrest, by bringing pressure upon such strikers as remained in Upper Silesia, and by direct threats to the German portion of the mining population they had managed to get a majority of the Silesian mines into operation. Even so, the mines had only 50 per cent. of their usual quota, and the Polish miners who had returned to work, it was declared, were not endeavoring to attain maximum production. The Upper Silesian mines, in consequence, which

normally produced 40,000,000 tons of coal in a year, but which before the strike were producing at the rate of only 20,000,000 tons a year, had been reduced in product to about 10,000,000 tons.

A PLEBISCITE FOR TESCHEN

Regarding the final disposition of the mining district of Teschen, situated in Middle Silesia, in the angle between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and German Austria, and claimed by all three countries, but especially the object of the rival claims of Czechoslovakia and Poland, the Czechoslovak and Polish delegates in Paris agreed on Sept. 11 to refer the ultimate decision to a plebiscite, which was taken to mean that the district would go to Poland, as the population was preponderantly Polish. On this fact and on Poland's vital dependence on Teschen for coal supplies the Polish claim was based. The Czechoslovak claim as presented to the Supreme Council on Sept. 4 was based economically on the absolute dependence of Czechoslovak industry on the Teschen coal mines, and politically on the necessity of the new republic's being independent of the political currents or crises of the neighboring country of Poland.

It was announced in Warsaw on Sept. 4 that a British commission to investigate the Jewish question in Poland had started on its way. Simultaneously it was stated that the commission sent by President Wilson to make a similar inquiry was winding up its work preparatory to leaving for Paris. This commission, composed of Mr. Morgenthau, General Jaden of the United States Army, and Homer Johnson of the American Liquidation Board in France, had traveled through a large section of Poland, and visited all such important Jewish centres as Cracow, Lemberg, Pinsk, and Posen. It was intimated by the commission that its report would be constructive rather than controversial in character, though many exaggerated stories of Jewish pogroms in Poland would be denied.

GERMAN PLOTTING

Evidence in support of the charge that the German authorities in Upper Silesia

deliberately provoked outbreaks by the Poles and Spartacists in order to get an excuse for suppressing the activities of the former and driving them out of the district before the day of the plebiscite was furnished by the publication in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, a leading organ of the Independent Socialists, of a secret report made on April 24 to the German General Command at Breslau by Captain Gall, head German staff officer at Gleiwitz. This report read in part as follows:

The Poles are quiet. Nevertheless, there are indications that they, too, will start something in the near future. But they are carrying on their work cautiously and in secret, so that an open intervention from our side is hardly possible. Therefore, it is a question of bringing the Poles to a point where there will be a premature uprising on their part, and then our measures will be entirely sufficient to master the movement. We shall not fail to try everything to bring it to this point.

Captain Gall, according to the German papers, was the officer whose latest task was to help the Entente commission of investigation in Upper Silesia.

More light was shed on the character of the German propaganda by the publication in the Breslau Independent Socialist newspaper of a letter addressed to the "Free Association for the Protection of Upper Silesia" by William Burghard, an ex-army officer and present leader of the Majority Socialists in Cosel, generally known as one of the right-hand men of Otto Hoersing, High Commissioner for Upper Silesia. The important part of this letter read:

I have engaged ten men at an expense of sixteen marks each per day to carry on a quiet propaganda by traveling back and forth. I hope to obtain greater success that way than through holding meetings and distributing leaflets. This is aside from the fact that the latter would probably be forbidden during the expected occupation by American troops. Five of these men, whom I shall turn over to you, I shall want to use for a courier service to be established later. As I need more money for these men, as well as for the demonstration next Sunday, I ask you to send me 10,000 marks as soon as possible. An accounting for the last 5,000 marks received will reach you directly.

Events in Two New Slavic States

Jugoslavia's Boundary Dispute With Rumania in an Acute Stage—Czechoslovakia's New Cabinet

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1919]

THE Cabinet of the Kingdom of Jugoslavia under M. Stoyan Protitch, the veteran leader of the Old Radical Party, resigned in August, owing to the inability of the Premier to agree with the rest of his official family. A new Cabinet was formed on Aug. 16 by Liuba Davidovitch, who on Aug. 23 read a declaration of policy to the Provisional Chamber of Deputies at Belgrade. Referring to the Peace Treaty and the decisions of the Peace Conference regarding the new State of Jugoslavia, as well as to the coming reorganization of the Balkans, M. Davidovitch declared that the Government would defend its rights and interests wherever threatened. The Government, he said, would provide for the representation of all political groups. An electoral bill would insure the election of a Constituent Assembly. The country would be freed of the vast sums of Austrian crown notes with which it was flooded. The expropriation of large land owners would be pushed, and the question of indemnification would be considered. A committee would be appointed to draft a new constitutional law, and a national defense force would be created. Demobilization would be completed by Autumn. Labor legislation would include provision for an eight-hour day. [For further details of Cabinet changes in Serbia see Page 270.]

THE BANAT OF TEMESVAR

Besides political troubles, Jugoslavia also had the vexed questions of the Banat of Temesvar and of the Italian-Croat city of Fiume on her hands. A vehement protest against the attitude of the Rumanians in the Banat was made in Paris by Foreign Minister Trumbitch on Aug. 28. He said in part:

I want to emphasize the fact that the Jugoslavs are in no wise animated by a Jingo spirit in this matter. Since the termination of hostilities we have been and still are determined to abide by the decisions of the Peace Conference even should they be contrary to our desires. We have scrupulously observed the boundaries fixed by Paris, and when in the Banat the portion of territory we claimed was assigned to Rumania we promptly withdrew our forces behind the line of demarkation. We have done our utmost to restrain our soldiers from any aggressiveness in attitude, talk, or action that might lead to undesirable incidents, and have enjoined a spirit of moderation on the press and public at home.

The result seems to have been that the Rumanians have been merely emboldened. They have concentrated very large forces in the Banat and seem to be making evident preparation for an attempt to occupy the whole of it. They have withheld rolling stock, barges, and other material belonging to us, and the behavior of their troops in the Banat, where they almost encircle our forces, is frankly insulting. Bratiano lays claim to the Banat, and the Rumanians talk openly of seizing by arms what the conference refused them. * * * We want to live at peace with our neighbors and do not want war, but we shall not hesitate to fight if the Rumanians try to wrest from us our territory. * * *

Like the Italians, Bratiano bases his unjustified claims on an obsolete secret treaty. When Rumania entered the war in 1916 the Banat of Temesvar was assigned her by France, England, and Italy as part price of her collaboration. The Rumanian Premier had the audacity to advance this agreement as the basis of Rumania's right to the whole region.

He was promptly told that the separate peace treaty Rumania made with the victorious enemy at Bucharest nullified the former agreement and that the Banat would be divided according to the just principles of nationalities. But, like the Italian Ministers, Bratiano was compelled to pursue a policy that was ever more aggressive to maintain his own position. The national appetite has been whetted by the defeat and plunder of the

Hungarians. Now, it would seem, it cannot be satisfied save by the Yugoslav part of the Banat. If that be so the Rumanians will find a very different enemy from the undisciplined rabble of Bela Kun.

The Rumanians at this time were said to have fifteen divisions concentrated on the L-shaped boundary line between their territory and that of the Yugoslavs in the Banat, so that they were in a position to menace the latter, whose forces, consisting of only three or four divisions, were on two sides of the L. To avoid conflict the Yugoslavs asked that French or allied troops should occupy the boundary line, but no such troops were available. The Yugoslavs then stopped their demobilization, and even called up some classes that had already been released.

The dramatic seizure of the City of Fiume by Gabriele d'Annunzio had intense repercussion in Yugoslavia. The clashes between the Italian and the Yugoslavs in the Fiume hinterland and on the Dalmatian coast are treated elsewhere in these pages. While Fiume was isolated and held by d'Annunzio's troops, the British and French troops having embarked to avoid complications, a new problem arose for the allied powers at Radkersburg, in Styria, some scores of miles inland from Fiume. Radkersburg, after long debate, had been awarded by the Peace Conference to Austria, but the Yugoslavs, who held it, refused to evacuate; they concentrated troops and barricaded the bridges across the Mur, as well as the roads leading into the city. Germans in Radkersburg were expelled. The supplying of food to Germans was suspended, and the sending of all food from the German hinterland was prevented. In view of this situation the population of Radkersburg sent an urgent appeal for the occupation of the city by Entente troops in order to enforce the provisions of the Austrian peace treaty.

PRIBICEVITCH'S STATEMENT

Colonel Milan Pribicevitch, who for more than a year lived in the United States as chief of the Serbian War Mission, but who, shortly after the signing of the armistice, retired from the army and went home to found and organize

the Yugoslav Democratic Party, made an important statement of conditions among the Croats and Serbs. This statement, which was transmitted to the United States through a personal friend, was published on Oct. 12.

Colonel Pribicevitch especially deplored the reports of disorders in Yugoslavia, asserting that conditions were more nearly normal there than anywhere else in Europe. He emphasized the value of the agrarian reform for which the Democratic Party, of which he is a member, was fighting; it consists in giving to the peasant the ownership of the land which he cultivates, volunteers who fought for independence to receive it outright, and others to be allowed to buy it on easy terms of payment. He expected to see the political situation cleared up by the coming elections, looked for Fiume to be turned over to his country, and hoped for American help in the development of Yugoslav industry and in the organization of agriculture on a modern basis.

CONFLICTING ELEMENTS

With reference to reports he had read in the American papers of revolts and conflicts in Yugoslavia between the Croats and the Serbs, Colonel Pribicevitch asserted that they were absolutely without foundation. His statement continued, as follows:

Our fights are political, not against the State, but for social and cultural reforms, and such fights are a necessity and are not confined to Yugoslavia, but are taking place in the United States, Great Britain, and France.

It is true that we are passing through a political crisis, but it must be remembered that the State is newly born, that the Yugoslavs of Serbia and those of former Austria-Hungary have only now, after centuries of separation, been brought together, and that the whole nation has suffered severely during the war. We are seeking to construct and organize our life in a modern way.

Politically we have on the one side the radical Serbs and the radical Croats, who have not yet been able to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances and continue to think as in the old days. Opposed to these are the democratic elements of the Serbs and Croats who are really representative of the ideal of the new State. The Serb Radical Party is composed solely of Serbs, the Croat Radical Party solely of Croats, the Slovene

Clerical Party of Catholics. The Democratic Party embraces Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes of all religions of the country. The former parties differ from the Democratic Party in another respect, inasmuch as they are rather conservative in regard to social politics, whereas the Democratic Party is liberal.

Our idea is to build up a modern Jugoslavia, to reorganize our country life, to give the peasant the ownership of the land, to make him a happy and a useful citizen. We intend to give the volunteers who fought for the independence of the country, and the invalids, free grants of land. All other peasants will purchase the land, the payment for which will be extended over a long period. The large properties will be purchased from the owners by the State, so that the land will be purchased indirectly by the peasants from the landlords, the price being controlled by the State.

Apart from the interior situation, we are much occupied about the foreign situation of our State, especially as regards the Adriatic coast and the Italians in Fiume. Our State cannot exist without our entire Adriatic coast, where at present Fiume is the only modern port with a good railroad line connecting it with the interior of our country. There are only a few thousand Italians living in Dalmatia, namely, at Zara and several other coast towns. The rest of the population is Yugoslav. Even in Fiume the Italians are not in the majority. In our country we cannot understand how it is possible that this unjust and unhappy situation has not been settled and that we must fight for our rights, which must be obvious to the big democratic nations united at the Peace Conference in Paris.

I personally hope for American help in this direction, as also in the development of our industry, in the organization of our agriculture on a modern basis, in completing our railroad system, in organizing our shipbuilding, in developing our mineral resources, in converting our water-power into electric power, in improving our sawmills—in fact, in every branch of industry which would render our country prosperous and happy and enable us to do our duty to our friends in the west.

General Franchet d'Esperey, Commander in Chief of the allied army in the Near East, left Belgrade with his staff on Sept. 6. A dinner in his honor was given by the Serbian Government, at which Premier Davidovitch delivered an address in praise of the French Army and of the work accomplished by General d'Esperey in Central Europe.

On Sept. 24 King Peter arrived at Belgrade from Arandjelovatz, Serbia, to re-

sume residence in the capital after an absence of five years. Since July 17 the aged sovereign had lived at Arandjelovatz, where he went after his exile in Greece. At the request of the King himself there were no public ceremonies in connection with his arrival.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S NEW CABINET

In Czechoslovakia the Kramarcz Cabinet was succeeded in July by a new Ministry made up largely of Social Democrats and Agrarian Socialists. Its composition is as follows:

VLASTIMIL TUSAR, President of the Council.

EDWARD BENES, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

ANTOINE HAMPT, Minister of Labor.

LEON VINTER, Minister of Public Welfare.

GUSTAVE HABERMANN, Minister of Public Instruction.

ANTOINE SVEKLA, Minister of the Interior.

M. STANEK, Post Office General.

CHARLES PRACEK, Minister of Agriculture.

M. HORACEK, Minister of Finance.

GEORGE STRIERNY, Minister of Railways.

GUSTAVE HEIDLER, Minister of Commerce.

M. KLOFAC, Minister of National Defense.

FRANCIS VESELY, Minister of Justice.

M. SROBAR, Minister of Public Health.

M. HOUDEK, Minister of Food.

The policy which this new Cabinet has pursued since its formation has been especially to maintain close relations with the great Western powers, the successful fulfillment of which object the name of Dr. Benes guaranteed. During September and October the Czech Republic continued quietly building up its free institutions without internal disorder.

The question of Teschen was debated by the Czechoslovak delegates in the Peace Conference in opposition to the claims of Poland, which they held to be untenable.

The Bohemians of Czechoslovakia, still incensed by the prospect of being separated from German Austria, on Sept. 3 sent a cablegram to Senators Lodge and Knox, asking them to defend the cause of self-determination of 3,500,000 Germans in Bohemia and the Silesian marches. This message was sent by the Government of the German Bohemians,

which further asked that a hearing be insured for the Germans prior to the ratification of the Peace Treaty by the United States.

On the same date Czechoslovakia's side of her quarrel with the Magyars of Hun-

gary was given to the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate. The Czech spokesmen attacked the Hungarians for rejecting the Czechoslovak demand for the portions of Northern Hungary inhabited by Slovaks.

Three Founders of the Czech Republic

By LOUISE WEISS

Revue de Paris

[TRANSLATED AND EDITED FOR CURRENT HISTORY]

THE Czechoslovak Republic reunites the former Austro-Hungarian provinces of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Slovakia. Its independence was acquired not only by the statesmen who remained at Prague and Vienna, but also by the emigrants who took refuge in the Entente countries. The work of the last-mentioned group is described in this article.

During the year 1915 three men met in Paris; the professor and deputy, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, who had left his country at the time of the declaration of war; the political refugee, Edward Benès, and Second Lieutenant Milan Ratislav Stefanik, a Slovak, who had taken French citizenship. They were all friends. The two younger members of the group loved Masaryk as a father. They resolved to associate the fate of their country with that of the Entente and to revive the former State of Bohemia—an imposing program.

MASARYK

Masaryk in 1914 already bore a European reputation. Endowed with a keenly critical mind, with a sense of political realities, and an ardent love of truth and justice, he had from his hard and laborious youth (he had plied the trade of blacksmith) espoused the cause of the weak and persecuted. He had defended the Jews of Bohemia against criminal accusations brought against them without foundation. Subsequently, in 1909, at the Agram trial, he had intervened in the Reichsrat in favor of the Serbo-Croats. At the Friedjung trial a few

months later he revealed the rascalities of Count Aehrenthal and Count Forbach. His main work, "Russia and Europe," his speeches, and his numerous writings on the international significance of the Czech problem established his authority in the Slavic world. His whole career designed him as one of those who would free his country from the imperial yoke.

He performed his task magnificently. In spite of his advanced years he traveled for four years through Europe, Asia, and America, always master of his actions, leaving on all those who approached him the strongest impression of a man of thought. In 1915 he was in Switzerland, in France, in England, in Italy. The years 1916 and 1917 found him in Russia and Siberia, where he witnessed the fall of the old régime and the development of the revolutionary movement; and where he started the Czechoslovaks on their epic march to Vladivostok. In 1918 he resided in America, in close contact with President Wilson, whom, as apostle and jurist, he won over to his ideas. President of the National Council of Czech countries, founded at Paris with Benès and Stefanik, he won the approval of all his compatriots (over two millions and a half in number) who had emigrated to the allied countries, and as the whole of Bohemia was behind him and as he could write and speak freely, he was the true director from abroad of the destinies of the Czech province before that province, having acquired its independence, chose him as its President.

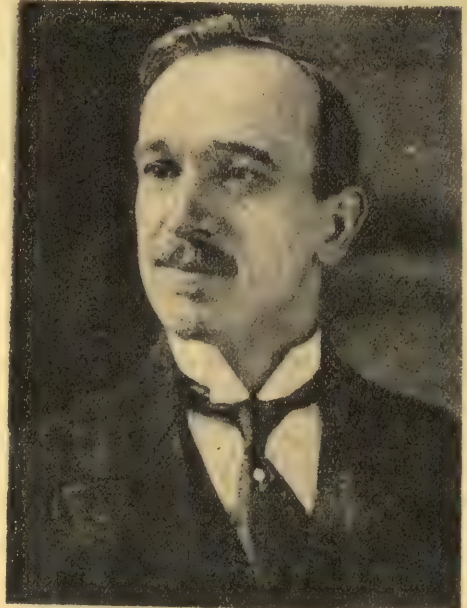
Stefanik before the war had not concerned himself with politics. After en-

cyclopedic studies at the University of Prague, in which science, law, and medicine had a large part, he traveled to Thibet, the Antillers, and Cape Horn, and then established himself in Paris as an attaché of the Observatory. His mathe-

cles, perhaps also of the thousands of Czechs who considered it impossible to overcome the ignorance and indifference of Western Europe in their regard. Stefanik, however, was resolved to remain in the French Army, and in the



THOMAS G. MASARYK
President of Czechoslovakia
(© Harris & Ewing)



Dr. EDWARD BENES
Czechoslovak Foreign Minister
(© Harris & Ewing)

matical works, his researches in wireless telegraphy, his astronomical notes had begun to bring him to the notice of the scientific world when the European conflict broke out. In spite of his weak constitution, he enlisted and went to the front. Marshal Foch, then General, offered him an important post in the Meteorological Service of the army. He preferred to go on fighting. But the thought of his native country, impoverished and torn, tormented him. While staying in Paris he met Benès, who had just come from Bohemia, and who was convinced that Austria-Hungary would not survive the war; if she was victorious she would become the vassal of Germany; if defeated she would fall to pieces.

Between them they elaborated a plan which they submitted to Masaryk, and then set themselves to their task, despite the skepticism of competent French cir-

sky-blue uniform he accomplished his national mission. Victim of the dramatic retreat from Serbia and just out of the hospital, he undertook his work of propaganda in the military and diplomatic circles of the large allied capitals. From the camps of Austrian prisoners he raised a Czech army in the service of the Entente. In Paris he won over the Quai d'Orsay to his views. In Italy he worked together with Generals Porro and Diaz, and with Messrs. Orlando and Sonnino.

In Russia and Rumania he won the regard of Generals Berthelot and Janin, and obtained from General Alexeiev the measures necessary for the creation of national legions. In America he inspired with new life the important Czech and Slovak Leagues of New York and Chicago. In March he was in Vladivostok as General in the French Army

and War Minister of his Government. This weak and sickly man, whose haggard face is lighted up by clear, bright eyes, is a diplomat and a conqueror. His will is as strong and as swift as a sword. He judges men in full knowledge of their secret motives. His manner has something surprising in it, and yet also something genial. His charm, his mind, mathematically clear and subtle, his artistic tastes, have everywhere won for his country friends of superior worth, friends whose fidelity and patience have never been wearied by the extremes of his ardent and impulsive character.

A different personality is that of Benès. Son of a small peasant, Professor of Sociology in the University of Prague, his character is one of rare intellectual honesty and modesty combined; once his friendship is won it can never be shaken. He was the hard-working man of the war which the National Council, whose secretary he was, waged on Austria. All those who for four years came from London, Rome, New York, Moscow, and Paris itself to gain information at the seat of the council on the Czech countries, their

situation, their resources, their claims, found him always at work, ready to repeat an explanation, to draw up documents, to praise the acts of Masaryk and Stefanik, to speak with love and respect of his country. As logical as his friend Stefanik is intuitive, as simple as the other is complex and mysterious, with a shade of austerity which brings him closer to Masaryk, he has fulfilled his rôle as administrator (Minister of Foreign Affairs of the new republic) with a courage and a competency which have compelled the admiration of the statesmen of the Entente, today his colleagues, notably Lord Robert Cecil, Minister Balfour, and Messrs. Pichon and Berthelot. Admitted to the Interallied Conference which preceded the signature of the armistice, on more than one point he won consent for his views, which he knew to be in harmony, despite the distance and the difficulty of communications, with those of Masaryk and Kramarcz.

Thus three exiles have resuscitated a State. The success of Masaryk, Stefanik, and Benès in the Entente countries was the origin of Austria's downfall.

The Dramatic Return of Edward Benès

Edward Benès, who four years ago left Austria-Hungary as a fugitive, returned to Prague on Sept. 24, 1919, as Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia. Benès, who is only 31 years old, was a pupil of Masaryk and later Professor. There was a tremendous popular greeting prepared for the young man, who was one of the three founders of the republic, and the streets were lined with nearly half a million persons.

The dramatic moment of Benès's arrival was when he was greeted by Masaryk in the former reception room at the Wilson station at Prague. Waiting to greet Benès were President Masaryk, the new Prime Minister; Mr. Tusar and members of his Cabinet; T. Tomashek, President of the Assembly; officials of Prague, and representatives of the various foreign Governments, among whom was the American Minister, Richard Crane.

As the young Minister entered the room, Masaryk, who had been unable to conceal his impatience, moved toward him. Neither seemed able to speak. Before they were close enough to grasp each other's hands the strains of the Czech national air were heard. Every one stood rigid and tense with emotion. It was the first time in four years that Benès had heard it on his native soil, and as it finished tears streamed down his face.

Masaryk caught him in his arms and hid him in an embrace that was fatherly in its affection, and kissed Benès twice on each cheek. Silence was unbroken except by the audible weeping of the wives of officials. Everybody present was visibly affected. Three times the Prime Minister attempted to begin his formal speech before he was able to proceed, but Benès was too overcome to reply.

When the reception was concluded in the station, Benès was escorted to an au-

tomobile and sat by the side of Masaryk for a ride through the streets to the palace which is the Czechoslovak White House. More than a quarter of a million persons dined in the streets of Prague, and many thousands of girls and women were attired in the wonderful national costumes of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia.

Prague has a population of 800,000. The crowd was admirable in its behavior.

Many of those keeping order were women, and the lines were absolutely straight. Not a single person moved out of line. While the crowd was enthusiastic, it was not noisy, the greetings being cries of "Nazda," meaning "Success to you," accompanied by waving of handkerchiefs. That evening at a dinner the American Minister, Mr. Crane, said: "No other new nation and few old ones have such a future as has Czechoslovakia."

Hungary, Rumania, and the Allies

Rumanians Linger in Budapest

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 15, 1919]

IT was announced from Paris on Sept. 17 that the Peace Treaty with Hungary had been completed and was ready for presentation, but there was no responsible Hungarian Government to receive it. Reports reaching Paris on the date mentioned stated that the Friedrich Cabinet, which continued functioning after the fall of Archduke Joseph, had resigned, and that a new Cabinet was being formed. It was stated semi-officially that any Hungarian Cabinet which appeared to be fairly representative would be recognized and declared competent to receive the treaty.

Reports of Sept. 16 that the Rumanian Army had begun to withdraw from Budapest were not confirmed. A week later, (Sept. 24,) the substance of the reply of the Rumanian Government to the allied note delivered by Sir George Russell Clerk, Special Envoy of the Peace Conference to Rumania, was published in Paris. In this answer, delivered through Premier Bratiano, Rumania offered to give the Allies all the satisfaction in her power in connection with her occupation of Hungarian territory. Rumania, the answer declared, was ready to evacuate Budapest, or to co-operate there with the Allies in maintaining order, and was prepared to deliver to the Allies a list of the war materials and rolling stock seized in Hungary. The reply, however, expressed the hope that as Rumania had recovered only what was due her from

Hungary, the Allies would not dispossess her of these acquisitions. One point upon which she insisted, according to this version, was the lifting of the Hungarian blockade.

Together with the Rumanian reply to the allied note, Sir George Russell Clerk submitted a report covering the Rumanian situation in the light of his visit to Bucharest. This report was not given out for publication by the Peace Conference, but, it was intimated, it showed that Rumania was not fully complying with the orders of the conference. In the light of this report, the conference decided to send Rumania a new note, and in view of Rumania's complaint that she had not received several of the allied notes it was stated that this latest communication would be sent in duplicate to the representatives of England, France, Italy, and the United States at Bucharest, with a request to each that he deliver his copy to the Bucharest Government, thus insuring its receipt.

This note was moderate in tone and conciliatory in its review of the points on which differences existed. Reasons were given explaining why the clause relating to minorities—the main cause of Rumania's refusal to sign—had been inserted in the Austrian peace treaty; and the difficulties caused by Rumania's failure to become a signatory were pointed out. The note further said that the question of Rumanian requisition on Hun-

gary would be submitted to a special commission, and declared that the Allies did not regard the Friedrich Government in Hungary as representing the will of the Hungarian Nation.

Regarding conditions in Budapest, Jules Sauerwein, the foreign editor of *Le Matin*, on Oct. 5 drew a deplorable picture of life in the Hungarian capital. Pillaged by the Rumanians, without coal, almost without food, with pumpkins and watermelons the only nourishment the great majority of the people could procure, the once haughty and prosperous Magyars bowed their heads in misery before Czechs, Croats, Poles, and Rumanians. In Budapest 900,000 persons were out of work. Scarcely any money was in circulation, except Communist paper, which was particularly worthless; while clothes and the common necessities

of life were almost unprocurable at any price. M. Sauerwein said that Budapest, where life was comparatively comfortable during the war, had been reduced by Communism to a condition of wretchedness and desolation far surpassing that of the Austrian capital, which had shared the common defeat. He attributed this condition chiefly to the hostility of the peasants to the Bela Kun régime, in consequence of which they had refused to exchange food either for money or for goods, so that Budapest had been subjected virtually to a starvation blockade.

The arrival of 1,800 British soldiers, forming part of the international detachment to take over the police service at Budapest after the expected departure of the Rumanian forces there, was reported on Oct. 8, and 2,000 Italian soldiers were on their way.

Prince Carol's Renunciation of the Throne

Sequel to a Romantic Marriage

THE story of the morganatic marriage of Crown Prince Carol of Rumania, and of the Prince's final renunciation of the throne in preference to deserting his bride, was told in considerable detail by M. Mihail Mircea on Aug. 20, 1919, in the French newspaper, *Excelsior*. The writer stated that on Aug. 27, 1918, the Crown Prince and Mlle. Jeanne Lambrino, daughter of a well-known Rumanian General, left Bucharest secretly by motor car, and crossed the frontier to Odessa, where they were married in legal form. In the marriage certificate, of which the *Excelsior* printed a facsimile, the age of the Prince was given as 25, and that of the bride, described as single and of noble family, as 22.

Shortly after the marriage several officers and agents of the Rumanian Secret Service, who had been sent to Odessa in search of the Prince, discovered him in a restaurant, and insisted on his accompanying them back to Bucharest. On arrival in the capital he was sentenced, by the order of his father,

King Ferdinand, to six weeks' arrest for having, without notification, left the regiment of which he was Colonel. At the time the marriage took place Rumania was in the throes of complicated negotiations between her pro-German Premier, M. Marghiloman, and the Central Empires, and the question of Rumania's further attitude toward the Entente was by no means settled. The whole position was critical.

A meeting of the Crown Council was called for the purpose of considering the situation set up by the Prince's marriage. All the Ministers present, with the exception of M. Marghiloman, agreed that the marriage in no way affected the Prince's status as heir to the throne. M. Marghiloman alone urged that he should be replaced by his younger brother, Nicholas, then a boy of 15. Largely, it is understood, through the influence of the Queen, the views of the majority of the council prevailed, and the matter was allowed to remain where it was. Her Majesty, it was understood hoped that in time the Prince would be

come more inclined to bow to the wishes of his family and consent that his marriage be annulled as a mere youthful escapade.

Both the Prince and his wife, however, proved unexpectedly firm, and



PRINCE CAROL AND THE WOMAN FOR WHOM HE GAVE UP THE THRONE

eventually, on Dec. 17, by order of the Minister of Justice, proceedings were initiated with a view to annulling the marriage on the ground of informalities in connection with the publication of legal notices required under the code. A decree annulling the marriage was eventually issued by the court, but it was ignored by the Prince. Toward the end of July, 1919, with a view to bringing matters to a final settlement, the Rumanian War Minister, General Vaitoiano, accompanied by Colonel Boyle, an American officer, who has several times acted on behalf of Queen Marie in connection with the Crown Prince's marriage, called at Cotroceni Palace, where the Prince

was living, and pleaded with him to accede to the wishes of his family.

Finally, as the Prince remained obdurate, General Vaitoiano gave him the alternative of accepting the annulment of his marriage or immediately resuming his command at the front. The Prince, it is alleged, replied: "I will remain a soldier, but I will keep my word." He asked for a delay of four days, however, to consider the matter; but before that period had expired the Prince, on Aug. 1, at 3 in the morning, wrote the following renunciation, addressed to his father:

Sire: In virtue of a natural right implicitly recognized by Article 83, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution, I declare that I renounce my status as Crown Prince of Rumania, both for myself and my heirs, together with all the advantages that are recognized as due to me as heir to the throne. I remain the devoted servant of my country, and in placing my sword at its service I beg your Majesty to give me a place among the soldiers who are at present at the front.

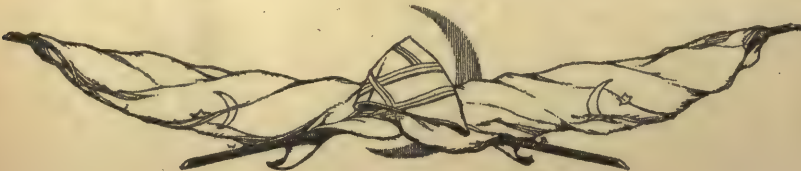
CAROL,

Prince of Rumania.

Bucharest, Aug. 1, 1919.

The Prince sent copies of this letter of renunciation to MM. Bratiano, Take Ionescu, Marghiloman, and General Averesco, the leaders of the four Rumanian political parties. A fifth copy was sent to Thomas Dragu, with a request that it be handed to the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, and the sixth he sent to Nicolas Iorga, his former tutor. Later the same day the Crown Prince left Bucharest to rejoin his regiment at the front.

On Aug. 25 it was announced that the Rumanian Council of Ministers, after deliberation on the renunciation of throne rights by Prince Carol, had recognized the younger Prince, Nicholas, as heir to the Rumanian throne. Prince Nicholas, a student at Eton, left England at once to travel to Bucharest by the Orient Express.



Bessarabia's Charges Against Rumania

Appeal of Peace Delegates

THE Bessarabian delegates to the Peace Conference at Paris transmitted to President Wilson on Sept. 23, 1919, the following noteworthy appeal for relief from the tyrannous methods employed by Rumania in the effort to obtain permanent possession of Bessarabia, formerly a Russian province:

The Bessarabian delegates to the Peace Conference implore you to exercise your great influence to compel the Rumanian Government to cease the hideous reign of terror now prevailing in Bessarabia, owing to the unjustifiable and atrocious conduct of the Rumanian authorities there.

Freedom of the press has ceased to exist in Bessarabia, and all real expression of opinion is rendered impossible. Therefore we are compelled to make a direct appeal to you.

The Rumanian troops were authorized by the Central Powers in January, 1918, to enter Bessarabia, ostensibly for the purpose of restoring order. The Rumanian Government subsequently pleaded that there was great danger from Bolshevism in Bessarabia. This reason was entirely unfounded, as there never was such danger owing to the free and prosperous conditions prevailing. Nevertheless, the Entente also was induced to allow the Rumanians to enter the country.

The Rumanian Government, without the least foundation in fact, interpreted this as equivalent to permission to annex Bessarabia and has acted ever since as supreme master of the country. Since January, 1918, the Rumanian Government has followed a policy of ruthless imperialism in Bessarabia and has made every effort to Rumanianize it in spite of the fact that the whole civilization and sympathies of the country are Russian and anti-Rumanian.

The worst features of Magyar persecutions from which the Rumanians in Transylvania suffered before their liberation are being thrown into the shade by the atrocities today perpetrated in Bessarabia by the Bucharest Government. The situation there throws a startling light on the reasons why Rumania refused to sign the clauses in the Peace Treaty designed for the protection of minorities. The whole of the autonomous rights enjoyed by Bessarabia under Russian suzerainty have been swept away. Local zemstvos and other organisms which were purely Russian in character and had stood the test of centuries have either been suppressed or fatally modified. Rumanian gendarmes and other officials have replaced the old autonomous organisms and are practicing the

bribery and extortion for which they are notorious in Eastern Europe.

The old Bessarabian courts have been abolished and replaced by Rumanian tribunals, which the Bessarabians refuse to recognize, as Rumanian officials now admit. Out of 250 Bessarabian Judges and Magistrates over 240 have been dismissed because they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of Rumania, and Rumanians have been put in their places. Bessarabian landowners have been given formal notice that unless they take the oath to the Rumanian King within a fortnight their estates will be confiscated.

The use of the Russian language, which is universally spoken in Bessarabia, has been prohibited in the schools and replaced by Rumanian, which the pupils refuse to learn. Hundreds of schoolmasters and priests have been flogged, imprisoned, or deported—sometimes all three—while many others have been shot down in cold blood.

Foodstuffs sent to Bessarabia from America and elsewhere for the relief of the population have been appropriated by the Rumanian authorities for their own people, and an absurdly small quantity has been allotted Bessarabia. A large number of people starved to death in Kishineff as the result of this barbarous policy of Rumania.

We have now received from absolutely reliable sources in Bessarabia the information that Rumanian police there are employing methods of physical torture in vogue in the Middle Ages. We are in possession of evidence that Bessarabians belonging to the intellectual classes who are suspected of Russophile tendencies are being put to actual torture by Rumanian executioners. The methods adopted include tearing out fingernails and crushing finger-ends in door-hinges. Others are being flogged with India-rubber rods. Others have had their heads and feet tied together and their hands bound behind their backs and have been left in this condition a whole day, or until they have consented to give information concerning men and women who have become obnoxious to the Rumanian authorities.

Full confirmation of many atrocities of this kind has been given us by a British officer just returned from Rumania. Furthermore, officers belonging to the French military mission who have been in South Bessarabia since February, 1919, have sent reports to their Government in which they mention a quantity of facts, testifying to Rumanian misrule and atrocities in Bessarabia and confirming our statements.

Now that the Rumanian elections are approaching, the Rumanian Government is

nominating throughout Bessarabia candidates for the Rumanian Parliament and using every possible coercive method to make Bessarabians promise to vote for them. A decree has been promulgated ordering every Bessarabian to participate in the Rumanian Parliamentary elections, which are entirely alien to them, under penalty of a fine of \$200.

We protest against these atrocious and unheard-of methods, and appeal most earnestly to you for aid. Rumania has no shadow of right to impose her will on a single Bessarabian. The Peace Conference has so far refused every appeal made by Rumania for permission to annex our country. We beg that our people be allowed to determine their own future by a plebiscite taken under con-

trol of the great powers and guaranteed against interference by Rumanian agents. We are content to stand or fall by this test alone.

In the immediate present we beg and pray you to intervene and save our helpless people from the intolerable persecution and abominable atrocities from which they are hourly suffering through the direct agency of Rumanian imperialism and greed, operating in defiance of all laws of civilization and studiously concealed from the eyes of every other nation.

A. N. DRUPENSKY, former President of the Bessarabian Provincial Zemstvo.

A. C. SCHMIDT, former Mayor of Kishinev, and Bessarabian delegate to the Peace Conference in Paris.

The Killing of Hostages by Munich Reds

The Munich Radicals who murdered innocent hostages during the Communist régime in the Bavarian capital were placed on trial in Berlin, and six of them, being convicted and sentenced on Sept. 19, 1919, were executed at 4 o'clock the same afternoon. Those sentenced to pay the death penalty were Fritz Seidl and five of his followers—Josef Seidl, Schicklhofer, Widl, Purzel, and Fehmer. Seven others were sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude. The brutal nature of their crimes under the so-called Soviet Republic was revealed in the court proceedings of Sept. 10, as summarized by a London Times correspondent:

The testimony showed that the last hostage shot was the Prince of Thurn and Taxis, who declared that he had been expelled by the reigning family in Regensburg in 1912 because of his revolutionary views. Two Red Guards who accompanied him when he made his last appeal to their chiefs said: "He seems innocent, and we do not shoot innocent persons," but Haussmann exclaimed, "Oh, don't make so much talk about it! He is one of the 'big heads'—one of the upper ten," whereupon the Prince was again dragged to the courtyard and put against the wall.

A waiter named Debutt, who first professed not to have taken part in the proceedings, was accused by one of the prisoners, who said that he had been in the courtyard. After a long pause he confessed this was true and gave details of the shooting, and admitted having

taken pocketbooks and valuables from the hostages. He was arrested and removed from the court in custody on suspicion of being concerned in the murders.

Another witness named Zak described how Haussmann said: "I can show no mercy. I have Seidl's strictest order to shoot the people." Haussmann stormed into the gymnasium and fetched a number of soldiers out, who placed various people against the wall. Every time three hostages had been shot he motioned with his hand to Schicklhofer to proceed.

When the Countess Hella von Westarp was brought forward, Schicklhofer said: "She must be shot. We can have no mercy. She must die. Besides, the 'swells' have not treated our heroes out there any differently." This witness saw eight hostages shot. The soldiers in the courtyard showed great joy at the shooting of the hostages and made coarse remarks as each victim sank down.

Professor Berger was forced forward by a blow from a fist in the neck. A bullet splashed his brains against the wall, whereupon one soldier cried, amid general laughter: "There's baked brains today." One of those shot down moved a little, whereupon a soldier went to him and split his skull with a rifle butt, saying: "It is all the same whether he dies this way or that."

A small Saxon soldier, who obviously found Countess Westarp too long in writing her farewell letter, caught hold of her, dragged her to the wall, and fired with others on her. "As she sank down I heard a cry: 'Take care, Mark, that you have settled her.'" The witness described, to the horror of those present, how one of the accused treated the Countess's dead body. The corpses were buried late at night by Seidl's orders.

Closing In on Soviet Russia

While Denikin and Mamontov Threaten Moscow, the Forces of Yudenitch Advance Upon Petrograd

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 18, 1919]

DEVELOPMENTS in Russia during September and October pointed to the ultimate downfall of the Lenin-Trotsky régime. On every side the anti-Bolshevist armies were closing in upon the Soviet Government, and British warships riding in the Gulf of Finland were preventing the passage of all food supplies. The most sensational advance was that of General Yudenitch, which began about Oct. 10, and by Oct. 18 had entered the suburbs of Petrograd. The phenomenal successes of Denikin, meanwhile, had continued in the south; Voronezh and Kursk were captured. Tambov and Kozlov in the rear of the Bolshevik lines were taken by the Cossack General, Mamontov, who was then about 175 miles from Moscow. Kolchak, aided by these victories, carried out a successful offensive with his three Siberian armies in September.

Soviet Russia showed alarm over the menace of Denikin's successes, and Moscow was placed in a state of siege. The burning of hidden fires of revolt against the Soviet régime was revealed by the discovery of a widespread plot, sixty-seven participators in which, including many learned and prominent men, were executed, and by a bomb explosion at the Kremlin, in which thirteen Bolshevik commissaries, including the notorious public executioner, Jacob Peters, were killed. Russian securities on the Paris Bourse rose constantly in value, owing to a belief that the Soviet régime was destined, at no distant period, to be overthrown from within.

THE NORTHERN FRONT

The evacuation of the Archangel front by the British was proceeding on Sept. 16 as smoothly as could be expected, in view of the formidable difficulties attending the operation, including a shortage of shipping and river boats. The

difficulties had been increased also by the fact that, in addition to the soldiers, thousands of civilians were being removed. Small raids against the Bolsheviks were being continued for the purpose of screening the movements of the troops.

The Russian forces meanwhile carried out a successful offensive in the railway sector. Russian volunteer troops had reoccupied Onega, taken by the Bolsheviks in one of their northern raids. With this recapture communication had been re-established between the Allies on the Archangel and Murmansk coast fronts. On Oct. 13, after the withdrawal of the British troops, positions on the Emptsa River were taken by the Russian troops. Interviewed regarding the situation, a representative of the North Russian Government said:

The Russian Army is now demonstrating determination, despite the demands placed upon it by the withdrawal of British troops. Our forces, which they considered incapable of holding the front and doomed to disorganization, are scoring a series of successes such as have not been seen during the last year.

ON THE PETROGRAD FRONT

On the Petrograd front the food blockade by the British squadron, in conjunction with the French, continued. The United States, however, had declined to join the blockade, though it refused clearance to vessels bound for Soviet Russia. The effect of the British and French blockade was to prevent the shipment of supplies to Soviet Russia from Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. Ships of those nationalities bound for Russia had been turned back by the British squadron in the latter half of September.

On Oct. 1 a Copenhagen dispatch stated that General Belakovitch, whose forces were co-operating with those of

Yudenitch, had broken the Bolshevik lines at Bulata, and that whole divisions of the Bolsheviki had surrendered.

THE YUDENITCH OFFENSIVE

The frequently reported intention of General Yudenitch, in command of Finnish and Russian forces, to advance on Petrograd was fulfilled with a swift and successful offensive begun shortly before Oct. 10 on a front of 100 miles. Two days later a detachment of this North Russian Army had captured Yamburg, about seventy-five miles southwest of Petrograd. On Oct. 14 Yudenitch was approaching Gatschina, thirty-five miles south of Petrograd, and the White Scouts in advance of General Rodzianko's army had reached Kikerino, eighteen miles west of Gatschina. General Rodzianko reported the capture of the Bolshevik armored train named Lenin, which was abandoned so hurriedly that the Bolsheviki had no time to blow it up. The Bolsheviki were falling back in disorder on Petrograd. Over 2,000 prisoners and many guns were captured. British tanks manned by English officers were co-operating effectively.

Pskov was retaken from the Bolsheviki on Oct. 15. Reports of the continuous successes of Yudenitch followed. On Oct. 15 M. Margulies, the Minister of Commerce of the North Russian Government, arrived at Helsingfors to negotiate with the Finnish Government for the transportation of Finnish merchandise for Petrograd when it should fall. Reports from Swedish and Russian sources on Oct. 18 declared that Kronstadt had fallen, and that the cavalry of General Yudenitch were in the suburbs of Petrograd. The occupation of Kronstadt by the anti-Bolshevik forces was reported officially by the General Staff of the Finnish Army at Viborg on Sunday, Oct. 10.

THE BALTIC REPUBLICS

Regarding the Baltic republics, it became apparent in September that the Letts and Lithuanians, alarmed by the departure of the allied forces, had begun to consider seriously the situation in which this departure would leave them in relation to the Bolsheviki. On Sept. 16

it was reported that an important conference had been in session at Riga, considering the formation of a Baltic federation. This idea had crystallized to the extent that an agreement had been reached for a common currency and customs union for Letvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania. The seat of deliberations had been transferred to Reval, the seat of the new Northwestern Government, where it was to be joined by representatives of Finland and of the Northwestern Government. It was also stated that peace would be discussed in close touch with Entente representatives, the Baltic States favoring peace with Soviet Russia on the basis of Soviet recognition of the three Baltic republics in the absence of effective assistance from the Entente.

On Sept. 19 the Lithuanian delegation at Paris denied that Lithuania had agreed to share in peace negotiations with the Soviet republic. The Lettish Foreign Minister on Oct. 9 issued a statement indicating that the project was progressing and that the peace offer made by the Bolshevik authorities was to be examined by a special commission at Riga on Oct. 16. The successful offensive of General Yudenitch and the capture of Petrograd brought the peace negotiations to a sudden close.

[For the unexpected assault on Riga by combined German and Russian forces see the article that follows this one.]

THE SOUTHERN FRONT

The successes of General Denikin in South Russia continued. On Sept. 8 Denikin's authority extended not only over the Cossack region, but over a wide stretch of territory between the Volga and the Dnieper. He commanded the Black Sea coast between Georgia and Bessarabia, and had under his control such important cities as Kharkov, Kiev and Odessa. His staff occupied the quiet town of Taganrog, while his political council had made its quarters in the busy city of Rostov.

Important military operations along the eastern half of the front were described by Harold Williams on Sept. 10. Dramatic victories had been won by Denikin in an offensive begun the week before. Trotzky and his skilled



HEAVY BLACK LINE INDICATES FRONT STILL HELD BY TROTSKY'S RED ARMIES ON SEPT. 25, 1919. DOTTED LINE SHOWS THE SITUATION IN JUNE. AND THE SPACE BETWEEN MEASURES DENIKIN'S GAINS IN THE SOUTHWEST AND KOLCHAK'S LOSSES IN THE NORTHEAST. VORONEZH AND OREL TO THE NORTHEAST AND NORTH OF KURSK, WERE TAKEN BY DENIKIN IN OCTOBER, AFTER THIS MAP HAD BEEN MADE

military advisers had conceived a daring plan of campaign, which had recoiled upon their own heads. With a heavy concentration of Soviet forces, including several strong divisions from the Siberian front, they had aimed at catching, as in a pair of pincers, Denikin's centre, held by the Don Army. On the one hand they counted on driving a wedge between the Don army and the volunteer army west of Kharkov, and forcing a way through the Donetsk basin to the Sea of Azov, while on the eastern flank they hoped to overrun General Wrangel's small Caucasian army and to force a way through Tsaritsin down the Volga to the Caspian.

The drive on the western flank brought the Reds to the important junction of Kupiansk, southeast of Kharkov. Here the Bolsheviks were caught in the wedge-shaped salient they themselves had created. General Shkuko attacked them with his Kuban cavalry in the rear, and thousands surrendered or deserted; the rest fled

northward in disorder. General Mamontov, the Cossack leader, who in August had broken through the Soviet army by an impetuous raid, reappeared after days of absence, and announced the capture of Tambov and Kozlov, in the rear of the Bolshevik armies. Mamontov, with 13,000 men, had captured large stores and munitions, freed and sent home 20,000 Bolshevik conscripts, and taken into his army thousands of volunteers.

On hearing the news that the Bolsheviks were pressing hard on Denikin's forces on the Don front, Mamontov turned, and at the time in question had reached a point within striking distance of Voronezh, the most important base in the immediate rear of the Bolshevik lines. The situation of General Wrangel at Tsaritsin, on the contrary, was precarious, but this General had inflicted a smashing defeat on the Bolshevik forces when they attempted to enter the city. In this and other battles over 9,000 prisoners were captured.

On Oct. 13 a wireless from General Denikin stated that the Bolshevik offensive had been beaten back with severe losses to the attackers.

CLOSING IN TOWARD MOSCOW

General Denikin's capture of Voronezh and Grafskia, with 15,000 prisoners, was admitted on Oct. 8 by a Moscow wireless message. Denikin's cavalry was advancing on Usman, forty miles north of Voronezh. Meanwhile the activities of General Mamontov behind the Bolshevik rear caused the Soviet Government considerable alarm. The State Department at Washington on Sept. 22 received the report of a great uprising in European Russia in the region of Tambov and Kozlov; Mamontov himself had swept to about 150 miles westward of Tambov and so threatened the enemy lines of communication that his operations had caused a precipitate retreat of a portion of the Soviet forces and opened the way for the rapid advance to Kursk of other troops of Denikin's army that had been based on Kharkov.

The capture of Kursk by Denikin was subsequently admitted by a Moscow wireless. The steady advance of Denikin, and especially the activities of General Mamontov behind the Bolshevik front, disquieted the Soviet Government to such an extent that on Sept. 19 Moscow was placed in a state of siege, and the serious nature of the military situation confronting the Government by the menacing approach toward Moscow was depicted in a proclamation calling upon the people to do their utmost to bring about Denikin's and Mamontov's defeat. Tambov, captured by Mamontov, is 250 miles southeast of Moscow; Kursk 290 miles to the southwest. Mamontov's operations west of Tambov would bring him within 175 miles of Moscow. Both General Mamontov and his Cossack colleague, General Shkuko, were reported on Sept. 30 to be suffering from shell shock, caused by the explosion of shells in a Bolshevik bombardment of their headquarters on the Don.

Further victories were announced by General Denikin on Oct. 13 in the direction of Kiev, Tchernigov, and Orel.

Enormous quantities of booty and large numbers of prisoners were captured in the occupation of Tchernigov, on the left wing of General Denikin's army north of Kiev. Two hundred hostages who had been condemned to be shot by the Bolsheviks were rescued. One of the most important victories won by General Denikin at this time was the capture of Orel, a strategic centre 238 miles south of Moscow, together with thousands of prisoners and large quantities of material. General Denikin's communiqué reported this capture as follows:

Orel was entered after many days of fierce fighting in which several Red divisions were defeated. The townspeople welcomed the troops, falling on their knees and calling out, "Christ is risen!" East of Orel our troops debouched on the line Prechrazhenskoe-Turemeff.

IN WESTERN UKRAINIA

About the middle of September matters in Western Ukraina were in a state of considerable confusion. The volunteer army was entering into a sphere of international relations with Middle and Eastern Europe. The Bolsheviks were departing. Their forces ejected from Kiev were retreating hastily to the northeast to avoid being cut off by the Poles, who were advancing on Gomel. Another force was retiring northward from Odessa, trying to find its way through the tangle of friendly, neutral, and openly hostile bands and regiments that occupied the various areas between the Lower Dnieper and Dniester Basins.

The anti-Bolshevik volunteer army held Kiev and a strip of country immediately to the west. Its nearest neighbors on the west were Galician Ukrainians under an Austrian General named Krause, who withdrew to Russia after having been defeated by the Poles in Galicia and joined the forces of Petlura.

The relations between the volunteer army and the Ukrainians were those of armed neutrality. So far as the Ukrainian movement was concerned, Denikin had pledged himself to the principle of regional autonomy and to permitting the cultivation of the Ukrainian or Little Russian language and literature. As against this the Germans had promoted the movement with which Petlura was

identified, and which aimed at establishing an independent Ukrainian State in Russia. Denikin had resolutely set his face against this movement "in the name of united and undivided Russia." In consequence of this attitude the feeling of the Ukrainians, who have long been determined on autonomous independence, has been one of hostility to the personality of General Denikin and to the movement led by him; the Ukrainian Information Bureaus in Paris, London, and New York have constantly attacked him. The Ukrainian Bureau in London on Oct. 8, after referring to the causes of conflict between Denikin and the Ukrainian General, Petlura, stated that all efforts to avert a break between them had failed and that General Petlura had declared war upon the Russian anti-Bolshevist commander in the south. On Oct. 8 violent fighting between the Russian volunteer army and the Ukrainians was reported. These conflicts were continuing on Oct. 11.

On the Dniester the volunteer army was in contact with the Rumanians and virtually in contact with the Poles, who were regarded as allies in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. A Polish military and economic mission had just arrived with the object of establishing a satisfactory *modus vivendi* in connection with boundary and other matters in dispute. Similar arrangements with Rumania were also in the making.

Regarding Denikin's attitude toward Poland and Finland, an important announcement was made at Helsingfors on Oct. 9 by General Krasnov, Denikin's representative, to the effect that General Denikin had unconditionally recognized the independence of these two countries. Krasnov stated that the crushing of the Soviet régime was certain, and declared that it would be most unwise for the Baltic States to conclude peace with the Bolsheviks at that time. He also alluded to the large quantities of war material supplied to Denikin, on which the latter's uninterrupted successes were based. It was announced in Paris on Oct. 8 that General Mangin, whose recall from command of the Eighth Army had just been published,

was to proceed to South Russia and join General Denikin, in company with Baron Basil Maklakov, Russian Ambassador to Paris, to co-ordinate the policy of the former's anti-Bolshevist Government.

THE SIBERIAN FRONT

The phenomenal successes of General Denikin in South Russia, compelling the Soviet Government to withdraw forces from the Siberian front, were reflected in the Ural region at the beginning of September by Admiral Kolchak's action in starting a wide offensive with his three western armies. This triple campaign came to a climax about Sept. 24. At the beginning of September General Sakharov held the Bolshevik forces back along the Kurgan-Ishim highway, while in the north, at Tobolsk and east of Irtysh, the Red emissaries were vainly trying to stir the peasants to attack the Kolchak armies from the rear. The position of the Omsk forces in the south was less favorable. The Reds had constituted a new force in Samara, composed of the First and Fourth Armies, under the designation of the Turkestan front. Orders had been sent to all the Bolshevik authorities to prepare for the transit of troops and material from the lower Volga to Central Asia.

By Sept. 11 General Sakharov's army was winning continuous successes in the direction of Kurgan, (about 200 miles southwest of Tobolsk,) having captured five staffs, 2,000 prisoners, 19 cannon, 40 machine guns and a large amount of other booty. Cossacks co-operating had driven the Bolsheviks to the northwest. The Second Siberian Army, under General Lokvitsky, was also advancing and forcing its way past the flank and in the rear of the Bolshevik forces on the Ishim-Tiumen railway. Hard fighting was in progress.

From the beginning to the end of September the Siberian troops had pushed forward an average distance of seventy-five miles along the whole front in the face of serious resistance and counterattacks, and 15,000 prisoners, 100 machine guns, and 21 heavy cannon had been captured. Further developments were reported on Oct. 1. All three of Admiral Kolchak's armies had

advanced another 15 miles, making an average gain of 90 miles since the offensive began.

A wireless message from the Kolchak Government dated Oct. 13 announced a general retreat by the Bolsheviks along the entire line. They were deporting whole populations between the ages of 16 and 50, as well as driving away the cattle as they departed.

PLOT AGAINST KOLCHAK

That there were forces in Siberia seeking the overthrow of the Kolchak régime was plain on Sept. 15, when it was announced from Vladivostok that Ivan Yakushev, President of the first Siberian Duma, which Admiral Kolchak dissolved in the Fall of 1918, had signed and issued secretly a proclamation calling for the overthrow of the Kolchak Government and the calling of a popular convention to establish an All-Siberian Constituent Assembly. The proclamation accused Kolchak and his coadjutors of both military and political incapacity, and enumerated a list of reform measures to be passed by the proposed new Assembly, including local self-government, landcession to peasants, freedom of workmen's unions, and abolition of the alleged "reactionary" régime in the army.

The Omsk Government was also faced with diplomatic difficulties involving Americans. At Iman, Siberia, on Sept. 5, Cossack troops commanded by General Kalmykov had arrested an American officer and an enlisted man on the pretext of lack of proper identification papers, and had flogged the latter. General Graves, the American commander, demanded an apology from General Rozanov, the Russian commander in that province. The strained situation was relieved on Oct. 1 when the Russian Ambassador at Washington, Boris Bakmetev, informed the State Department that General Rozanov had formally tendered the desired apology and promised to call for the punishment of the offending troops.

It appeared from Omsk advices of Sept. 23 that General Graves, in retaliation for scurrilous articles published in a Vladivostok newspaper, as well as for the hostile acts of Cossack chiefs

against Americans in the Far East zone, had held up shipments of 14,000 rifles which had arrived from America consigned to the All-Russian Government at Omsk. The Omsk Government protested to the Washington Government. On Oct. 2 the State Department ordered that the delivery of these rifles be made, and announced that efforts were being exerted to persuade the Omsk Government to suppress the newspaper which had published the attack, or at least to compel a less hostile attitude toward the American forces. The trend of the attack in question was that the United States was fostering disunion in Russia, desiring not to see a united Russia, but a number of disunited and autonomous powers to facilitate its own materialistic ends.

On Sept. 18 Admiral Kolchak issued a decree calling a Zemstvo congress to consider the solution of the many problems confronting the Government, and to put in motion the machinery for legal administrative measures. At this time the Omsk treasury had a gold reserve, largely in the shape of ingots and coin, including some gold plate, weighing 1,440,000 pounds. An official inspection of this vast deposit was arranged by the Minister of Finance for foreign correspondents, for the purpose of confirming statements made by the Government that sufficient funds existed to finance the extensive undertakings projected.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Previously described conditions of epidemic and demoralization continued in Petrograd. Deaths from cholera and dysentery had risen from 200 to 300 a day, sanitary conditions were intolerable, and many hospitals had closed owing to scarcity of food and medicine. Carts jogging along with many coffins, containing the bodies of the dead, were a common sight. The State Bank had been looted of more than 2,000,000 rubles. Officers were deserting from the Bolshevik army, and Trotzky, the Soviet Minister of War, had ordered the punishment of their families. Moscow was declared in a state of siege, due to the advance of Mamontov and Denikin. All youths of 15 and 17 years had been called to the colors. A Soviet Government ap-



MAP OF PETROGRAD REGION, WHERE YUDENITCH MADE HIS SUDDEN INCURSION FROM THE SOUTH. RIGA AND MITAU WERE THE SCENE OF GERMAN OPERATIONS UNDER VON DER GOLTZ AND AVALOV-BERMONDT

peal, the text of which reached London on Sept. 22, admitted the loss of important cities in the south, and called on the workmen and peasants to "conquer the coal and the factories, which will give us the indispensable." It added: "Defeat Denikin and again the factory chimneys will smoke and the locomotives and trains of wheat will circulate." The Council of People's Commissaries in Moscow had ordered Admiral Kolchak and his Ministers outlawed.

At about this time Leon Trotzky, in a speech delivered in Petrograd, announced the determination of the Soviet Government to defeat its enemies one by one. Peace had been offered the Balkan States, he declared, because they were insignificant. Denikin, like Kolchak, would be defeated and driven back, and then would come the turn of Poland and Rumania. If Finland tried to intervene in Russian affairs, war would be waged on her also. The contest was placed by Trotzky and his Government on the ground of a worldwide conspiracy

against the world's proletariat, and a Moscow wireless charged that Germany and Great Britain had concluded a secret compact to secure this end. Paris advices reported that the Soviet Government was endeavoring to recruit soldiers for the Red Army from Austria and Germany; in the former country these efforts had been unsuccessful, but many Germans had crossed the frontier, including deserting soldiers, and joined the Soviet forces.

A wireless dispatch of Sept. 23 reported the discovery of a widespread anti-Bolshevik plot in Soviet Russia, which led to the arrest and execution of sixty-seven men, including some of distinguished rank and attainments. The plot originated in Moscow. Among those executed were the former Duma member, N. N. Scheptin, and Professor Astrov, both influential adherents of the "Cadet" Party; Professor Volkov, Prince Obolensky, and Generals Kuznetsov and Machov. Others arrested were Prince Andrenikov, Baron Stroberg, and M. Roza-

nov, a widely known Menshevik leader. Travelers returning from Moscow at that time stated that the episode had brought a renewal of the Red terror, and that all persons coming under the slightest suspicion were immediately arrested. The Bolshevik official organ, the *Izvestia*, commented on the affair as follows:

At the time when Denikin's hordes had entered the heart of Soviet Russia spies prepared a rebellion at Moscow. The so-called National Centre Party intended to seize the reins of power, but the plot was discovered and members of the party were arrested at Moscow and Petrograd.

In addition to members of technical and military clubs, among the prisoners were Generals, Princes, teachers, and officers who had given Denikin and Judenitch information regarding the movements of the Red Army. The conspirators also possessed arms. Sixty-seven of them were executed, among these being several well-known scientists.

BOMBS IN THE KREMLIN

An event even more sensational occurred in Moscow on Sept. 25, when thirteen Bolshevik commissaries were killed by a bomb thrown during a meeting of the Moscow Soviet in the Kremlin. Advices to the State Department indicated that this was the second bomb attack that had occurred. As a result of this second attack the Bolshevik authorities had appointed an extraordinary commission to handle the situation, and had placed the city under martial law. Among the victims was the notorious Jacob Peters, who had been called the "Chief Executioner of the Russian Revolution." An English criminal, a rag-picker implicated and arrested in connection with the killing of three policemen, this man had become the most sinister figure of the Bolshevik Red Terror, a man whose power over life and death was absolute, who was depicted in the early days of the Bolshevik ascendancy as signing death warrants without even looking at them, and who mocked the relatives of his victims when they came to inquire about the fate of those executed. The orgy of slaughter in which he indulged with Zinoviev, President of the Petrograd Soviet, and Shatov, formerly a New York anarchist, head of the Extraordinary Commission against the Counter-Revolution, appalled

Lenin, who vainly protested, and whose power in internal affairs waned in consequence.

A Soviet wireless dispatch of Oct. 5 intercepted at Omsk declared that the situation had never been so serious and that the anti-Bolshevik forces converging from all sides on Moscow had never approached so near. The dispatch stated that anti-Bolshevik armies were moving toward the heart of the Soviet Government from all directions, that Bolshevik organizations were disintegrating, and that there were only 9,000 members of the party left in Moscow. Danish advices of Oct. 13 stated that the Bolsheviks were calling a council of their leaders to discuss the situation. At this time the Central Committee of the Moscow Soviet had resolved to declare martial law and to create a special committee, with the fullest authority, to fight the Counter-Revolutionary League, which still had ramifications in various parts of the country.

The Swedish Foreign Department on Oct. 10 confirmed the reports disseminated shortly before of the sacking of the Swedish Legation in Petrograd and the Consular offices in Petrograd and Moscow by the Bolshevik authorities, declaring that valuables and private deposits aggregating 12,000,000 rubles had been confiscated.

AMERICAN EMBASSY SACKED

A detailed account of the sacking of the American Embassy in Petrograd last July was published in London for the first time on Oct. 2. According to this account, Commissary Karolov took possession of the embassy in the morning of July 10. Every cupboard and press was searched, doors were burst open, and a fruitless search for provisions, valuables, and firearms was conducted. In a second search a week later Soviet soldiers stripped the place of practically everything. When the soldiers had finished, the crowd burst in and looted what was left. Members of the Red Army then took up their quarters in the embassy, which they turned into a species of inn.

On Oct. 16 the text of a note from the Supreme Council of the Peace Confer-

ence inviting Germany to participate in a combined blockade of Soviet Russia was published by the Berlin Tageblatt. This note indicated that Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Finland, Spain, Switzerland, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, and Venezuela had also been invited to initiate measures to prevent their nationals from engaging in any trade with Bolshevik Russia. The preamble to the note declared that the open enmity of the Bolsheviks was directed against all Governments and that programs of international evolution, circulated by them, constituted a grave danger to the national security of all the powers. Every increase in the capacity of the Bolsheviks for resistance increased this danger, the preamble added, and it was desirable that all nations wishing peace and the re-establishment of social order should unite to resist Bolshevik government. For this reason, it was further declared, the allied and associated Governments, after raising the blockade of Germany, had refused permission to their nationals to resume commercial relations with Bolshevik Russia. The measures to be taken were thus enumerated:

First.—Refusal of permission to sail to every ship bound for a Russian Bolshevik port and the closing of all ports to ships from Bolshevik Russia.

Second.—Similar regulations to be adopted with regard to all goods destined for Russia by any other route.

Third.—Passports will be refused to all persons to or from Bolshevik Russia.

Isolated exceptions may be made by agreement of the allied and associated powers.

Fourth.—Measures will be taken to hinder the banks from granting credit to commercial undertakings in Bolshevik Russia.

Fifth.—Every Government will refuse its nationals any facilities of intercourse with Bolshevik Russia, whether by post or wireless telegraphy.

Marshal Foch added the following instruction:

Inform the German Government that the British and French men-of-war in the Gulf of Finland will continue to blockade Bolshevik ports and detain from the moment they come in sight ships bound for Bolshevik ports.

The German Government was requested to take measures in conformity with those enumerated.

The decision to authorize the inter-allied Generalissimo to make this request of Germany was reached as early as Aug. 19; the concrete plan of a formal note to this effect to Germany and the neutral nations was determined on Sept. 30. Secretary Polk, head of the American delegation, helped draw up the note to the neutrals, the text of which was different from that forwarded to Berlin only in the phrasing of the preamble. The invitation had not been formally considered by the German Government on Oct. 13, but a statement had been issued indicating that the Cabinet's answer would be of a temporizing nature.

German Troops in the Baltic States

Ultimatum to Von der Goltz

[PERIOD ENDED OCT. 18, 1919.—SEE MAP ON PAGE 301]

THE gravest problem with which the Peace Conference had to deal in the Baltic region was the continued refusal of the German troops under General von der Goltz to withdraw from Courland and adjoining provinces. The Berlin Government professed to be unable to compel the return of these forces, which were suspected of lending their aid to Junker designs for gaining

a permanent foothold in the Baltic region.

A letter from an American Army officer made public by the American Relief Administration toward the end of September stated that there were 100,000 German troops in Latvia, and that von der Goltz was receiving more troops than he sent home. The whole City of Mitau, only twenty-

five miles from the Lett capital, was occupied by them. Acts of violence committed by them on the Letts were described. Promises of land and money were contained in German official communications. The allied officers were ignored or insulted. Machine guns were posted everywhere, and the whole region was under the military rule of the German invaders.

On Sept. 15 it was reported from Polish sources that 200 Polish leaders had been seized by the Germans at Kovno, Lithuania.

On the same date the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference decided to send Germany another note. After hearing General Foch, the council decided that there was no merit in the German Government's assertion that it was not responsible for the acts of von der Goltz, and that it must compel his withdrawal. In its communications with the conference the German Government professed inability to control these troops in the Baltic Provinces, and blamed von der Goltz and the German Barons for the continued presence of the German forces in the forbidden territory.

ULTIMATUM OF ALLIES

The Supreme Council on Sept. 28 dispatched a note to the German Government which was equivalent to an ultimatum. The text of this note, made public by the Washington Government on Sept. 30, was as follows:

According to the terms of Article 12 of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, Germany subscribed to the following engagement:

"All German troops at present in any territory which before the war belonged to Austria-Hungary, Rumania, or Turkey shall withdraw within the frontiers of Germany as they existed Aug. 1, 1914, and all German troops at present in territories which before the war formed part of Russia must likewise return to within the frontiers of Germany, above defined, as soon as the Allies shall think the moment suitable, having regard to the internal situation in these territories."

Under date of Aug. 27 Marshal Foch, Commander in Chief of the allied and associated armies, made known the time had come for Germany to evacuate the said territories, and summoned the German Government to proceed thereto immediately.

By its note of Sept. 3 the German Gov-

ernment endeavored to evade the engagement above referred to by alleging pretexts which the allied and associated powers were unable to consider.

The allied and associated Governments particularly refuse to admit that the German Government can, in order to avoid responsibility upon it, shield itself behind alleged inability to enforce obedience to its orders by troops in the Baltic regions.

They therefore request the German Government to proceed without delay to the evacuation of all German troops, staffs, and services included now in the Baltic Provinces. The German Government will immediately take the necessary steps to withdraw within aforesaid boundaries all German officers and soldiers who have enlisted since the demobilization in Russian corps organized in said Baltic Provinces and will withhold authorization for and strictly forbid enlistment in said corps.

Evacuation must be started immediately and must continue without interruption. The allied and associated Governments hereby notify that, unless they are satisfied that their demands are being effectively executed, they will not entertain any of the applications put forward by the German Government for supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials. They have consequently given instructions not to proceed with the examination of any of these applications.

Furthermore, the allied and associated Governments will refuse all financial facilities which the German Government is enjoying at the present time, or which it is seeking from the allied and associated Governments or their nationals.

In the event of non-compliance on the part of the German Government the allied and associated powers will take such measures as they shall judge necessary to enforce the aforesaid terms of the armistice.

GERMAN OFFICIAL ATTITUDE

In Berlin on Oct. 3 it was said that though Noske and other members of the Government had believed that von der Goltz entertained no counter-revolutionary ideas, but merely sought to do his best for the Fatherland, the situation had begun to be serious. Von der Goltz himself had remained absolutely silent regarding his intentions, merely acknowledging Noske's urgent summons to return immediately with his troops unless he wished to forfeit his own and all his officers' pensions, and expose Germany to "vengeful" measures by the Entente.

Though the Government feared von der Goltz's unruly troops, they feared even more the threatened blockade, and had already cut off supplies to the Baltic army. They had also dissolved what in the Prussian War Office was known as the Department for the White Russian Army, opened by anti-Bolshevist Russian nationalists in Berlin and headed in the Baltic by a Russian, Colonel Avalov-Bermond. Though von der Goltz had received the German Government's order to evacuate, he had not moved; and on Oct. 1 Colonel Avalov-Bermond had been ordered to report immediately at General Headquarters in Mitau to receive instructions concerning his new command; this order was signed, "Von der Goltz, Commanding General, Main Headquarters, Mitau." Rumors of a contemplated coup, by which von der Goltz would proclaim himself dictator of the whole Baltic region, were rife among German military officers who had recently returned from this district.

Official notice was given at Paris on Oct. 5 that Germany had delivered to General Dupont, commander of the Inter-allied Mission at Berlin, a memorandum stating that it had recalled General von der Goltz, and on Sept. 25 had stopped pay, supplies, and munitions to the German troops in the Baltic Provinces and in Lithuania, and asserting that it was doing everything possible to bring about the withdrawal of the German soldiers in accordance with the demands of the Supreme Council. General von Eberhard had been appointed in place of General von der Goltz to take charge of the evacuation. The memorandum insisted that with these measures Germany had exhausted its means of coercion, and requested the appointment of an allied commission to visit the Baltic Provinces and verify this fact.

GERMAN EXCUSES CONSIDERED

On Oct. 7 the Supreme Council discussed the German Government's memorandum reply and decided to send another note. The paragraph of the German reply referring to the stoppage of pay was taken as evidence that the German authorities had long continued the

pay of soldiers who, by their own admission, were "rebellious." On the same date Herr Bauer, the German Chancellor, in a speech before the National Assembly, said that decisive measures for the evacuation of the Baltic Provinces had been taken, and that news of this had been communicated to the Entente three days before the ultimatum had been received. He said:

I protest before the whole world against this ultimatum. It is not thus that we have imagined the dawn of the new era provided for by the League of Nations.

GERMAN ASSAULT ON RIGA

On Oct. 8 the nominally Russian army under the pro-German Colonel, Avalov-Bermond, opened a bombardment on Riga. The Letts offered heroic resistance on a ten-mile front, but on Oct. 10, under furious attacks by the troops of General von der Goltz, with tanks and airplanes, the Lettish army gave way and Bermond's advance guard entered Riga. Bermond then proclaimed Courland and Mitau as belonging to the Russian General Government, and assumed the title of Governor General. Official explanation of his action was given by him in a note handed to the Entente representatives on Oct. 8. The text of this note as published was as follows:

In order to combat Bolshevism, restore order, and secure the safety of my base of action, I have, as head of the Russian army in the western provinces, concluded an agreement with the commanders of the German Army Corps occupying the country, under which I guarantee the gradual withdrawal of their troops and the safety of their transportation to Germany.

In order to help remedy the chaotic state of the administration of the provinces occupied by my troops, I appointed a central committee charged to draft and organize a temporary administration and also to prepare foundations for liberal administrative measures on a democratic basis in accordance with the wishes of the population.

The present Lettish Government began to send a number of Lettish troops against the boundaries of my military base, which violated the neutral zone. This evoked a number of minor collisions where my troops were replacing German posts.

I had given my posts orders, despite the continued provocation, not to let themselves become involved with the Letts and Estonians. The latter interpreted

my action as weakness and attacked my positions.

I was compelled to take measures for my military safety and occupy a new line, making it possible to march against and effectively combat Bolshevism and the enemies of my country. I hope that the powers allied with my country will support my endeavors in accordance with treaties and grant me all facilities to take requisite measures.

The Lettish Government, while continuing fighting on the western flank of the city, dispatched an energetic protest to the Peace Conference. The Supreme Council, perturbed by these new Baltic developments, drew up a note to the German Government which included a protest against the attack by German troops on Riga. The note threw full responsibility on the German Government for its failure to oust von der Goltz from the Baltic Provinces, and for the unexpected assault upon the Letts, and reiterated its intention of applying the economic blockade. The note also announced the creation of an interallied commission to control the evacuation insisted upon in the region affected.

Demands that German ships on the Baltic be recalled to their home ports and that all others be forbidden to leave in view of the attack on Riga were received by Germany from the Entente Powers on Oct. 11. Six German merchant ships were seized by the British shortly afterward and taken to Reval.

RECALL OF VON DER GOLTZ

General von der Goltz finally transferred his command in the Baltic region on Oct. 12 to General von Eberhard, who had been appointed to succeed him. The semi-official Berlin statement announcing this change also declared that on the previous day the Government had ordered a complete stoppage of all provisions to the insubordinate troops and of all passenger traffic from Germany toward the Baltic States.

Meanwhile allied cruisers were aiding in the defense of Riga against German attacks, which had been going on continuously for five days. On Oct. 14 the commander of the British naval forces, acting on his own initiative, sent word to Colonel Avalov-Bermondts that he must withdraw from the suburbs of Riga

by noon of Oct. 15 or the British warships would bombard his positions. A British-French squadron of more than twenty vessels had arrived before Riga by Oct. 16. The Letts had received 6,000 Estonian reinforcements, and had succeeded in crossing the Dvina both above and below Riga. Premier Ulmanis had been slightly wounded. The Lettish Foreign Minister had been sent to Warsaw to seek aid of the Polish Army. Thus the matter stood when the present article went to press.

On Oct. 8 John Alleyne Gade left the United States to become Commissioner of the United States to the Baltic Provinces of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania. Before departure Mr. Gade stated that his appointment meant that this country would sympathetically follow events in these regions, and particularly would do its share toward forcing Generals von der Goltz and Eberhard and their considerable armies to leave Latvia and Lithuania. Mr. Gade proposed to go direct to Paris before proceeding to the Baltic to learn the exact status at the time of his arrival of the disbanding of the German forces, and to study and advise regarding the question of the food blockade in case of refusal to demobilize.

GERMAN RIGHTS IN LATVIA

Though the Lettish Government in Riga denied the existence of a treaty between Germany and Latvia providing for the conferring of Lettish citizenship and homestead rights upon certain members of the German army in Courland, Vorwärts, the leading organ of the Majority Socialists in Germany, published on Sept. 5 the following text of such an agreement:

Riga, Dec. 29, 1918.

Treaty between the Plenipotentiaries of the German Nation and the Provisional Lettish Government.

1. The Provisional Lettish Government declares its readiness to grant, upon request, full citizenship in the Lettish State to all members of foreign armies who have been active at least four weeks in the Association of Volunteer Formations in the struggle to free the territory of the Lettish State from the Bolsheviks.

2. The German Baltic citizens of the Lettish State receive the right to join the

National German Volunteer Associations. On the other hand, for the duration of the campaign, there will be no objections to the use of German officers and non-commissioned officers as instructors in the Association of the German-Lettish Companies of the Landwehr.

3. The right conceded to the German Balts in the treaty of Dec. 7 to organize seven national companies and two batteries in the Association of the Landwehr is expressly guaranteed by the Provisional Government, even if Paragraph 2 of the present arrangements should lead to the temporary dissolution of the German-Balto associations. In case the number of the Lettish companies of the Landwehr is increased, there is to be a corresponding increase in the number of the German companies.

4. The lists of enrollment and discharge of volunteers made necessary for the carrying out of Paragraph 1 will be

sent to the Provisional Government at least once a week. On the basis of these lists the contracting parties will determine which German citizens have earned the right to citizenship according to Paragraph 1.

(Signed)

AUGUST WINNIG,

German Envoy in Riga.

K. ULMANIS, Premier.

FR. PAEGEL,

J. SANLITS.

In its introduction to the treaty Vorwärts said that according to its terms the "German Courland warriors have earned Lettish citizenship and therewith (damit) the right of settlement (Siedlung)," implying that full Lettish citizenship included the right to the land claimed by Von der Goltz's recalcitrant troops.

Massacres of Jews in the Ukraine

Petlura's Troops Accused

THE Zionist Organization of America, with headquarters in New York, made public on Oct. 10, 1919, the substance of authentic reports describing massacres of more than 30,000 Jews in the Ukraine. The reports in question were made by two Ukrainian journalists who had escaped to London—Dr. A. Korálnik and Meir Grossman, a member of the Jewish National Assembly in the Ukraine—and their accuracy is vouched for by the Jewish National Secretariat and the Zionist Organization of America. The witnesses declare that the murders were the work both of Petlura's troops and of the Bolshevik Reds, as well as of General Gregoriev, many of whose officers are ex-members of the Czar's notorious Black Hundred. The Zionist Organization's summary is in part as follows:

Attached to the report is a list of thirty-eight towns in Southern Russia where these massacres occurred. Five thousand and five hundred were killed at Proskurov. Two thousand were killed in Elizabethgrad. There the mob threw bombs into the cellars where whole families had taken refuge.

In Zabakritch the butchery lasted two days. The Jews had locked themselves in their houses. The bandits entered and in grim silence struck the Jews down one after another. At Tcherkassi 800 were

killed. At Litire 400. The whole population of Bobri, an agricultural colony, was exterminated, except one old woman and five children. The Jewish communities of Koublitsh, Alexandrovna, Medjibage and Radomysl were wiped out. At Hahidievka all the men, 300 in number, were killed. The town of Novi-Mishevide was set afire and 200 killed. Four hundred were killed at Freschtine and 500 at Harssine.

The report sets forth that at the present moment the Ukraine is divided into the following regions of power:

1. Bolsheviks hold the provinces of Kiev, Tchernigov, parts of Podolia, Volhynia and Ekaterinoslav.

2. Denikin holds Kharkov, Kherson, Poltava, the Crimea, and parts of the Province of Ekaterinoslav.

3. Between both regions Petlura, the so-called Ukrainian Directorate, occupies parts of the Provinces of Podolia and Volhynia.

4. In the whole of the Ukraine region there are large robber bands of various dimensions.

The whole period from the end of November, 1918, is filled with a series of pogroms. They were committed partly by the troops, partly by the civilian population, especially by the lower middle-classes, and also by the peasants and workmen. The principal culprits were the troops of Petlura and Grigoriev, whose officers in many cases belong to the Black Hundred, as well as countless bands. The Bolshevik troops have also committed many pogroms, but their mili-

tary commanders took rigorous measures against them and had many hundreds of soldiers shot who had taken part in the excesses. But the military authorities had to yield in the end to the anti-semitic feeling to the extent of refraining from sending the Jewish commission to the front.

Three main periods of the pogroms can be distinguished. The first period was during the victorious campaigns of Petliura against the Hetman, November, 1918, to January, 1919, which includes particularly the terrible pogroms of Zhitomir and Ovrutch. The second period was from February to April, 1919, when the Petliura troops were on the retreat before the Bolsheviks, and countless bands arose. Particularly disastrous was the two days' massacre at Proskurov, February 14 and 15, of which Colonel Simosenki was the organizer. It has been absolutely established and registered that 1,700 Jews were murdered on this occasion. In many cases entire families were completely wiped out.

When the Central Relief Committee learned of the pogroms, it sent a commissioner with 100,000 rubles to Proskurov to assist the survivors, but the commissioner often did not know to whom he should give the money, as there were no survivors at all.

At Filtschtn, near Proskurov, 400 Jews were killed. An especially terrible affair was the holding up of a steamer on the Dnieper, in the vicinity of Menachikorie, near Kiev, when 103 Jews were seized on board and drowned. Over sixty corpses were recovered.

The worst period has been raging since April of this year. The troops of Grigoriev upon capturing Tscherkassi put to death 800 persons there. Equally terrible were the excesses at Elizabethgrad, where about 2,000 were killed. At Trostientetz there was a Bolshevik garrison, and when the peasants rose against the Bolshevik authority the Christian section of the garrison went over to their side and disarmed their Jewish comrades. Thereupon, all the Jewish inhabitants of the little town—down to those who were 12 years of age—were locked into a communal building and kept in prison there for two days, and after prolonged deliberations were murdered. More than 400 persons were then slain.

The Jewish National Secretariat has drawn up an exact record of all the pogroms from the end of November, 1918, down to May 28, 1919. Pogroms and bloody excesses are recorded to have

taken place in 127 places. With regard to another forty or fifty places it cannot be stated definitely what dimensions the excesses assumed, as the Secretariat is unable to get into communication with them. The total number of Jews who are said to have been killed in these pogroms is from 30,000 to 35,000. A long list of names of those murdered is in the hands of the National Secretariat.

The figure given is quite reliable, and probably even falls short of the actual truth.

The Jews tried to organize in self-defense, but this was not permitted by the Bolsheviks, who urged the Jews to join the Red army, if they wished to defend Jewish lives. The pogroms were everywhere marked by the same horrible features, a bestial murder lust and an incredible passion for destruction.

Under the Bolshevik régime nothing has been left of national autonomy, and the numerous Jewish institutions, not only the communities and the local autonomous bodies, but also purely charitable organizations, have been dissolved. The Pogrom Committee was not tolerated, although it contained Socialist members.

But the Bolsheviks did all in their power to suppress the pogroms and to support the survivors. No collections of any kind were permitted, not even for pogrom victims. The Jewish parties have been completely disbanded. All the Jewish newspapers have been suppressed with the exception of the Communist Flag. Schools where Hebrew is the medium of instruction are prohibited, but the Yiddish language is encouraged.

The Zionist organization is described and treated by the Bolsheviks as counter-revolutionary, but it has hitherto been impossible to suppress it. As political activity is now out of the question, all energy is concentrated upon Palestine work. The registration of would-be emigrants has been taken in hand, and more than seventy Achuzoth and numerous co-operative migration companies have been formed. The Zionist central office at Kiev is still in existence. The eagerness to emigrate is exceedingly great, and it is only with the utmost difficulty that those anxious to leave the country can be withheld from a precipitate exodus. The Jewish National Secretariat, elected by the National Assembly, continues its activity, although under prohibition, and it has endeavored to preserve the communal institutions.

Creating the Russian Communist Army

Official Account of Methods Adopted, Including Conscriptioin of Peasants and Forced Service of Officers

By LEON TROTZKY

[BOLSHEVIST MINISTER OF WAR]

This article, translated from the official Soviet organ, the Pravda, of Feb. 25, 1919, is a description of the methods used in creating the Red Army of Russia, which fought on all the Bolshevist fronts during the Spring and Summer. Not the least interesting portion of the document is Trotsky's explanation of why the Communist Government has adopted the military methods of "imperialist" and "bourgeois" nations.

THE old program of Social Democracy demanded, among other things, a national militia, this militia to be based on the military training of all citizens capable of bearing arms, but not to be concentrated in barracks. This program was a challenge, raised during the period of the Second Internationale, against the standing armies of imperialism with their barrack-room service, their prolonged military education, and their officer caste. * * * The "peaceful" development of capitalism and the policy adopted by the proletariat of pursuing its class war by means of the most legal methods available * * * had this result, that Social Democracy's task was most naturally conceived to be that of introducing an even larger measure of democracy into the organization of the capitalist State and the capitalist army. This struggle had undoubtedly great educative influence, but the experience of the last war has shown that its results were even less than those of the struggle for democratizing the parliamentary institutions of bourgeois society. * * * As soon as bourgeois interests came to be fundamentally threatened by the condition of international and interstate relations, the bourgeois militarism of France, England, America, and Switzerland * * * displayed in an identical form the most demoralized and ruthless spirit of class rule.

But once class war becomes open civil war * * * the solution of a national militia becomes as meaningless as the

solution of democratic parliamentarianism. * * * The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly served to frustrate the efforts of the landlord and of the capitalist to restore his power; on the same principle Generals Krasnov and Kolchak are using the solution of the national army to serve their own purposes. It requires the provincial stupidity of a Kautsky to go on talking, after all the experiences of the Russian revolution, about the claims of formal democracy to organize the power of the State and the army, at a time when the German National Assembly is fleeing from Berlin to Weimar and putting itself under the protection of the White Guard, while General Hoffman [on the Polish frontier] is forming his units from among the sons of the Junkers and of the bourgeois exploiting classes. Meanwhile, the Spartacists arm the revolutionary workers. The present phase of the proletarian revolution can only be the phase of open civil war by the proletariat against any and every bourgeois authority and bourgeois army. * * *

MILITIA ON CLASS BASIS

Although we have now outgrown, among the other discarded ideas of the previous period, the so-called popular idea of a militia * * * we do not in principle repudiate the idea of a militia as such. We are reforming political democracy on a class basis, and changing it into a democracy of Soviets; in the same way we are putting the militia on to a class basis, and changing it into a

militia of the Soviets. Consequently, our next task will be to create an army of workers and small peasants, to give it compulsory military training without forcing it into barracks, and, in doing this, to maintain as far as possible conditions which shall be in harmony with the working conditions of the laboring population.

Yet the actual progress of our Red Army might appear to contradict this program. At first we formed an army of volunteers; then we introduced compulsory military training for all workers and peasants who were not employers of the labor of others, and simultaneously made a beginning of conscribing a number of years of the laboring classes. These may have been contradictory actions, but they were no casual errors; they were the result of circumstances, and simply unavoidable and transitory steps in creating an army under the conditions forced on us by the imperialist war and the bourgeois (February) revolution.

The ruinous breakdown of the old army, and of its whole system of organization, meant that no fighting forces could be formed except from volunteers. * * * It was not until the great masses of the old army had been absorbed into the towns and villages, and new local military institutions set up, such as local, district, and central recruiting and commissariat agencies, that a beginning could be made of proceeding from volunteer corps to conscription.

There was a time when the method of free corps was the only possible method for the proletariat. This was a consequence of previous oppression exercised by the State. In just the same way the proletariat had once been forced to use secret meetings and subterranean printing presses in order to organize itself. But when the proletariat conquered political power it was in a position to make use of the State apparatus in order to proceed systematically to the formation of a centralized army, a uniform organization, and those uniform institutions through which alone the greatest results may be obtained at the cost of the smallest sacrifices. * * *

CONSCRIPTION OF PEASANTS

It is in theory incontrovertible that we shall get the best army by the use of universal conscription of the workers and of the working peasants, if such conscription is so arranged as to fit into the day's work. A universal rehabilitation of industry, and an increased output in the total amount of agricultural labor and agricultural products, would give an improved basis for the army. Units, battalions, regiments, brigades, divisions, would have to correspond with workshops, whole factories, villages, districts, circuits, provinces. Such an army would be unsurpassed; its organization would proceed side by side with the economic restoration of the whole country and the training of an officer class. Such an army is our goal, and we know today that sooner or later we shall have it.

But the instant and direct opposition of our class enemies, at home and abroad, prevented us from forming such a workers' and peasants' militia on the "organic" methods described. It would have needed several years, or at least a great many months. Circumstances had originally forced us to create volunteer corps immediately after the October revolution. In the same way during the succeeding period—i. e., during the Summer of last year, when the iron ring with which the imperialists in all countries wanted to throttle us was being drawn ever more tightly round Russia—we were forced to hurry on our military institutions. We began by mobilizing several years all over Russia, and by hurrying on their training and drafting in the barracks. Our aim was to turn the barracks into a military school, where not only military training might be acquired, but political education and political discipline also. Our present active army, in service or in training, presents the transitional type we have described. In its social formation it is a class army; yet it is no militia, but a regular "standing" army with the corresponding methods of training. We can assert with complete satisfaction that this type of army, created under the most unfavorable circumstances, has already proved itself able to get the better of its enemies.

UNIVERSAL TRAINING

Simultaneously with our use of barrack units and field units—these last are only formed in the zone of operations—we are everywhere carrying on the military training of workers and peasants. We view the first steps of this universal training in the light of a rough preparation and an acquirement of certain methods which every fighter must master. This will make further training easier when the soldier is drafted into our regular units. It has already been proved that, in spite of its restricted operation, universal military training has been of the utmost use in reconstituting the army. * * *

Thus the militia army on a class basis does not mean an army casually created, partly improvised, and mostly untrained, whose equipment is the result of accident and whose commanding officers are without the necessary technical knowledge. On the contrary, universal training is designed to equip the individual soldier, as also the whole unit, with greater familiarity in all methods of manoeuvring, shooting, and military practices. The militia army must be absolutely up to date as regards scientific knowledge, equipment, and organization.

INCULCATING COMMUNISM

Our Commissaries for Military Affairs are not only to be the direct representatives of the Soviet Government; they are destined, above all, to inspire the army with the spirit of our party, with its sense of discipline, its firmness, its courage in fighting for the realization of ideas once conceived. Our party may reflect with the most complete satisfaction on the heroic behavior of the Commissaries it has dispatched; together with the best elements of the staff, they have created an effective army within the shortest possible time. * * *

Our commanding officers will, however, only be able to obtain complete results if they can reckon on the support of organizations of communist soldiers in each unit. Our best guarantee, therefore, for impregnating the armies with the ideas and discipline of communism

will be the rapid and overwhelming growth of such communist organizations. Considering the significance which these communist organizations play in the army, it ought to be the aim of our commanding officers and of our riper comrades in the army to prevent these organizations from admitting unworthy elements. * * *

Nothing will raise the reputation of the communist organizations more than that each soldier should clearly understand that membership of a communist organization can give the soldier no special privileges, but can only impose on him the duty of being an example of self-sacrifice and courage.

The question of command is a very difficult practical question; but in principle there can be no dispute about it. * * *

Even if it were possible to create an entirely new command in the course of several years by means of systematic work, there would yet be no fundamental reason to forego the help of members of the old command, nor does it matter whether these are convinced supporters of the Soviet Government or have been obliged by the force of circumstances to offer their services. To demand that the proletarian army be officered by proletarians only, is, stated thus, mere rhetoric. The revolutionary character of an army is determined, in the first place, by the character of the Soviet Government which creates it, supplies it with an aim, and uses it as an instrument. * * *

EDUCATING NEW OFFICERS

One of our most important tasks in building up our army is to educate a new body of officers, to be formed principally of workers and class-conscious peasants. The increase in the number of courses of instruction and in the number of students attending them proves clearly that the military authorities are alive to their duties. Besides the highest war academy, (of the General Staff,) five schools of the middle type are being formed, which are designed to be an intermediate stage between the academy and the courses of instruction. * * *

The opposition directed by bourgeois

democracy (Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks) against the Soviet Army, which is condemned as a new growth of "militarism" and as the menace of a coming Bonapartism, serves merely to disclose the utter political crudeness or artificiality of these parties. Bonapartism can only appear as the expression of certain quite definite social conditions. It was the political rule of the class of the smaller bourgeoisie which created the conditions indispensable to the rise of Bonapartism. But if that class of the peasantry which may be called the exploiting class is one of the fundamental props of any phase of Bonapartism, then the social composition of our army is the very best guarantee against all Bonapartist tendencies, for the simple reason that this exploiting class of the peasantry is not present in it. Those parodies on Bonapartism of which we have had experience in connection with Generals Krasnov and Kolchak in no way had their origin in the organization of the Red Army, but, on the contrary, arose in direct opposition to it. Skoropadski, the Ukraine Bonaparte "by grace of William II," created his army on a principle directly opposed to our own; he formed his regiments exclusively from the exploiting peasants. * * *

Seeing that our army is only the instrument of a definite method of government, the only satisfactory guarantee against Bonapartism and all other phases of counter-revolution will be found in this government itself. The counter-revolution will never be able to arise out of the government of the proletarian dictatorship; it can only be introduced as the consequence of a direct and bloody victory over this government. But it is just the purpose of the Red Army, of its development and its internal unity, to make such a victory impossible. * * *

"CLASS RULE ONLY TEMPORARY"

The aim of the communist organization is the abolition of all class war by means of the dispersion of all classes. Class militia and class army can, there-

fore, be no final phenomena. In proportion as social and economic life becomes more highly organized, the work of the Soviet Class State will concentrate more and more on directing production and distribution, and on tasks of culture and administration. Thus will the State lose its class character and raise its own nature by transforming itself into an instrument for economic and cultural life of a self-governing kind. Then, too, will the army lose its class character, and will become a citizen army in the true sense of that term; for in society thus socialized parasitic exploiting elements will no longer exist. The disposition of this army will be directly controlled by the most powerful groups of workers in the socialized republic; its equipment will be guaranteed by the enormous development of socialized processes of production. This army, which will now be nothing less than the trained, armed, socialized, and organized nation, will be the mightiest army which the world has ever seen. Its goal will not be limited to defending the socialized community against the attack of such countries as still remain imperialistic; it will also hasten to support the proletariat of such countries in their own struggle against imperialism.

[Authentic information at the end of August, 1919, indicated that there were then in existence fifteen Bolshevik armies, disposed over four fronts and totaling 485,000 men. On the North Russian front, around Archangel and Murmansk, were two armies totaling 39,000 men. On the West Russian front, from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea, were three armies with a total of 167,000 men. The South Russian front, from the Black Sea to Astrakhan, had six armies totaling 146,000 men. The eastern front, from Astrakhan to the North Urals, had five armies comprising 133,000 men. In addition to this total of 485,000 it was estimated that there were approximately 727,000 soldiers in the interior who were still in training or were employed in putting down revolts.]

Converting Soldiers to Bolshevism

Notes of a Russian Prisoner Revealing Lenin's Methods and the Disillusionment of Converts

By PIOTR KRUGLOV

Piotr Kruglov, a Russian prisoner of war in Germany, who escaped and was interned in Denmark, has described in La Renaissance Politique the modus operandi of the agents of Lenin in their efforts to "Bolshevize" 600 prisoners of that kind in the Danish internment camps. His simple narrative, the essential portions of which are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY, is significant as an indication of the mental processes through which the masses in Russia also have passed or are passing in presence of the unfulfilled promises of the Lenin-Trotsky régime.

TOWARD the end of June, 1918, the colony of Russian soldiers at Ribé was in a state of great excitement over the prospect of returning to Russia. Our existence was not so bad; we could eat, walk about, and meditate at our leisure, but life without work begins to pall, and meditation increases desires. Our only wish was to return to our country.

My arrival at Ribé coincided with the moment when every one was striving to find a means of leaving for Russia. The colony was divided into two factions. One of these, presided over by a soldier named Ivan, was called the "Menshevik" Party, and its leaders argued in favor of going to the Murnian Coast to fight with gun in hand against the Bolsheviks, friends of the Germans, whom we so detested. The other party, grouped around a soldier named Nikolai, called itself "Independent." Neither of these two parties knew anything of the underlying principles of Bolshevism or Menshevism.

Despite the efforts of these two political parties, the desire of departure remained unfulfilled. Several soldiers sent requests to the American Consul, asking permission to go to America or to England to look for work. Nikolai and I were among these candidates. We sent a collective request, but we received no reply.

After long discussions we questioned General Potocky, the Military Attaché of the former Russian Legation at Copen-

hagen, to find out the date of our departure. At the same time we sent a similar request to the Bolshevik representative, Garin. General Potocky answered soon, but his response was negative. Garin made no answer at all. Then we decided to send two delegates to Garin. Nikolai and a soldier named Troitzkov were appointed. The delegates returned two days later. They bore a great number of promises from Garin, and the sum of 70 öres to be given to each soldier. Garin promised also to come in person, and invited us to form a "soviet" of four members.

NIKOLAI CONVERTED

Nikolai was delighted with his visit to Garin. He told us triumphantly how Garin had shaken hands with him and called him "comrade." He had gone to him an "Independent" and returned a Bolshevik. It was, above all, the word "comrade" that charmed him. "Just think!" he said, "the representative of Russia himself called me comrade! But, to tell the truth," he added, "the representative is not very presentable. Quite small and thin, but yet a representative. And he called me comrade! I understood at once that this was something new, and I immediately became a partisan of this 'socialism' and 'Bolshevism.'"

Thus Nikolai told us his impressions. The most important news he bore was that Garin, in the month of June, was said to have repatriated a part of the 1,000 Russian soldiers in the Horseröd

Camp: "There!" we said. "Garin knows the way, and he can send us back to Russia." This news caused us all great joy, and even Ivan and his partisans made no further opposition. The two leaders, Ivan and Nikolai, shook hands with great ceremony.

Nikolai's companion, Troitskov, it is true, showed a certain uneasiness. When he spoke of Garin and his staff he said: "I received the impression that there was not a single Russian there; nothing but Jews. Garin is a Jew, and his wife. * * * You can guess it only by hearing her talk. But what can we do? There's no other way. In captivity we have suffered greatly through the Jews. Very little hope can be based on Jews. But all Jews are not traitors; there are good people among them," he added, trying to encourage his hearers.

GARIN AND HIS PROMISES

The election of the "Soviet" began. They elected Nikolai, Troitzkov, Doulaiev, and myself, but I refused to participate and was replaced by Miagkov. Then we waited for Garin. He arrived only on the evening of the 14th, in an automobile, with two companions. He told us a lot of fine things about the new régime of the Soviets in Russia, and made a lot of promises, of which the most important was that they would begin to send us home within two weeks, every week two detachments of twenty-five men each, or perhaps all together, if "Germany guaranteed that the ship would be neither stopped nor sunk." He gave money to Nikolai to be distributed to the soldiers at the rate of 5 crowns apiece, and then departed, amid loud "hurrahs" for Soviet Russia, for her representative, Garin, and for the hospitality of little Denmark. * * *

The majority were convinced by Garin, but there were pessimists who said: "Who knows? Perhaps he will betray us to the Germans." Others said that Garin was powerless because the Danish Government had not recognized him, but an official telegram announcing that Garin was accepted as representative of Russia dispelled this doubt. "If the Danish Government recognizes him,"

I said to the others, "it also recognizes the Government of Soviet Russia, and if the Soviet Government is recognized by the Danish Government we have no right to doubt its reality. The Bolsheviks, then, are not a band of brigands, as they think in Germany and here in Denmark, but a real Government of the people, because a foreign Government could not recognize a band of brigands. And if the Bolshevik Government is a real National Government, we ought to make an honest attempt to do our duty and to have faith in its representative without discussing the question of whether he is a Jew or a Russian." So I spoke to my comrades, and I would speak in the same way today if I had not learned the horrible falseness of my words.

AWAITING REPATRIATION

On Aug. 26 we left Ribé and arrived in the evening of the same day at Helsingör. Seven kilometers distant from Helsingör was the camp of Horseröd, to which we had been assigned. We had believed we would be sent back to Russia two or three days after our arrival, but we soon discovered that we were not to leave so quickly. At the Horseröd Camp we experienced a whole series of disagreeable surprises. First, at the dock we were met by an armed patrol of considerable numbers who escorted us to the camp. Even in Germany we had never had such an escort as this. Secondly, the camp was surrounded with barbed wire, and we were not allowed to go beyond its confines. Thirdly, the food was worse than at Ribé. And, fourthly, we were given forced labor to do. An epidemic of Spanish influenza, too, was raging there.

We were all furious with the Ribé authorities and with General Potocky, for we thought he had denounced us as brigands and all these new trials were due to him. We became more and more angry with the "old régime" and more and more favorable to Bolshevism. We telephoned to Garin, and he came on Aug. 29. Alas, Garin said that we would leave only at the end of September, on the ground that Germany, as he alleged, had guaranteed that the vessel would be

neither stopped nor sunk, but that the Russian Government had but little faith in this promise, and desired this guarantee to be confirmed by the Danish Government.

"It will be safer, won't it, comrades?" said Garin. "And meanwhile we will begin to look after you a little. You must clean yourselves, dress up, and shave. I will have workshops built for you, a school, an office. We will begin to get your passports ready."—As for the camp regulations, he said that some day he would attend with Comrade Vorovsky (a Bolshevik representative in Sweden) the meeting of the committee at the Danish Ministry, and would do his best to have them relaxed. * * * The promises he had made were to have been realized by Sept. 2, but the middle of September came and we had neither workshops, nor an office to draw up passports, nor permission to leave the camp.

HOPE DEFERRED

"He is lying," some said. "He will not have us sent home. None of his promises has been kept. He talks a lot, but does nothing." On Sept. 13 Garin arrived again. "I am prevented from working freely here," he said, to explain his slowness. "The Russian Government has instructed me to protest and address a note to the Danish Government threatening reprisals against Danish subjects residing in Russia, but I hope, comrades, that we shall not be forced to adopt such measures." Two days later Garin's son took charge of the barracks. Next day his father again appeared. He announced that the date of departure had been fixed for Oct. 2, and everything must be ready by that date. The vessel, he asserted, had been chartered for the sum of 25,000 crowns, and for every day of delay after Oct. 2 there would be a penalty of 1,000 crowns. "Try to be ready, comrades," he said; "tomorrow the office will begin to prepare your passports."

He also imparted to us strange news, which gave a shock to our newly acquired Bolshevik ideas of equality and fraternity. We had been led to believe that Bolshevism signified such universal jus-

tice that chimney sweeper and Prime Minister alike enjoyed not only political but social equality, that is to say, that they ate the same food, wore the same clothing, and, in short, possessed the same resources of life. But no; even among ourselves, still unavailable to serve Russia and the Russian Government, there existed distinctions differentiated by a different rate of pay.

BOLSHIEVISM NOT EQUALITY

We were divided into four categories: simple soldiers, with a pay of 9 crowns a month; Corporals at 11 crowns; non-commissioned officers at 15 crowns, and Sergeants at 23 crowns. We were amazed. If conditions were such, where was the newness of the new régime? For this new régime ought to differ not only from the Romanov regime, but also from that of the democratic republic of Kerensky. Some said that we should protest to Garin. The Sergeants were filled with confusion, and some even proposed to refuse the increase of pay, but the others reasoned thus: if the situation is such here, then in Russia there is no equality either, and every one must think only of himself and not of others. And the spirit of egotism held so long in check by the lofty ideas of fraternity and equality reappeared again with brutal force. Every one began to do business in the barracks and to dupe his comrades. They sold, bought, and exchanged watches, shoes, underclothing, hats, suits, cigarettes, apples, &c. It was a regular epidemic. The shouting in the barracks was like that at a fair. It had been instinctively understood that Bolshevik "equality" was nothing but a phrase.

I was ashamed to meet those who had asked me previously what communism and Bolshevism were, and to whom I had explained my theories. I discovered that I had lied horribly when I had identified theoretical socialism with Bolshevik reality. "It isn't fraternity; it's rot," the soldiers said upon all sides. "I don't care a rap," replied others, "if only they send us back to Russia, so that we can see our people again." * * *

Garin's son refused to eat with the others—with the "people"—and had his

food brought to him from the officers' kitchen; the office clerk spent all his time in serving him. Every one was dissatisfied over this, and we decided to ask Garin himself why such inequality was tolerated. The reply of the Government representative was laconic: "It is not my fault; I have received instructions from Russia." From Russia! If such practices are the order of the day in Russia, where then is the difference between the old régime and the Provisional Government? The Bolsheviks have not abolished the Czar's throne, but the Government of the democratic republic. Why have they done this? The disillusion was general.

DISILLUSIONMENT OF FACTS

Garin began to bring us the Bolshevik Russian newspapers. They were eagerly seized upon. Most of the prisoners could not understand the polemical articles of the Bolsheviks against their political adversaries, and the picture they gave of Bolshevik actions and projects; they limited themselves, therefore, to reading current events and dispatches. But even this chronicle of current events and these dispatches sufficed to disillusion every man who still possessed his mental balance. Every page gave details of the revolts of the peasants against the Bolsheviks, of the punitive expeditions against the peasants who had revolted, &c. The terror inspired by the fierce bands of the Red Guard reigned everywhere. There were revolts of peasants in the Governments of Volodga, Novgorod, Yaroslav, and elsewhere. In the Government of Perm, when the Siberian troops were approaching, revolts took place not only among the peasants of the villages, but even among the factory workmen. But all these movements were pitilessly put down, for the population had been disarmed by the foreseeing Bolsheviks, and the peasants did not possess an organization like that of the Red Guard.

And we read that the peasants were forced to work the land beyond their strength, but the product of this toil, namely, bread, was confiscated at the point of the bayonet and the peasants were beaten with the butts of the guns.

The last cow, the last horse, the last grain of rye was taken by the Red Guard. The Bolshevik press and articles of propaganda repeated unblushingly that the task which they proposed was to destroy every thing and every one opposed to Bolshevism. And as, with the exception of the Red Guard and of the proletariat, which is not large, all were opposed to the Bolsheviks, everything was destroyed, and all were terrorized.

"RURAL PROLETARIAT"

To obtain partisans in the villages the Bolsheviks had tried to divide the rural population into two camps; they had organized in the villages Committees of the Rural Proletariat, and had given them complete power. The idea is absurd. A rural proletariat does not exist. According to the Russian rural communal system, the land belonging to a village is divided up among all the members of the commune, and every ten or fifteen years this division is renewed. If the village owns but little land, all its inhabitants are poor, and if the village owns much arable land its inhabitants are relatively well off. But of course the material level of all the members of a commune is not always the same. Generally it is those who possess inferior intelligence or who are victims of alcohol who are poorer than others. And those were the elements which, backed up by the bayonets of the Red Guard, were made the despots of the village.

And we read that the school teachers belonging to the Union of School Teachers of all Russia had also opposed the domination of the Bolsheviks, and were suffering greatly from economic pressure. While the soldiers of the Red Guard received complete support and 150 rubles monthly, the school teachers received only 80 rubles to pay all their living expenses; which, in view of the enormous cost of living, appeared to be impossible.

As for education in general, we read lying articles which contained promises to send all the proletariat to the universities; and yet at the same time admitted that the majority of primary schools had been closed because of the

lack of books, paper, pencils, pens, &c., or else as the result of reprisals by the Red Guard against the school faculty. And we read of a complete devastation of the universities and colleges, of incessant reprisals against the teachers. These, it appeared, were the preparatory labors on which obligatory popular education was to be based. These Pugatchevs of the twentieth century, it was clear, wished to annihilate all those who did not agree with the ideas of the "class."

ENEMIES OF CIVILIZATION

I thought, as I read these things: Are not these the Huns of the future, of whom the Russian philosopher Soloviev spoke? If they really get the power of the world into their hands, scholars and poets, as that philosopher said, "will have to hide the eternal light of science in deserts and catacombs." But that is impossible. Europe will not follow their example. It would mean political and intellectual death, because agricultural Asia, with its population of 500,000,000, would not follow that example, and would come to crush Europe, deprived of its main source of power—intelligence. Siberia is only the first bastion of Asiatic opposition.

[Garin's promises continued, and were repeatedly broken. Garin came in person to announce departure on a Russian steamer. A few days afterward an organized system of Bolshevik propaganda was established at the camp. A clerk named Pavlov, a former teacher, opened a series of lectures on political subjects. At one of these lectures Pavlov spoke with the greatest reservations of political conditions in Bolshevik Russia, when the door opened, and Nikolai, who had become an ardent Bolshevik, entered. The narrator continues:]

Pavlov paused and began to talk quite differently. He praised Bolshevism and the Soviet Government, and calumniated the Constituent Assembly. He was afraid of Nikolai, who reported everything to Garin. Nikolai, on his part, added some very stupid observations lauding the glory of Bolshevism. Sapitza and I began to protest against these panegyrics, and little by little the discussion became very animated. I cited the newspaper articles showing the nightmarish life of Russia and the exploitation of the peasants. I pointed out Garin and his

family as a good example of Bolshevik mentality, and the difference between their words and their deeds. Some protested, but the majority agreed with Sapitza and myself. This was the last lecture.

SAPITZA'S INTERVIEW

[It was finally decided that the "Soviet" should frankly inform Garin's son of the general feeling of dissatisfaction. Sapitza undertook this mission; the other members of the "Soviet" having refused through fear of the consequences. The conversation between Sapitza and Garin, as he told it himself, was as follows:]

"On Oct. 10 I went to Garin and told him that I wished to speak to him without witnesses. 'As you please; willingly.' I asked him then, 'How are official persons appointed in Russia at the present time? Who appoints them?' He replied, 'The people.' 'Who appointed you?' 'I was appointed by three people.' But three people are not the people. Then I said: 'You, Alexis, are young and strong; you can do everything for yourself; be reasonable, and refuse the services of the man who waits on you. Do not allow a soldier who has been imprisoned for four years to shine your shoes and make your bed by compulsion.' Garin answered, 'But he receives money for his work.' I was very much surprised by this reply. 'But,' I said, 'the old régime consists of the fact that one pays and another works for him. What ideas, then, do you and your father defend? Your father says that we must economize the money of the people, and we approved of this, but in reality the money of the people is beginning to produce a new bourgeoisie. You may kill a man, but you cannot kill a bourgeois, because the bourgeois has taken his place in the heart of the slayer. You must first kill the bourgeois in your own heart, instead of shedding the blood of others with bayonets and red flags.' Garin made no reply."

On Oct. 11 Garin senior arrived. He entered the office very much excited, and said: "What's the matter here? I am distrusted here? I have been elected by 170,000,000 people, and here 600 low rascals make me the object of their suspicions?" Then he spoke to the whole

camp, told a lot of fine stories, and finally declared that if the boat did not arrive by Oct. 20 we would leave on the 22d on the Danish vessel which had been already chartered for 25,000 crowns. (Again!) Now no one believed a word of what Garin said. We began to use the expression "Garin says" as a symbol of falsehood. Those who had money began to escape, and made their way to Stockholm.

On Oct. 22 no boat had arrived. The Bolshevik newspapers furthermore bore frightful news from Russia. The Bolsheviks had decided to mobilize at all cost an army of 3,000,000 men, and every man in Russia was sure that he would

have to serve in the Red Army. There were but few of us disposed to do any more fighting, whether with Bolsheviks or against them, and the majority wished to remain in Denmark and look for work. I, personally, was averse to serving in the Red Army. I preferred to be shot. And so the most reasonable thing I could do was to escape from this madhouse. On Oct. 24 Garin published an order saying that in the name of the Government of the Soviets he ordered that all discussions about departure should cease. All those disobeying were threatened with death. New promises followed. Not desiring to wait further, Sapitzka and I left the camp forever.

Five Months in Moscow Prisons

By LUDOVIC NAUDEAU

CORRESPONDENT OF THE PARIS TEMPS.

[CONCLUSION]

M. Naudeau had been arrested by the Soviet Government in Moscow for anti-Soviet utterances in his French paper, the Journal de Russie, and transferred to three separate prisons, each of which represented a descending scale in respect to food and treatment. Thrust, at a moment when he expected liberation, into a solitary cell at Butirky Prison, M. Naudeau almost gave way to despair. The monotony of his melancholy thoughts was broken by an interview with Captain Sadoul of the French Military Mission, who was said to be a kind of intermediary between the French inhabitants of Moscow and the Soviet authorities. Sadoul, at the instance of the Bolshevik Commissary Peters, sought vainly to persuade M. Naudeau to declare his acceptance of the Soviet principles, and to renounce his former advocacy of allied intervention. The narrative of the author's fourth month of captivity proceeds:

ONE November morning we suddenly heard a great hubbub in all the corridors and on all floors; many doors were opened, and immediately closed again and bolted; everything indicated that a considerable number of prisoners had been brought at the same time and shut up in cells near mine. These new-comers were Russians, and Russians who seemed to intimidate our jailers, for unceasingly they shouted and cried to each other from one cell to another, and no jailer dared to bid them be silent, or to close the wicket window in their door.

I soon learned that these howlers be-

longed to a band of about fifteen sailors who up to this time had been members of the special guard of the Extraordinary Commission. The reader may easily divine what ruffians they were. The men who become the Mamelukes of Djerjinsky and Peters are by temperament gunmen, killers, torturers; they belong to the most barbarous elements of the army and navy. We never knew exactly what kind of insubordination these men had committed. Some of the jailers assured us that their exactions and ferocity had finally filled even the commission with alarm. We were told also that they had refused to go to

Petrograd to embark on Bolshevik ships and fight against the British cruisers which made frequent raids into the Gulf of Finland.

CAPTURED BY DECEPTION

At all events, Djerjinsky, Peters, and their henchmen judged it necessary to get rid of these radicals. But it was not easy to take them openly; they were always armed to the teeth, and it was known that they would resist to the last. So a trap was laid for them with all that cunning which is characteristic of the Bolshevik leaders, and which permits them, a mere handful of men, to tyrannize over all Russia. The sailors were notified one morning that they should go to Butirky, where they were to put to death a certain number of counter-revolutionaries who had been so bold as to revolt. So the whole pack started off joyously after their quarry. They were received cordially at the prison, ushered into one courtyard, then into another, and finally into a third, where they were told that the execution would soon take place.

The officials withdrew ostensibly to bring the men condemned to death, and the sailors did not notice that as they departed they padlocked the gates rapidly behind them. But what was going on at several windows looking down upon the courtyard? The bewildered sailors saw the muzzles of machine guns gleaming there. Groups of soldiers crowded into other windows: "Down with your arms or you are all dead men!" they cried to the scoundrels. The former janissaries of the commission knew from experience that at the least sign of resistance the machine guns would mow them down. Crestfallen, they threw down rifles and revolvers. When these weapons had been taken possession of the scoundrels were seized, and permitted themselves to be placed in cells.

But the jailers, despite all, feared to give offense to these individuals whom some sudden change might not only liberate but bring back again into power. The latter divined this feeling, and though they were reduced to a level with all the other prisoners they proved their independence by holding converse unin-

terruptedly. From one cell to another their unceasing cries resounded. Through my wicket, slightly ajar, I saw them go walking on several occasions. Some of them were men of bestial physiognomy, low-browed, of fierce and yet vaguely uneasy glance; nothing, in short, distinguished them from the majority of the madmen whom social disorders inevitably bring forth. * * * Among these uncouth individuals, for whom an excuse could have been found in the wretchedness of their birth; the jailers, with evidences of considerable surprise, pointed out a young man dressed as a sailor, but whom they knew to be a naval officer. He had, of course, received some education, and even spoke several languages, and yet he seemed to be quite at ease among these malefactors, and responded to their jesting heartily. * * *

OTHER FELLOW-PRISONERS

Thus the human beings who surrounded me in this prison were so varied that they formed in some wise a symbolic representation of the Russian world swept by the gigantic tidal wave of revolution. I was living near a band of murderers who only the day before were executing the orders of the commission. But also quite near me there lived a former minister, an ex-orderly of General Kornilov, a university professor, numerous Church dignitaries, and Mr. Lvov, Marshal of Moscow nobility and own brother of that Prince Lvov who was President of the council from the middle of March to the middle of May, 1917. Mr. Lvov sometimes came and rapped at my wicket, according to the signal known to the initiate, and then he would narrate to me the story of his misfortunes. "They have taken everything from me," he said to me once in cautious tones; "they have taken my factories, my ships, my machines, my horses. And today those who were my workmen tell me that until I pay them an indemnity of 2,000,000 rubles I shall not be released from prison. Where do they think I can get 2,000,000 rubles?" * * *

While we were suffering, however, things were happening. The prisoners began to perceive that the amnesty de-

cree was not a scrap of paper, for hundreds of captives were being released each week. Every evening the jailers called out names, and the cry, "Na svobodeu!" (released) resounded joyously, and we saw prisoners laden with big packs hastening down the corridors.

[A member of the Extraordinary Commission, one Skripniak, "who looked like an undertaker in some sub-prefecture," came personally to examine the prisoners; he also entered the cell of M. Naudeau, followed by several Soviet officers, but, on learning that he was a journalist, immediately withdrew with manifestations of disgust and hostility. At about this time M. Naudeau was summoned to the prison office, where a young Police Judge told him he was imprisoned, not because of his Moscow publication, but because he was a correspondent of a large newspaper published in Paris. He refused to take testimony thereupon and withdrew. On Nov. 28 M. Naudeau received a second visit from Captain Sadoul, who again urged him to revoke his former pronouncements in favor of allied intervention, which was the ground on which he had been arrested. This he again obstinately refused to do, alleging that he had taken a vow to write nothing until he was placed in liberty. Soon after this he was relieved of his state of "strict solitude" and given the company of a British officer captured at Archangel. With this officer he was talking one day when he was summoned quite suddenly to pack all his things quickly. His jailers brought him by automobile to the headquarters of the Extraordinary Commission, which had been his first place of captivity after his arrest. The narrative of M. Naudeau continues as follows:]

TERMS OF LIBERATION

A soldier bearing a gun led me down corridors, up stairways, through a kitchen. * * * I entered a room incumbered with an indescribable mass of papers heaped up on tables and chairs. Two or three individuals were talking there together, and there was another seated in a corner who seemed to be waiting, for as soon as I appeared he called me. He was a blonde young man, with long, curly hair, and clearly shaven face; he spoke French very fluently, but with the special accent characteristic of those whose mother tongue is Russian. I had no difficulty in recognizing in him one of the stars of the commission, an adventurer of French origin, though born in Russia, and whose name was La Farre, Count de la Farre. Not once did this represen-

tative of the high spheres of Bolshevism raise his eyes on me. * * *

"Listen," he said to me in French, "let us not investigate this case; this isn't necessary now. You had lately an interview with Sadoul, did you not? Well, I am charged to tell you this: you are to be placed provisionally in liberty for three weeks as a maximum. If, at the expiration of these three weeks, beginning from the present time, you have not yet given us the satisfaction we demand, you will be again arrested. You will have three weeks, then, to come quietly to a decision. You will sign a statement pledging your word of honor that you will not attempt to take flight from Moscow during this period, that you will live in the French Refuge, and that you will conform to what Sadoul told you in the interview which you had with him. Do you accept?"

I hesitated for a second. Should I refuse the respite offered me? Since I was to have twenty-one days in which to come to a decision, I should have been extremely Quixotic to drape myself any longer in the mantle of my dignity. Four months and a half of imprisonment had given me the firm conviction that with such people as the Bolsheviks, accustomed to employ blackmailing and murder in support of their propaganda, it would have been childish of me to stand on scruple. Such was the point of view of many respectable Russians with whom I had come in contact in my prison. To deceive people of this kind, one signs, when one has to, any and all documents whatsoever, and without incurring the slightest responsibility.

"But," I objected nevertheless, "how do I know that if I yield and hand you the statement which you demand, I shall not be again arrested on some pretext?"

"No," replied de la Farre magnanimously, "the political conditions which brought about your imprisonment have changed, and I can guarantee you that if you come to an agreement with me you will not be troubled again."

What could I do? I signed, then, with the most Jesuitical of mental reservations, and some instants later I was free and in the street. I wondered if I was not dreaming as I walked along as natu-

rally as possible, astonished to perceive that I was able to readapt myself immediately to life. I arrived a half hour later at the French Refuge, where several of my compatriots who had seen me many times before did not recognize me.

[Acting on the advice of his compatriots in Moscow, and his conscience somewhat relieved by the publication of an announcement by Stephen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, before the French Chamber, that France did not intend to intervene, M. Naudeau drew up his article disclaiming his former views of the necessity of allied intervention in Russia, and presented it to Captain Sadoul, who assured him that his liberation was thereby made permanent. On Feb. 4, the day before his departure from Moscow with the French group of which he was a part, the members of which were to be exchanged at the Finnish frontier against a certain number of Russian prisoners, the Soviet official journal, *Izvestia*, published a garbled summary of the article which M. Naudeau had given to Sadoul. This deliberately distorted version was signed by Neurine, M. Naudeau's first public accuser. The narrative of the released correspondent concludes as follows:]

As for me, it will, perhaps, be considered singular, and it surprises even me, that I find myself able to say that I issue from this sombre adventure without hatred or desire for vengeance. It has made me suffer, but it also compelled me to explore abysses which can be explored only by those who are swallowed up by them. After all, the Bolsheviks might have killed me, without danger to themselves, and yet I am alive; they might have kept me permanently in prison, and yet I am in France. It is true that they blackmailed me, but I laugh at this and at them, for the only thing which is important for me is to be able to speak freely to the public of my own country. So everything is for the best in the best of worlds. * * * When I see with what a harvest of sensations and sentiments they have made me rich, I wonder, after the casting up of all accounts, if it is not I who am the debtor of the sombre monomaniacs of Moscow?

How King Constantine Was Deposed

Parts Played by France and Britain

AN interesting chapter of secret history regarding the diplomatic forces that compelled King Constantine to abdicate the throne of Greece was made public in the September issue of the *Grande Revue* by M. Marcel Laurent, director of a Paris news agency. When M. Ribot came into power in 1917, M. Laurent states, he began to take the situation in Greece into serious consideration. The Ministers of the Entente, who had been obliged to leave Athens in consequence of the events of the previous December, had returned to that capital, but other diplomatists, duly accredited by the Entente, were living at Saloniki, where M. Venizelos had established his Provisional Government. In view of the undisguised hostility of the King, M. Ribot decided that definite steps ought to be taken to relieve both the Entente and Greece herself of an implacable enemy. He first brought up the subject at his interview with Mr. Lloyd George

and Baron Sonnino at St. Jean de Maurienne, on April 19, 1917.

In principle, says M. Laurent, Mr. Lloyd George was not opposed to this "purification," but he at the same time recognized that it would involve serious difficulties. Sonnino, on the other hand, feared the repercussion which might result from the overturning of a neighboring throne. The Consulta agreed that Constantine should be put aside, if it were absolutely necessary, but only on condition that the Greek dynasty was respected.

The settlement of the Greek difficulty, the writer points out, had become all the more urgent from the fact that "the British Government had outlined an Eastern program which in no way agreed with ours." Far from increasing their forces in the Balkan Peninsula, the British were anxious to reduce them, and in May, 1917, they announced their intention to reduce their effectives pro-

gressively to a number that was strictly indispensable for the security of Saloniki. The French Ministry, on the other hand, vigorously resisted this view, and urged that merely to occupy Saloniki as an intrenched camp had no value as a strategic factor. When Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Robert Cecil arrived in Paris at the beginning of May, their object was to arrange with the French Government for the partial retreat of the Saloniki troops. M. Ribot, however, brought up the whole Balkan problem, and had little difficulty in convincing the British statesmen that the situation was not very flattering for the Allies.

Lord Robert Cecil eventually suggested that a High Commissioner should be sent to Athens as the representative of the Allies as a body, and, as the allied Commander in Chief at Saloniki was French, he proposed that the suggested emissary of the Entente should be British. M. Ribot pointed out the awkwardness of having a High Commissioner of a different nationality from the Commander in Chief, owing to the impossibility of separating diplomacy from the conduct of the war, and Lord Robert gave way, with the result that M. Jonnart was appointed as High Commissioner.

The question of the abdication of Constantine was reserved for settlement in London later in the month, together with other subjects then in suspense. On May 25 M. Ribot, accompanied by the Ministers of War and the Navy, and by General Foch and M. Jonnart, crossed to London for a conference with the British Ministers. General Foch expressed his views on Saloniki, and stated plainly that the best means to satisfy the British Admiralty (who were anxious as to the effect submarine warfare would have on communications with Saloniki) would be not to reduce the army of occupation there and expose it to the danger of capitulation, but to secure the railway from Athens to Saloniki and establish at Athens a Government on which the Allies could depend. This again brought up the question of the abdication of the King. Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues rallied to the views of the French Cabinet, and Lord Robert Cecil handed M. Ribot

a note which left no doubt as to the community of views between the two Cabinets.

Then came the question as to how the abdication should be brought about. The British Ministers favored the Thessaly operation, to be followed by a demand for the King's abdication, and by a naval demonstration if he refused. The French, basing themselves on General Foch's advice, urged a landing at the Piraeus, which would insure the King's abdication without necessitating force. Finally a compromise was agreed on. General Sarraill was to hold his troops ready to land on the Isthmus of Corinath at a moment's notice, but was to debark them only if the King resisted.

On his return to Athens an unexpected incident occurred in connection with the personality of General Sarraill. In official circles in the allied capitals his detractors predominated. Mr. Lloyd George often confessed himself uneasy; Sonnino declared himself hostile to the tactics of a commander whom the French Government defended to their utmost. An express messenger was sent to M. Ribot from an allied country asking for the immediate recall of General Sarraill, adding that his maintenance in command was regarded everywhere as impossible. M. Ribot replied that his Government had given the opinion of their allies very serious consideration, but found it impossible to relieve General Sarraill of his command, as such a measure, coming on the eye of important events in Greece, could only provoke difficulties. M. Ribot undertook that when the matter in hand was settled he would not fail to consider the request that was made. The sender of this message from "an allied country," M. Laurent subsequently states, was Mr. Lloyd George.

The French Government had received no direct news from M. Jonnart in regard to the accomplishment of his mission, when, on June 9, the British Cabinet forwarded a note of protest. It had become known at the Foreign Office that the High Commissioner in Greece had brought troops from Saloniki and had announced his intention of debarking them at the Piraeus and of giving Con-

stantine twenty-four hours in which to abdicate. The British Cabinet saw in this operation an infraction of the stipulations of the Convention of London, and it asked for explanations. On the following day the Quai d'Orsay received a second protest, couched in terms not less categorical than the preceding one. It declared that the British Foreign Office did not share the optimism of the French War Minister, who had stated that the Royalist faction at Athens would vanish at the mere sight of our troops. The French Cabinet lost none of its sangfroid. It carefully avoided disavowing M. Jonnart.

The article goes on to relate how M. Jonnart, after delaying for forty-eight hours the landing of the troops, decided, without waiting for the fresh instructions asked for, to bring the issue to an abrupt decision. He appealed to the patriotism of the Greek Premier, M. Zaimis, pointing out that if matters were allowed to proceed peacefully the protecting powers would raise the block-

ade, safeguard the lives and property of all Greeks, without distinction, and prevent reprisals of any kind. On the other hand, if difficulties were raised, force would be used. At the same time, the High Commissioner handed the Premier a note relative to the abdication of the King.

M. Zaimis was familiar with steps of the kind contemplated, as his father had assisted, as Prime Minister, at the abdication of King Otho. He loyally followed his family traditions. The next day, before the period laid down had expired, he sent to M. Jonnart a letter announcing that the King was prepared to leave the country, together with the Crown Prince.

The sequel followed promptly. King Constantine abdicated on June 12, 1917, and was at once succeeded by his second son, Prince Alexander, as King of the Hellenes. The Allies did not think it worth while to intern the fallen King, and allowed him to take refuge in Switzerland, where he still remains.

International Rule Not a Success in Tangier

THE state of war existing between the Spanish Government and the tribesmen of the Wad Ras district, near the international zone around Tangier, has been emphasized frequently by heavy Spanish casualties. A gloomy picture of the condition of the international zone itself was drawn by the Morocco correspondent of The London Times on Sept. 1. According to this account all beneficent or charitable work had been prevented by the many international jealousies prevailing at Tangier. Justice for the natives was a farce. There were no hospitals or medical staff. A serious shortage of water existed. Work was scarce, prices high; the existence of the poor Moslems amid surroundings of dirt and squalor was pitiable. This article concluded as follows:

If there still lingers among those who are charged with the negotiations for the future of Tangier any intention or any desire to endow this place with a permanent status of internationalization, let them be warned in time. Let them come for themselves and see what international administration has accomplished. It has taught the people to poison themselves with foul drinks; it invites them to lose their scanty earnings in low gambling hells; it tempts them—to our shame be it said—with the dregs of European prostitution, and eventually it leaves them to die untended and uncared for. It has allowed them to have all that is bad—for no social legislation is possible where the jealousies of a dozen European Governments have to be contended with—and it has deprived them of all they have a right to have—a semblance of justice, cleanliness, water, a little aid in their sickness, and some sympathy in their sufferings. They ask so little. They get nothing.

Zionist Difficulties in Palestine

[BY A LONDON TIMES CORRESPONDENT]

Writing from Jerusalem at the beginning of September, 1919, the author of this article—a trained British observer of developments in the Middle East—summarized the status of the Zionist project as follows:

ZIONISM is the burning issue here. On all sides it is laden with such deep passions that one is conscious of responsibility in touching it. Mr. Balfour has pledged us to provide in Palestine a nation's home for the Jews, a pledge which we intend to keep. But Palestine, as at present administered by us, contains approximately 500,000 Mussulmans, 60,000 Christians, and 60,000 Jews. Although a great deal of it is as barren as the Wilderness of the Temptation, it is all owned by somebody. The old formula of "the land without a people for the people without a land" presents difficulties at once. But these difficulties, which I hope to show are not insoluble, are as nothing compared to the trouble that has arisen from the belief that we are pledged also to secure for the Jews a privileged political position in Palestine. Language of this kind was undoubtedly used, and as in the crisis of the war no one had time for reflection on the sober realities of the situation, Jews all over the world naturally gave vent to outbursts of joy, and of gratitude to Great Britain for something which, without being in any way precisely defined, was understood to mean that the Jews were to be masters in their new home.

Now all this was at the time entirely pardonable ignorance, but ignorance it was. The results have been simply deplorable, and it is essential that we should all of us, Jews and Gentiles, get to grips with the situation, and use no more vague language or harbor vague ideas. Otherwise there will be bloodshed in Palestine, and the position of the small Jewish minority, which is already morally distressing, will become intolerable. The 500,000 Mussulmans and the 60,000 Christians have all been excited to a high pitch by this political talk. They have made common cause, and in some

cases they have entered into covenants to sell no land to Jews. The Christians say they would prefer to go back under a Mussulman majority rather than be ruled by a Jewish minority, and Mussulmans and Christians alike insist on the fact that if there were to be government by a small majority, it could only rest on British bayonets.

All this passion and heat is engendered about a sheer illusion. For naturally there could never now be any question of the British arms being used to impose upon the vast majority of the inhabitants the temporal power of a local minority, reinforced, perhaps, by immigrants from all over Europe and America, but chiefly from the distressed Jewries of Poland and Rumania.

The majority is, it should be said, largely autochthonous. For the Palestine Mussulmans, though commonly called Arabs, and the Palestine Christians, though commonly called Syrians, are probably largely the same stock, ethnically akin to those Phœnician and other "lone Tyrian traders" who founded Marseilles, and were the first to set their sails into the golden west of the vast Atlantic through the Gibraltar gate, and exploit the tin mines of Cornwall. Certain it is that the descendants of these merchant adventurers, who

On the beach undid their corded bales, are far more intelligent and vivacious than either Turks or Arabs elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire.

The vital fact which should be known is that not only is the establishment of such a forcible ascendancy unthinkable on our part, but it is not even suggested by any responsible Zionist, in Jerusalem, at any rate. These are fully alive both to the inherent injustice of such a course and to its danger to their co-religionists. Possibly there are some hotheads living abroad who, since their

own interests are not involved, will clamor for large political privileges; but I have been impressed by the moderation of the Zionist program as put forward here. It cannot be too widely known, for if it be understood, the basis of the present unrest, a basis largely of misunderstanding, should disappear. How, then, do the sober Zionists conceive the future?

They assume that the British will be offered and will accept from the Peace Conference a mandate for the direction of affairs in Palestine. What the territorial limits of Palestine will be is yet unknown. * * *

Although Jews of high principle and ability, who have already attained distinction in the West, could be found for the heads of all administrative departments, they could not make themselves acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants or carry the necessary authority. But the Zionists do expect that an opportunity will be given to such men, more especially in the less acrimoniously political and more technical posts, such, for instance, as public works or postal administration. Clearly, also, a Jewish official on the High Commissioner's Council will be required to look after the interests of Jewish education.

It is in this matter of education that we touch one of the questions considered vital by the most responsible Zionists, whose present aims are cultural and economic rather than political.

Orthodox Jews all over the world have maintained schools wherein the children of the Ghetto have learned Hebrew. It was not a spoken language. The language of the home among the Sephardim, the long-robed stately Jews of the Levant, is the Spanish *patois* which descends from the Spanish which the Jews brought with them when expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella.

The humble Jews of the Ashkenazim, the mean-clad, uneasy men who swarm in Poland and the Ukraine and fill the Jewries of Western Europe and America, talk Yiddish—a salad of German, Slav, Hebrew, and any local language—in their homes. Hebrew, then, though well known to orthodox Jews throughout the world, remained unspoken, and the mod-

ern movement for its revival has had but a small measure of success. But there is one great exception to this rule—namely, Jerusalem. Here Jews from all over the world, from Samarkand to Mogador, and from California to Petrograd, have found in Hebrew a common tongue, and here it is freely spoken as nowhere else. The movement is opposed only by the Jewish schools maintained here and throughout the East by *L'Alliance Universelle*, which stands firmly for French culture and the French language. The Zionists ask for official recognition of Hebrew in equality with Arabic in Government use. At present this is accorded, but it is expensive and involves the maintenance of a large establishment of Jewish clerks and translators in Government offices. There is no other objection to it, and probably the Zionist Council will agree that the financial burden of a sentimental privilege for a very small minority should not be entirely borne out of taxation.

In Jerusalem the Jews are in a majority. Elsewhere they are greatly in the minority, but there are villages and small districts that are almost purely Jewish. The Zionists ask that these should be allowed local autonomy somewhat equivalent to that of an English borough, with power of levying their own rates. There should be no insuperable difficulty in meeting such a demand.

The outline that I have given contains all that the Zionists who wish to safeguard the Jews now living in Palestine ask in their political program. They regard those who live abroad and ask for more as *agents provocateurs*, who will be the cause of their ruin.

But there remains the problem of providing a national home for the Jews. How is this to be done? The land is already owned. As things are now, the country can support but few more people. There are hundreds of thousands of poor Jews in the ghettos of Poland, the Ukraine, and Rumania who would swarm into Palestine if the gates were open. Already there are more refugees here than the Zionists can support, and the burden is falling to an increasing extent on the British authorities. How can

these poor city starvelings, children of persecution who have failed in life's battle, make desirable immigrants for a country with a future? If they are to be helped, will they not rely on help, like those fearful products of philanthropic societies in other parts of the world? Will not the children of Zion be the "remittance men" of the Zionist Council, and incapable of standing alone? Will they till the soil, or will they seek to get a mortgage on the land of the *fellacheen*, and watch the Arabs work for them? And how, save by the employment of a large force, are we to protect these immigrants, when they arrive, from the Arab and Christian fury which is now raging against them in advance, owing to the way in which the question has been represented, or misrepresented?

These questions I have put and I find the Zionists here awake to dangers which it is imperative should be realized abroad. The Zionist reply in effect is this:

Immigration will have to be most carefully controlled, and selected immigrants allowed in only as labor is required or land becomes available. It is true that the Jew has not been known as an agriculturist. But in European countries he has until modern times been jealously kept off the land. In America, where agriculture has always been a business like any other, the Jew in spite of this inherited disability has made good and there are some 60,000 Jewish agriculturists. Here in Palestine in the earlier of the modern Jewish colonies it must be admitted that the Jews have not shown a disposition to work themselves; they employ Arabs. But the sons and grandsons of the colonists of the '70s and '80's take a much greater interest in

the soil, and themselves work the land more and more. Moreover, the later colonies have been very much better in this respect from their foundation. But we consider it vital that Jews should not shipwreck Zionism by acquiring land privately, or by incurring odium as small moneylenders.

Our desire is that a Jewish National Council should acquire land that is for sale, more especially uncultivated lands and the properties of the former Turkish Government. We believe that by scientific irrigation, the use of water power, and the development of transport Palestine could maintain four times its present population on a higher standard of living. We propose that a Jewish National Council should finance these great public works. They will require immigration of labor, and that labor we can supply. In this way, with the development of land and the enrichment of the country by public works, we propose that Palestine shall in a natural economic manner gradually provide a national home for the Jews. We must resist all pressure to go in for large schemes of immediate immigration, and we must make sure of a sound economic basis.

Herein, it seems to me, lies wisdom. Let the Zionists make known the moderation of their demands from the house-tops. And let the Christian and Mussulman fanatics, who are at present openly vowing to cut the throats of the Jews, listen and understand. This is the only way of safety. For the Palestine situation is bad. The Moslems, who have it to their eternal credit that, while Christendom acted very differently, they have always shown toleration to the Jews, are in danger of spoiling their record, because now for the first time they believe they are threatened with a Jewish domination.

With Allenby in Palestine

By LOWELL THOMAS

American War Correspondent and Lecturer

[BY ARRANGEMENT WITH THE LONDON CHRONICLE]

ALTHOUGH it took Field Marshal Lord Allenby just one year to do what the Crusaders were unable to accomplish in 100 years, nevertheless, while carrying out the most brilliantly executed campaign in the annals of military history, he by no means spent all

of his time fighting Turks. One expects a great military leader to be conversant with military tactics and the history of war, but it is a bit extraordinary to find the leader of a great army a bookman and naturalist. But Lord Allenby probably knows as much as any man liv-

ing about the flowers and wild animals and birds of the Holy Land. He stationed a Yorkshire Sergeant at a watering place which migratory birds frequented, and whenever a new species arrived the Commander in Chief would forget the cares of his campaign and slip off to the pond to see the bird for himself. He is the type of man whom John Burroughs would make a boon companion.

While with his forces in Palestine I discovered that Allenby was exceptionally popular with the men in the ranks. But I was told everywhere that his Generals got shaky in the knees when in his presence, because if anything went wrong you could hear the deliverer of Jerusalem all the way from Dan to Beersheba.

Since the Boer war, when he first made his reputation as a great cavalry leader, he has been known to his men as "Bull" Allenby, and the rank and file of the Tommies and Anzacs seldom go far wrong in their measure of a man. A thousand years from now historians, I believe, will rank Allenby with Thothmes III., Rameses I., Joshua, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander the Great, Titus, Richard Coeur de Lion, Saladin, and the other mighty conquerors who have led their hosts across the Plains of Sharon and Armageddon. And I believe they will write his name at the head of the list.

Allenby succeeded where even Napoleon failed. His was a campaign such as all military men have dreamed of, but few have realized. But though essentially a man of war who prefers to wear a uniform made of the same cloth as that worn by his privates, to eat the same food, and to roar like a lion, Allenby has another side to his nature. He reads both Greek and Latin fluently, and he carried with him on his campaign such books as George Adam Smith's Geography of the Holy Land, a Bible dictionary, and, of course, a copy of the Holy Scriptures.

Just after the capture of Jericho, Allenby and the Duke of Connaught took a run down to the edge of the Dead Sea. When they arrived the soldiers were enjoying their noonday siesta, and

there were some motor boats lying out a bit too far, being knocked about by the waves. The Commander in Chief angrily ordered them to be pulled in. Both he and the Duke lent a hand. The temperature was about 110 degrees. Both were wringing wet with perspiration, and hardly as comfortable as the soldiers helping them, who were wearing absolutely no clothing. When the job was done Allenby remarked quietly to one of the boys that it was a pity they couldn't have taken a cinema of his Royal Highness pulling on the rope between two naked Australians.

An hour later, on their way back to Jericho, their car rounded a bend within gunshot of the Turks. Somewhere near the place that Joshua and the Israelites are supposed to have crossed the Jordan on dry land the Rolls-Royce sank up to its hubs in quicksand and salt.

Instead of allowing his men to do it, Allenby insisted on crawling through that slime, scooping out room to lie down under the car, and then, using his enormous hands as shovels, he scooped out the white mud around all four wheels so the machine could be pulled out by his staff Captain's car. When he crawled out the conqueror of the Holy Land was absolutely unrecognizable and covered with a mass of oozy slime.

If the occasional ripples which go through my audiences at the Covent Garden Royal Opera House are any barometer of what interests them, most people are far more interested in little stories about the human side of General Allenby than they are in how he turned the Turkish flank at Beersheba or how he captured Aleppo and cut the Bagdad railway.

Allenby, in addressing his troops on Aug. 4, 1918, said his confidence was "based on the justice of our cause and faith in the sustaining help of the Almighty." He had worked out the plans of attack down to the smallest detail, and when his cavalry were at Armageddon he was both confident and playful. There was an American child at headquarters that morning, and the great General took infinite delight in entertaining her.

When Allenby captured Jerusalem he had accomplished one of the most dramatic feats of all human history. The best that Richard Coeur de Lion could do was to reach the top of Nebi Samwil and get a view of the Holy City. Herr Wilhelm Hohenzollern, before his bubble burst, showed the world what a buffoon he was by entering Jerusalem on a white charger, dressed in white robes, and followed by his resplendent comic opera cavalry.

As every one knows, when Allenby the great deliverer entered the Holy City he merely walked in with three officers in front of him who occupy a far more prominent position in the official photographs than Allenby himself, whose face is almost hidden. When the Kaiser rode into Jerusalem he went to the German Cathedral and delivered an oration, as if he were the reincarnation of the Apostle Paul. When Allenby entered he stood modestly while another man read his very brief proclamation for him.

One day, while having lunch with the

Duke of Connaught and Lord Allenby, I asked the Commander in Chief what his feelings were when he received the news that his men had taken Jerusalem, the City of David, "the city which, more than Athens, more than Rome, taught the nations civic justice, the city which gave her name to the ideal city which men are ever striving to build on earth, the city which gave her name to the City of God which shall one day descend from heaven—the New Jerusalem."

Allenby replied: "Oh, I guess I felt pretty much the same as you feel when you capture any town."

Lieut. Gen. Sir Philip Chetwode, who commanded the army corps which captured Jerusalem, one of Allenby's closest friends, his companion through the Boer war, and his second in command during the campaign in the Holy Land, described the deliverer of Palestine to me one day while we were seated in the Kaiser's palace on the Mount of Olives as "the straightest man who ever drew on a boot."

Colonel Lawrence and the Hedjaz

Romantic Career of the Young English Archaeologist Who Led 200,000 Arab Horsemen Against the Turks

ONE of the most romantic figures of the entire war was Thomas Lawrence, a young Oxford graduate who had specialized in archaeology. For seven years he had wandered about Syria and other Eastern countries, dressed in native costume and living with the various Bedouin tribes whom he encountered on his way. At the outbreak of the war with Germany he was engaged in excavation work among the ruined cities of Mesopotamia. He had lived in Arabia so long and had gained such a remarkable knowledge of the various tribes, their language, customs, and peculiarities, that when war was declared the British authorities called him to Cairo and appointed him to the map department of the British Office there, with the title of Lieutenant.

He was still employed in this capacity

in 1916, doing the most valuable kind of work in connection with the laying out of maps of localities which he knew far more intimately than the official topographers, when the Shereef of Mecca, King Hussein of Arabia, who had been for years a virtual prisoner of the Turks at Constantinople, gave the word for his long-prepared revolt against the Turks, oppressors of Arabia for fully 500 years. This revolt proved formidable. When it began, the British authorities at Cairo decided that Thomas Lawrence was pre-eminently fitted to be sent to Arabia as British military representative.

His achievements from that time on placed him in the list of that small band of Englishmen whose romantic exploits in exotic countries have been written permanently into the pages of world history—the Raleighs, the Drakes, the

Kitcheners, the Gordons, and such men as Sir Richard Burton, the first foreigner who ever penetrated within the forbidden walls of the holy city of Mecca.

The revolution that has resulted in the new Kingdom of the Hedjaz was chiefly due to the Arabo-Turkish Army. The Turkish principle of government had been to fill all the responsible official posts with Turks. Especially was this the case with the Young Turks. But they enforced military conscription among the Arab population to the best of their ability, for the Balkan war had made a wide chasm in the Turkish population of military age. The result was that the so-called Turkish Army in Arabia consisted very largely of Arabs, whose sympathies were wholly with their fatherland and against their oppressors. When the general rising occurred the Arab portion of the army deserted almost en masse. The Turkish Army, thus depleted, was forced to take refuge in various forts, and was gradually driven to surrender, except at Medina, where a considerable number of Turks collected and succeeded in holding out until the end of the war.

The Arab deserters, with their Western drill and modern weapons, formed the nucleus of the new army of the Hedjaz. With the addition of new recruits and supplies from the Allies an excellent force of regulars was formed. These were supplemented by swarms of irregulars — Bedouin horsemen and camelmen from the deserts. This was the army which was to co-operate with the British in the conquest of Syria. Its guiding spirits were Emir Faisal, third son of King Hussein—a man of strong patriotism, energy, tact, and ability to command—and Colonel Thomas Lawrence.

To Colonel Lawrence more than to any other man was due the efficient organization of the Hedjaz Army. He worked in perfect harmony with King Hussein and Prince Faisal, to whom he was second in command. For months his wild and reckless yet continually successful exploits at the head of his Bedouin force of 200,000 horsemen were spoken of in this and other countries of the East.

A small blonde young Englishman, with intensely blue eyes and a strong chin, he was adored by the fierce tribesmen whose every exploit with horse or camel he could equal, if not surpass. Fearless and resourceful, defeat to him meant



COLONEL LAWRENCE IN HIS COSTUME
AS AN ARAB COMMANDER

simply accomplishing a given task in a different way. He wore on all occasions full Bedouin costume, and his achievements as military commander in the impetuous raids which he led against the Turks, and which drove them out of Arabia, were such that King Hussein conferred on him the title of Shereef, the first instance in history of a Westerner holding that much-prized religious rank, which entitled him to wear the *agal*, *kuffia*, and *abba*, distinctive of Arabic Princes of the blood. He also



A DETACHMENT OF BEDOUIN VOLUNTEERS IN ARABIA MARCHING TO THE FRONT TO FIGHT UNDER PRINCE FAISAL

wore a curved golden sword which Prince Faisal himself presented to his English commander.

Despite his fame and the brilliant record of his achievements, Colonel Lawrence was an extremely silent and almost abnormally modest man. On more than one occasion he literally fled from the honors which the British Government wished to confer upon him. Blonde as a Viking, he walked about in the streets of Jerusalem or other cities, in full panoply of Arab royal costume, plunged in some inner dream. His leisure moments he spent in the study of archaeology. His influence over his native followers was amazing; he accomplished what had never been accomplished before—the welding of many different and often hostile tribes into one single patriotic unit. In none of his wild raids was he ever wounded, though he exposed himself in the most reckless fashion, leading cavalry charges in the style of Cromwell or Seydlitz.

It should not be forgotten, in this connection, that he had never had military training, and was noteworthy when wearing British uniform (after his capture of Akaba he had been made a Colonel) for his serene disregard of all matters of military etiquette. His power over his Arabic followers was due to his knowledge of their dialects, his understanding of their religion, his tact in settling disputes, and his inborn military ability.

The Germans and Turks alike soon discovered the presence of this young Englishman among their Arabic opponents in the desert, and, realizing the menace of his mysterious and amazing successes, put a price of \$500,000 upon his head. Needless to say, this blood money was never paid; the Turks were driven out of Holy Arabia forever, and Germany saw the miraged vision of the Berlin-to-Bagdad route vanish into the arid wastes across which the Bedouin forces of Colonel Lawrence drove the disillusioned Turks.

The Young Turk Policy in Asia

New Light on the Causes Which Led Enver Pasha and His Followers to Bring Turkey to Ruin

By RENE PINON

[FRENCH AUTHORITY ON THE NEAR EAST]

At the very moment when the Turkish delegates at Paris were petitioning the Peace Conference for the preservation of the Sultan's empire, Turkish bands were attempting to complete the extermination of the Christians in that empire. More recently the fall of Damad Ferid Pasha's Cabinet and the rise of a new Ministry, with General Ali Riza Pasha as Grand Vizier and Djemel Pasha as Minister of War, have focused attention anew upon Turkish Governmental policy. The causes that produced the new outbreak of barbarity against the Armenians are illuminated in an article by M. Pinon in the Revue des Deux Mondes for September, the most interesting portions of which are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY.

THE Sick Man of Europe did not die of his chronic malady; he committed suicide by plunging into the great war. He was not at all compelled to take part in it, and as the price of his neutrality he might long have consolidated his position in Europe and Asia, and have obtained from the allied and associated powers a guarantee of his independence and territorial integrity. As a matter of fact, these advantages were offered by the French and British Ambassadors to the Young Turk Government; but the all-powerful triumvirate, Enver, Talaat, and Djemal, had fixed its determination long before, not only because it had allowed Germany to gain a dominating influence, but also because the war waged by Germany satisfied its passions and favored its ambitions.

To understand how the Young Turks could knowingly have committed this fatal mistake it is necessary to penetrate the psychology of that small clan which governed with absolute power the Ottoman Empire. Their psychology, however, did not differ from that of Abdul Hamid and the rest of his race, save in the hypocrisy of formulas and the more sustained and methodical brutality of execution. The "Red Sultan" and the Young Turks practiced the same policy of narrow nationalism, of unification and of inner "Turkification." When the revolution of July, 1908, broke

out in the cry of freedom and the singing of the "Marseillaise" all Europe hoped that Turkey was about to reform of its own accord and become, with Europe's aid, a modern State in which each individual, without distinction of race or religion, would enjoy the same rights and be subject to the same duties as Turkish citizens. Before the revolution of 1908, as well as before the expedition of 1909, which dethroned Abdul Hamid, a preliminary agreement had been made between the Young Turks and the representatives of other nationalities, Armenians, Bulgarians of Macedonia, Syrians, &c. Turkey seemed to be evolving toward a federative form of government, which would have maintained the unity of the empire and allowed each nationality to develop according to its traditions and aspirations.

Vain hope! The massacres of Adana, in which more than 20,000 Armenians perished, were a first revelation of what was to be expected from the new Government. Dangerous ideologists, such as Dr. Nazim, declared that the State must be exclusively Turkish; the presence of non-Turkish elements had been the pretext of all European interventions; it was necessary, therefore, to "Turkify," if need be, by force, to implant Turkish colonists, to oblige all Ottoman subjects to become Turks. German agents, ambassadors, soldiers or merchants encouraged these tendencies,

which harmonized with their doctrines of the rights of the State and with their interests; were they not the guardians, and did they not perceive that more and more they were becoming the masters of the whole Ottoman Empire?

ALIENATING THE ALBANIANS

The result of such a rash and iniquitous policy soon became apparent. In all Europe the Sultans had no more faithful subjects than the Albanians, but though they were mostly Mussulmans, they were attached to their local liberties and their special customs. They had contributed powerfully to the success of the revolution of July, 1908; in return the Young Turks conceived the idea of molesting them and destroying their social organization, thus losing the sole support which they still possessed in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula. At the same time they devised the scheme of implanting amid the Macedonian Slavs *mehadjis* (Mussulman colonists) emigrated from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The result of this was to make possible the union of the Balkan States, which had previously seemed impossible, and to provoke the War of 1912; Turkey lost thereby Macedonia, Crete, the Islands of the Archipelago, and would have lost Adrianople, had it not been for the mad haste of the Bulgarians in declaring a second war.

Such a catastrophe, far from serving as a lesson to the Young Turks, only exasperated them. They began to prepare a war of revenge against the Greeks, and plunged into the creation of naval armaments. German policy, which had already been crystallized by the intention to provoke war, could not fail to make use of such tendencies for its own ends. Baron Marschall and, after his death, his successor, Wangenheim, and with them all the Germans of Turkey, strove to stir up the grudges of the Young Turks and to fan the flame of their mad desires.

The Balkan union, ephemeral as it was, had made Germany anxious for the security of her communications with the Ottoman Empire and the Bagdad Rail-

way; she had resolved to eliminate Russian influence completely from the Balkans and Armenia; that is to say, from the two points from which a Russian push could menace the Bagdad Railway, that backbone of Germanized Turkey. German publicists like Axel Schmidt, J. Hermann, and especially Paul Rohrbach, began a campaign of propaganda and depicted to the frightened Turks the descent of the Czar's Cossacks toward the Bosphorus and the Gulf of Alexandretta. There was no salvation for the Turks except in German protection. The coalition of Germanic ambitions and Turkish grievances was complete by the first months of 1914, and was expressed by the appointment of the German General, Liman von Sanders, as Inspector General of the Ottoman Army, then as commander of the 1st Army Corps at Constantinople; he was also accredited to the Turkish Government as the personal representative of the Kaiser.

It was difficult to conceal the truth longer. The Young Turk triumvirate had been clever enough to name the Egyptian Prince, Said Halim, Grand Vizier, but he was a mere figurehead, whose ambition and vanity placed him in their hands completely. They promised him the post of Khedive of Egypt after the expulsion of the English, and left to him the pompous appearance of power and the duty of entertaining foreign representatives, while they kept for themselves the exercise of all real power and all immediate benefits.

It was the same in the provinces, where no functionaries could use their authority except in so far as they were submissive to the instructions of the Young Turk committees which formed a network extending over all the empire. This secret organization constituted for the leaders of the Constantinople committee an instrument of domination; it was through this channel that Ta'at, Enver, Djemal and their accomplices carried out their will.

CHARACTER OF LEADERS

The Ambassador of the United States, Mr. Morgenthau, in the interesting Memoirs which he has published, draws

a striking portrait of these three grave-diggers of the Ottoman Empire. He compares Talaat to an American "boss," a comparison which undoubtedly calumniate the "bosses," who, however unscrupulous they may be, do not have on their conscience hundreds of thousands of human lives. Talaat was a striking type of adventurer, an extraordinary combination of cunning and ferocity, subtlety and energy; a gambler's temperament, with impulses of brutal joviality and the simplicities of an ignorant child; perceptions of an intuitive man of the people and the cruel and cunning instincts of a wild beast. Enver, younger, more distinguished in appearance, more refined, colder and more calculating, more capable of persistence and tenacity, but at bottom without wide views, unless his own personal passions were in question, and offering as a substitute for genius a limitless ambition and vanity, yielded more entirely than Talaat to the directions of the Germans, whose methodical spirit he had admired as a military attaché to Berlin, and who fascinated him by the display of their strength and the ostentation of their omnipotence; in Wangenheim's hands he had become a precious and obedient instrument for the great events which William II. had entrusted specially to his Ambassador to prepare.

As long as peace continued, the Young Turks were obliged to observe appearances with all the powers, to hide their ambitions and their agreements. While Enver was ostensibly the friend of the Germans, Talaat feigned to court Russian sympathies, and in the Spring of 1914 had a political conversation with Czar Nicholas II. Djemal played the part of a friend of France: some few days before the war he was the recipient of the most flattering attentions in Paris, at Toulon, at Creusot, and on his return to Constantinople he was able to boast that he had pulled the wool over the eyes of the French most cleverly. Their decision to enter the war on the side of Germany was fixed from the beginning; they sought only to save appearances and to defer to the undeveloped embryo of public opinion which had

survived so many tyrannies. The attack on the Russian coast by the Goeben and the Breslau under the Turkish flag was premeditated.

POLICY OF EXTERMINATION

After hostilities began, the Young Turks abandoned all restraint; their true nature was revealed, more evil and cruel than could ever have been imagined, and more naïve at the same time. They at once began to carry out their favorite plan. What they aimed at was to free the Ottoman Empire from all foreign guardianship, to extirpate all non-Turkish elements, and to restore to the name and the glory of the Osmanlis all their former lustre. They began by abolishing the "capitulations" without understanding that the destruction of a régime which humiliated their vanity might result from a far-reaching interior reform, but could not precede it. The Young Turks wished to have at their mercy all foreigners and non-Turkish elements; and they soon showed how they intended to treat them. Talaat said to Mr. Morgenthau: "We wish to prove by our actions that we are not a race of barbarians." But the fundamental nature of these primitives speedily came to the surface; the superficial varnish of civilization disappeared and was replaced by savage brutality.

The proclamation of the holy war, if it did not succeed in arousing the whole Mussulman world, at least excited Turkish fanaticism. A pamphlet was printed in Arabic on this occasion and distributed through all Islam; it summoned all the faithful to the holy war, to the extermination of all Christians, except the Germans. This pamphlet said:

The extermination of the wretches who oppress us is a holy task, whether it be accomplished secretly or openly, according to the word of the Koran: "Take them and kill them wherever you may find them; we give them up to you and grant you all power over them." He who kills even one of them will be rewarded by God. Let every Mussulman, in whatever part of the world he may dwell, swear solemnly that he will strike down at least three or four of the Christians who surround him, for they are the enemies of Allah and of the Faith. Let each one of you know that his reward will be

doubled by the God who has created heaven and earth. He who obeys this order will be saved from the terrors of the last judgment and assured of resurrection and eternal life.

The pamphlet then gives details regarding the mode of organizing bands and the duty of assassination. Such a document bears the stamp of German manufacture, but it was disseminated by the Ottoman Government, and if it had scarcely been heard of outside Turkey, its ideas were put into practice by the Young Turk in the case of the Armenians, the Greeks, the Syrians, and even the Arabic Mussulmans.

USE OF GERMAN METHODS

The method of deportation applied to the Christian populations was not a Turkish invention. It was a method lauded by the Germans, who intended to apply it to Alsace-Lorraine, had they been the victors; but the Turks added to it their own special interpretation. Denouncing in a previous study the massacres and deportations which caused the death of approximately 800,000 Armenians in 1915, I added to the title "German Method" the words "Turkish Work"—a double signature. The Germans brought to this their spirit of organization, and it was due to their instructions that the massacres were systematically and regularly carried out. Since Abdul Hamid Turkey has progressed; it has introduced order into the assassination of its own subjects; the Young Turks have even boasted of surpassing their predecessors, and of their plan of a complete extirpation of the Armenian people. Talaat said to the Ambassador of the United States: "I have done more to solve the Armenian problem in three months than Abdul Hamid in thirty years."

Given over to their own inspiration, freed of all surveillance, filled with enthusiasm over the defeats of the Allies before the Dardanelles, assured of immunity by their certainty of German victory, the Turks plunged into the abyss, and a psychological phenomenon was visible in them which Mr. Morgenthau defined as reversion to primitive type, and described as follows:

Now that the chances of war favored the empire an entirely new type ap-

peared to me. The timid and pusillanimous Ottoman, threading his way cautiously through the mazes of Western diplomacy and striving to profit by the diversity of opinion among the great powers, gave way to an arrogant, haughty, audacious, vain person who vaunted his rights, resolved to live his own life and manifested absolute contempt for all Christians.

That type of Turk, the true Turk, is very different from the descriptions of novelists; those who have seen him at work, torturer and assassin, thief and lecher, have retained a frightful impression. It is clearly proved from all the evidences that the Young Turk Government willed and organized the total extermination of the Armenians, that the Germans encouraged them in this, and that the Turkish people carried it out gayly, robbing and assassinating the victims, forcing the women and children to become Mussulmans, and choosing the prettiest from the sad caravans to take away with them for their harems. * * *

PAN-TURANIANISM

It is important to observe that Pan-Turanianism and Pan-Islamism are not synonymous; the two policies are not geographically identical, since the Arabs are not Turanians. Pan-Islamism has, above all, a religious basis; it is nothing else but the sentiment of the community of religious faith between the Mussulmans of various countries. When the Sultan, at the German bidding, proclaimed the holy war, his decree had but a feeble echo in non-Turkish Islam. The Arabs, with the aid of the Entente, claimed their independence and denied the Turkish Sultan the right of the Khalifate; they opposed to him the Grand Shereef of Mecca, descendant of the Prophet, whom the Entente has recognized as the King of Hedjaz.

After the Bolshevik revolution and the ruin of the military power of Russia, the chimerical conceptions of Pan-Turanianism seemed, nevertheless, to be fulfilled. The Black Sea became a Turco-German lake. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Ukrainians and the treaty of Bucharest with the Rumanians revealed clearly the intentions of the Germans; they wished to organize a land and sea route starting from Odessa or

Costanza and ending at Batum, whence it would radiate, on the one hand, toward Baku with the aid of the Tartars, and, by the Caspian, toward Turkestan and its large historic towns: Khiva, Bukhara, Samarkand; on the other hand, by way of Tauris and Teheran, toward Persia, Afghanistan, and India, where 66,000,000 Mussulmans were English subjects or under English protection.

Pan-Turanianism, thus conceived, transcended completely the powers of the Turks; they were but an instrument of the German policy of war. The various peoples of Turkish race were to become the pillars of the gigantic bridge which would connect Central German Europe with Central Asia and with China; thus would be established the supremacy of German commerce, and the influence and domination of Great Britain would be destroyed. In reality, under the disguise of Pan-Turanianism, it was Pan-Germanism whose domination and triumph were to be assured. The Young Turks, in their naïve pride, exulted joyously; they saw themselves back to the days of Soliman the Magnificent. "The Black Sea is a Mussulman and Ottoman sea," wrote the *Ikdam* on March 23, 1918. They flattered themselves that they had grown to greater stature through the support of Germany, whose pride and insolence they endured because they needed her, but of which they thought they could get rid when the proper moment had come. They should have remembered, since it was Bismarck who said it, that he who wishes to sup with the devil should provide himself with a long spoon.

AFTER THE TURKISH DEFEAT

Islam, in the main, was not the dupe of the Pan-Turanian, or Pan-Turkish propaganda, and behind the chimera of Pan-Turanianism is discerned the dangerous reality of Pan-Germanism. It knew, furthermore, that the great peoples who have carried forward Mussulman civilization are the Arabs, the Persians, the Berbers of North Africa, while the Turks have only been destroyers. All this effort, however, all this money spread right and left by the German agents, all this political preaching was

not completely ineffectual; certain results, certain ebullitions continued even after the complete disaster of Turkey and Young Turk policy.

During the first months which followed the defeat and the armistice, the Turks, bewildered by the catastrophe, thought only of humiliating themselves before the conquerors and imploring their mercy; the Young Turk agents either disappeared, or kept silence. But the Entente delayed coming to Constantinople and manifesting its will. The Turks grew accustomed to the idea that once more, perhaps, the Ottoman Empire would be left unchanged. The Sultan still reigned in his capital, the Young Turk leaders, assassins of so many thousand men, torturers of women and children, were not punished; many Germans remained in Constantinople, and Russia had not been placed upon her feet. The Turks, therefore, thought they saw some fissures in the allied front, and strove to play the game which had been successful for so long a time, namely that of profiting by, and if need be, embittering the conflict of opinion between their enemies.

In the terms of the armistice the Allies had not taken the precaution to require the departure of the Turkish administrators and soldiers from all non-Turkish countries, that is, all the region east of Taurus, so that the Turkish officials who had massacred the Armenians, hung the Arabs, deported the Greeks, remained on the scene of their activities, and, when they had recovered from their first fright, began anew to oppress the population; with only more discretion, the massacres recommenced. To put a stop to the complaints of these peoples and to discredit them, the Young Turk Committees, evidently at the order of their leaders, Talaat, Enver, Djemal, whom the Allies have not yet been able to locate and arrest, began anew to terrorize and decimate them.

NEW TACTICS EMPLOYED

Their tactics consisted of depicting the interests of Islam as identical with those of Young Turkey. This is the manoeuvre by which Germans and

Young Turks alike are trying to save their interests and to escape from their terrible responsibilities.

Recent events, whose coincidence is striking in its revelation of a unified plan and order, have occurred to prove that Young Turk propaganda had borne its fruits, and that in all Asiatic Islam a dangerous agitation has continued after the war. In Egypt, in the month of March, among that passive and sheep-like people, the fellahs and Arabs, a sudden disturbance developed rapidly into serious riots. The first troubles had a national character. The Nationalist Party, long organized, protested against the proclamation during the war of the English protectorate over Egypt; it demanded the independence of the country. * * * The first Nationalist troubles caused the deportation to Malta of four of the principal leaders of the movement. Such a measure only increased the dissatisfaction, and toward March 10 very numerous manifestations were organized. * * * In the towns the workmen cease work, bands of pillagers rush through the streets; Armenians and Greeks are particularly attacked.

The agitation lasted more than two months; the British Government, which had before the war barely 4,000 English troops, was obliged to send a force of 40,000 men in all haste. The attack against the Armenians, who in Cairo form but a numerically small and generally poor colony, is revealing; it is the signature of the Young Turk Committee. The agitators profited by local circumstances and motives of native discontent; they sought to stir up the young men of the university by invoking the interests of Islam; but their true design was to bring about a manifestation in favor of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and the Young Turks; the incidents of Egypt are directly connected with the disorders in India, Syria, and Kurdistan.

MAKING TROUBLE IN INDIA

In the great Hindu peninsula the disorders began in the month of April; popular orators excited the Mussulmans to revolt and spoke of the riots in Egypt in their harangues; they also invoked

the Bolshevik example in Russia. From April 10 to April 15 serious troubles broke out at Amritsar, Lahore, Bombay, Ahmedabad; the whole Punjab was in rebellion; at Calcutta on the 15th there were twelve casualties. The Mussulmans sought to draw the Hindus with them, but with indifferent success; the agitators spoke of the right of free determination, but it was perceived that Turkish agents were at the head of the movement, spreading false rumors among the ignorant masses. In the first days of May, order was gradually restored, but on May 9 a complication occurred; the Emir of Afghanistan, Amanullah Khan—successor of Emir Habidullah, assassinated, according to all probability, by Turko-German agents—demanded the complete independence of his country and dispatched armed bands across the Indian frontier. The British Government was obliged to summon troops, which took the offensive and compelled the Emir speedily to ask for peace.

At Aleppo at the end of February, at Adana on March 10, grave episodes occurred; Armenians were killed, and the French and English commanders were forced to intervene to restore public order. On the Persian frontier, among the Kurdish tribes, the Young Turk Committee organized armed bands to prevent the Armenians who had taken refuge in Persia from returning to their country; Haidar Bey, former vali of Van, directed the movement.

Thus everywhere the disorders have the same character and the same source; the Young Turk Committees of Constantinople and Berne direct the movement, obeying secret orders. The approach of inevitable justice maddens the guilty wretches; the idea that, despite their bloodthirsty zeal, there still remain Armenians who are preparing to return to their devastated homes and to create there, with the support of the Allies, a great independent State, excites the rage of the torturers. The longer the indecision of the Peace Conference and the inactivity of the Allies continue, the more the audacity of the Turks increases and the further they carry their intrigues.

Germany and the Armenian Massacres

Official Documents from Berlin

A COLLECTION of German official documents compiled by Dr. Johannes Lepsius, founder of the German Orient Mission and President of the German Armenian Society, was published in Berlin with the authority of the Wilhelmstrasse toward the end of August, 1919. It is entitled "Germany and Armenia: 1914-1918," and is a volume of over 500 pages, issued by the Potsdam Tempelverlag.

Dr. Lepsius asked leave last November, after the Berlin revolution, to consult the archives of the German Foreign Office for correspondence bearing upon Armenia, and Dr. Solf, then Foreign Secretary, informed him that if he would collate and publish the documents in question the Foreign Office would abandon its projected White Book upon Armenia in order to avoid duplication. The book that resulted from this arrangement is the first full and authentic account of the relations existing between Germany and Turkey. Basing his investigations on free and unlimited examination of all German official correspondence from Turkey, Dr. Lepsius, as editor, assumes complete responsibility for his exhaustively documented work.

Dr. Lepsius disclaims any desire to accuse or to exculpate any one. But his array of evidence shows that from the Imperial Chancellor in Berlin down to the lowest grade official in Anatolia, the whole of the German Foreign Service knew day by day what was happening in Armenia. Hindenburg and Ludendorff were as well aware of every detail as were the veteran von der Goltz and Liman von Sanders. The Main Committee of the Reichstag shared the guilty secret. Yet nothing effective was done to bring the Turks to their senses. At Constantinople the German Ambassador of the day confined himself to making academic representations at stated intervals. The Turks in return gave Germany to understand that it was her business to win the war, and not to meddle in Turkish internal affairs. The

Germans, for their part, appreciated only too clearly the retort to which their own policy of deportation in France and Belgium ultimately exposed them.

Dr. Lepsius's labors also afford the German public its first comprehensive view of what he describes as "perhaps the greatest persecution of Christians of all time."

The drama opened in Constantinople with an Oriental St. Bartholomew's Night on April 25, 1915, when 600 Armenian notables were arrested, deported, and done to death. In Armenia itself a so-called "rising" at Van furnished the pretext for the wholesale massacres and deportations that continued until the end of the year. And from December, 1915, began the period of systematic conversion to Islam. In this proceeding German diplomacy was prepared to acquiesce, on the ground that "in the East creed and nationality are synonymous." But even the German diplomats had to acknowledge that the Decree of Aug. 1, 1916, determining the political and religious rights of the Armenians, was designed to terminate the very existence of the Armenian Nation.

Dr. Lepsius estimates that before the war 1,845,450 Armenians had their homes in the Ottoman dominions. During the war the Turks deported nearly 1,400,000 persons, and of these no fewer than 1,000,000 perished, not including some 50,000 to 100,000 Armenians of the Caucasus who are also "missing." No other nation, Dr. Lepsius observes, even among those that took direct part in the war, can show such a record of loss. The value of Armenian property confiscated by the Turks is estimated at 1,000,000,000 marks (nominally \$250,000,000).

Dr. Lepsius couples the ferocious greed of the Young Turks with the trumped-up *raison d'état* of the Nationalist Constantinople Committee as the mainspring of the policy of extermination. Talaat, Halil and Enver are exhibited as its most conspicuous exponents.

The Young Turks remained willfully blind to the inevitable loss of economic, and indeed of military, efficiency that followed from the persecution of the Armenians.

But there is nobody here now [wrote Count Paul Wolff-Metternich, then Ambassador, to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg in 1916] strong enough to tame the many-headed hydra of the committee, with its chauvinism and fanaticism. The committee insists that the last remnants of the Armenians shall be devoured, and the Government has to submit. But there is now little left for the hungry wolves of the committee to extort from these wretched creatures. * * * To "Turkify" means to expel or to kill everything that is not Turkish—it means to destroy and forcibly to annex other people's property. Herein for the moment, and in the childish repetition of French Liberal phrases, consists the vaunted new birth of Turkey.

Prince Hohenlohe on one occasion, and Count Wolff-Metternich on another, urged von Bethmann Hollweg to consider the expediency of publicly dissociating Germany from the Armenian horrors by means of articles in the German press. This ingenuous proposal evoked no response from the Wilhelmstrasse. On the contrary, the North-German Gazette, the Berlin semi-official organ, was allowed to publish Turkish official denials of the massacres and vigorous protests against the slanderous imputation of the enemy press that the Ottoman Government had anything to do with any "excesses" that might have been committed.

The last phase of Turkish militancy was inaugurated by the Brest-Litovsk Treaty in March, 1918, and extended, as far as Dr. Lepsius's documents are concerned, down to the capture of Baku in September, 1918. On the strength of the Brest Treaty the Turks occupied not only the assigned districts of Ardahan, Kars, and Batum, but advanced into the more densely populated Armenian lands beyond. As this advance threatened to engage too deeply the Turkish reserves, which he desired to see employed nearer home, Ludendorff in June, 1918, addressed from German Main Headquarters a strong remonstrance, based entirely on military considerations, to Enver. Hindenburg indorsed Ludendorff's injunction, and pleaded "as a Christian"

that the Caucasus populations might be preserved. Enver returned an evasive reply.

An indictment of the attitude of the Central Powers in the face of Turkey's avowed purpose to exterminate the Armenian Nation is contained in a dispatch from Tiflis addressed to the Berlin Foreign Office on Aug. 20, 1918, by the Bavarian General, Baron Kress von Kressenstein, sometime Chief of Staff to Djemal Pasha's Fourth Turkish Army in Syria, who, after the Brest-Litovsk conference, had been appointed German High Commissioner in the Caucasus, with instructions to study the Armenian question on the spot. In this dispatch Baron von Kressenstein said:

If all the despairing cries for help on the part of the Government and clergy of Armenia pass unheeded, the responsibility for the annihilation of this ancient Christian people will lie forever upon Germany and Austria. History will not, and can not, admit that the two great Christian empires of Central Europe were not in a position to impose their will upon their Asiatic ally, at least in such a case as this, where the life and death of a whole people are at stake.

As for the entry of the Turks, under Nuri Pasha, into Baku on Sept. 16-17, 1918, it appears from an extraordinary dispatch sent by Lieut. Col. Paraquin, the German Chief of Staff to the Turkish Eastern Army Group, that the Turks did not even spare the nationals of their German ally. In this dispatch Colonel Paraquin said that he was besieged by German residents begging for protection, and on their heels followed the neutral Consuls on a similar errand. These appeals were communicated to the Pashas with an urgent request for attention. But the Pashas and their suites were engrossed in the preparations for a full-dress banquet. While the Pashas and their German confederates made merry, the inhabitants of Baku were being plundered and murdered. "The Turks," says Colonel Paraquin, "did not allow themselves to be disturbed."

In the evening the Danish Consul appeared in the great hall of the Hotel Metropole, where the convivialities were in full swing, and reported to Colonel Paraquin that German houses were being plundered and that the lives of the

occupants were in danger. The German Colonel thereupon strode up to Nuri Pasha and in a loud voice said to him:

Your Excellency, I beg of you now at last to take effective steps for the protection of the Germans. If not, I shall be compelled to report to the German Embassy at Constantinople how little you protect German life and property!

Nuri was taken aback, but protested that he had done everything possible. The Colonel pointed out that not a single senior officer had yet visited the town, and that the troops, instead of being told off on guard duty, had merely been paraded for inspection. The Colonel declares that, although the moment was

not one for polite amenities, he employed no word or gesture that might be calculated to give offense. Nevertheless, on the following day, Sept. 18, Halil Pasha sent his aide de camp to Colonel Paraquin with a message to say that, in view of the Colonel's conduct toward Nuri Pasha in public the day before, he was relieved of his post as Chief of Staff to the Eastern Army Group.

All the satisfaction that General von Kressenstein, the German High Commissioner at Tiflis, could get from Nuri was an assurance in French that any "little accidents" that might have occurred would be repaired.

Syria and the Anglo-French Pact

Tentative Spheres of Influence

THE presence of British troops in Syria, the portion of the former Turkish Empire claimed by France, caused increasing friction for several months, but the issue was amicably adjusted early in September by frank conferences in Syria between Lord Allenby and General La Forcade, and a little later by similar conferences in Paris between Premier Lloyd George and the French Government. The arrest of the pro-French Emir Saïd by the British called forth many indignant articles in the French press, which charged the British with working against French aspirations in Syria. The criticism at all times was tempered by French gratitude for what that the British had done in the war, but the possibility of serious misunderstanding was finally removed by the announcement, on Sept. 16, 1919, that a satisfactory agreement between the two Governments regarding the distribution of spheres of influence in Syria and adjoining provinces had been concluded.

Lord Allenby himself had stated in Paris on Sept. 10 that Great Britain would recognize the mandate of France in Syria. The British, he said, were in Syria for purely military reasons, and left all political matters to France.

The main lines of the agreement ultimately reached were published by the Temps on Sept. 16. By virtue of this agreement Great Britain from Nov. 1 was to evacuate all the territories north of a tentative frontier between Syria and Palestine, it being understood that this frontier had only a provisional character and that its outline might be modified when the Peace Conference decided finally on the political organization of the Levant.

The district of Mosul was apparently not included in the regions in which Great Britain intended to cease to be responsible for the maintenance of order. On the other hand, it was agreed that the departure of the British troops should not have as its consequence the occupation by French troops of the four cities of Damascus, Hama, Homs, and Aleppo, which are in "Zone A," in which the Anglo-French Agreement of 1916 provided for the constitution of an Arab State or confederation of Arab States. Nevertheless, the Arab power would henceforth look to the French and not to the British Government for support and advice.

Among the territories in which the relief of the British troops would be carried out by French troops figures Cilicia-

in which are already French units, as well as a French mission under the direction of Colonel Brémont.

This distribution of responsibilities and forces of occupation was not in any way to prejudice subsequent communications between the two Governments with regard to political questions which might arise in Syria or final solutions which can only be decided by the Peace Conference.

Regarding the decision to leave Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo out of the zone of direct military occupation, it was understood that the British Government communicated to the French Government certain documents showing, first, that as early as Nov. 23, 1915, Sir Arthur Nicolson, then Permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office, acquainted M. Picot, the delegate of the French Government, with the negotiations proceeding between the British Government and the Shereef of Mecca, and with the demand of the Shereef touching the four towns in question; secondly, that at a fresh meeting on Dec. 21, 1915, at the Foreign Office, M. Picot informed Sir Arthur Nicolson that the French Government acquiesced in the four cities being administered by the Arabs themselves under French influence; thirdly, that in a letter of May 16, 1916, in which Sir Edward Grey gave his signature to the Anglo-French Agreement concerning the Levant, it was specified that the Arabs were to "obtain the cities of Homs, Hama, Damascus, and Aleppo."

Both the *Paris Temps* and *The London Times* pointed out that the documents presented by the British Government showed no contradiction between the promises made by the British Government to the Shereef of Mecca and the Anglo-French Agreement of 1916, and that the very text of this agreement in the first article, which speaks of "Zone A," and in the second article, in which allusion is made to negotiations to be continued with the Arabs, manifestly took into account the engagements entered into with the latter.

The whole question of tentative British and French spheres of influence in the Levant was illuminated by Colonel

Thomas Lawrence—whose activities in Syria during the war are described elsewhere in this issue—in a running description of British promises made both to the French and to the Arabs. These promises were embodied in four documents, which Colonel Lawrence defined as follows in a communication to *The Manchester Guardian* on Sept. 12:

DOCUMENT I.—The British promise to King Hussein, dated Oct. 24, 1915. It undertakes, conditional on an Arab revolt, to recognize the "independence of the Arabs" south of latitude 37 degrees, except in the provinces of Bagdad and Basra, where British interests require special measures of administrative control, and except where Great Britain is not "free to act without detriment to the interests of France."

[N. B.—Hussein asked for no personal position, and for no particular Government or Governments.]

DOCUMENT II.—The Sykes-Picot Agreement made between England and France in May, 1916. It divides the Arabic provinces of Turkey into five zones, roughly—(a) Palestine from the Jordan to the Mediterranean, to be "international"; (b) Haifa and Mesopotamia from near Tekrit to the Gulf to be "British"; (c) the Syrian coast, from Tyre to Alexandretta, Cilicia, and most of Southern Armenia, from Sivas to Diarbekir, to be "French"; (d) the interior (mainly the provinces of Aleppo, Damascus, Urfa, Deir, and Mosul) to be "independent Arab" under two shades of influence—

(i.) Between the lines Akaba-Kuweit and Haifa-Tekrit, the French to seek no "political influence," and the British to have economic and political priority, and the right to supply "such advisers as the Arabs desire."

(ii.) Between the line Haifa-Tekrit and the southern edge of French Armenia or Kurdistan, Great Britain to seek no "political influence," and the French to have economic and political priority and the right to supply "such advisers as the Arabs desire."

[N. B.—The geography of the agreement is the geography of the White Knight, and it makes a similar irruption into economics when it lays down that the Bagdad Railway may not be finished till a Euphrates Railway has been built!]

DOCUMENT III.—The British statement to the seven Syrians of Cairo dated June 11, 1917. This assures them that pre-war Arab States, and Arab areas freed by military action of their inhabitants during the war, shall remain entirely independent.

[N. B.—This assurance was unqualified, and might have conflicted with Document I. or Document II., but was regulated locally by arrangement between Allenby and Faisal, by which the Arab army operated almost entirely in the area given to the Arabs in Document II.]



UNDER THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT THE FRENCH HOLD SYRIA AND THE BRITISH ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR PALESTINE—ALSO FOR THE MOSUL DISTRICT. THE FRENCH OCCUPY CILICIA. THEY EVACUATE DAMASCUS, HAMA, HOMS, AND ALEPPO, AS THESE CITIES ARE PROMISED TO THE KINGDOM OF HEDJAZ. THE MAP SHOWS LATITUDE 37 DEGREES, MARKING THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE ARAB STATE UNDER THE AGREEMENT OF 1916 WITH KING HUSSEIN. THE LINES HAIFA-TEKRIT AND AKABA-KOWEIK MARK THE NORTH AND SOUTH BOUNDARIES OF THE BRITISH AREA CONCEDED IN THE ANGLO-FRENCH AGREEMENT OF 1916.

DOCUMENT IV.—The Anglo-French Declaration of Nov. 9, 1918. In this Great Britain and France agree to encourage native Governments in Syria and Mesopotamia, and without imposition to assure the normal working of such Governments as the peoples shall themselves have adopted.

[N.B.—This was interpreted in the Orient as changing the "direct" British and French areas "b" and "c" of Document II. to spheres of influence.]

[The author of Document I. was Sir Henry McMahon. Document II. and III. were by Sir Mark Sykes. Lord Robert Cecil authorized IV. They were all produced under stress of military urgency to induce the Arabs to fight on our side.]

The misunderstanding between the British and French was largely due to the inability of Britain to withdraw her promises to the Arabs, on the basis of which the allied nations secured the Shereef of Mecca (now King of the Hedjaz) as an ally against the Turk.

When Emir Feisal, during his former visit to Paris, declined to accept France as a mandatary for Syria, Great Britain declared formally that she would not accept the mandate in France's stead. Regarding Mosul, it was agreed during M. Clemenceau's visit to England in December, 1918, that the Mosul district should go to Britain as an integral part of Mesopotamia. The arrangement by which the British evacuation of Damascus, Hamal, Homs, and Aleppo will not be followed by the French occupation thereof was due to the fact that the boundary of the new Arab State by the 1916 treaty was placed slightly west of these towns. At this writing (Oct. 10) Emir Feisal is on his way to London at the request of the British Government to discuss the mandate for his own country, the Hedjaz.

The Anglo-Persian Agreement

Great Britain Provides Advisory, Military, and Financial Aid, but Denies Planning a Protectorate

AN agreement was concluded at Teheran, Persia, on Aug. 9, 1919, between Great Britain and Persia in regard to the future political, economical, and financial relations of the two countries, and two letters sent by the British Minister at Teheran to the Persian Prime Minister entered into supplementary verbal engagements. The full text of the two main instruments, as well as of the two letters, was made public in England on Aug. 16 and given out by the State Department at Washington on Sept. 19. The first instrument embodies Great Britain's agreement to supply, at Persia's expense, expert advisers, military officers, munitions, and equipment to form and supply an army to maintain order in Persia and along her borders. The second provides for a loan of £2,000,000, at 7 per cent., redeemable in twenty years, and possessing priority over all other debts except a former British loan of £1,250,000 made on May 8, 1911. In return for the new loan Persia pledges her customs receipts. The letters offer aid in recovering Persia's war claims and in arranging her boundary lines.

TEXT OF AGREEMENTS

The text of the two official agreements, of the agreement of May 8, 1911, and of the official letters transmitted, is given herewith:

No. 1

Agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and Persia.

Preamble: In virtue of the close ties of friendship which have existed between the two Governments in the past, and in the conviction that it is in the essential and mutual interests of both in future that these ties should be cemented, and that the progress and prosperity of Persia should be promoted to the utmost, it is hereby agreed between the Persian Government on the one hand and his Britannic Majesty's Minister, acting on behalf of his Government, on the other, as follows:

1. The British Government reiterate, in the most categorical manner, the undertakings which they have repeatedly given in the past to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia.

2. The British Government will supply, at the cost of the Persian Government, the services of whatever expert advisers may, after consultation between the two Governments, be considered necessary for the several departments of the Persian administration. These advisers shall be engaged on contracts and endowed with adequate powers, the nature of which shall be the matter of agreement between the Persian Government and the advisers.

3. The British Government will supply, at the cost of the Persian Government, such officers and such munitions and equipment of modern type as may be adjudged necessary by a joint commission of military experts, British and Persian, which shall assemble forthwith for the purpose of estimating the needs of Persia in respect of the formation of a uniform force which the Persian Government proposes to create for the establishment and preservation of order in the country and on its frontiers.

4. For the purpose of financing the reforms indicated in Clauses 2 and 3 of this agreement, the British Government offer to provide or arrange a substantial loan for the Persian Government, for which adequate security shall be sought by the two Governments in consultation in the revenues of the customs or other sources of income at the disposal of the Persian Government. Pending the completion of negotiations for such a loan, the British Government will supply on account of it such funds as may be necessary for initiating the said reforms.

5. The British Government, fully recognizing the urgent need which exists for the improvement of communications in Persia, with a view both to the extension of trade and the prevention of famine, are prepared to co-operate with the Persian Government for the encouragement of Anglo-Persian enterprise in this direction, both by means of railway construction and other forms of transport; subject always to the examination of the problems by experts and to agreement between the two Governments as to the particular projects which may be most necessary, practicable, and profitable.

6. The two Governments agree to the appointment forthwith of a joint committee of experts for the examination and revision of the existing customs tariff with a view to its reconstruction on a basis calculated to accord

with the legitimate interests of the country and to promote its prosperity.

Signed at Teheran, Aug. 9, 1919.

No. 2

Agreement relating to loan of £2,000,000, at 7 per cent., redeemable in twenty years.

Preamble: Contract between the British Government and the Persian Government with reference to an agreement concluded this day between the said Governments. It is agreed as follows:

Article 1.—The British Government grant a loan of £2,000,000 to the Persian Government, to be paid to the Persian Government as required in such installments and at such dates as may be indicated by the Persian Government after the British Financial Adviser shall have taken up the duties of his office at Teheran, as provided for in the aforesaid agreement.

Art. 2.—The Persian Government undertakes to pay interest monthly at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum upon sums advanced in accordance with Article 1 up to March 20, 1921, and thereafter to pay monthly such amount as will suffice to liquidate the principal sum and interest thereon at 7 per cent. per annum in twenty years.

Art. 3.—All the revenues and customs receipts assigned in virtue of the contract of May 8, 1911, for the repayment of the loan of £1,250,000 are assigned for the repayment of the present loan with continuity of all conditions stipulated in the said contract, and with priority over all debts other than the 1911 loan and subsequent advances made by the British Government. In case of insufficiency of the receipts indicated above, the Persian Government undertakes to make good the necessary sums from other resources, and for this purpose the Persian Government hereby assigns to the service of the present loan and of the other advances above mentioned, in priority and with continuity of conditions stipulated in the aforesaid contract, the customs receipts of all other regions, in so far as these receipts are or shall be at its disposal.

Art. 4.—The Persian Government will have the right of repayment of the present loan at any date out of the proceeds of any British loan which it may contract for.

Signed at Teheran, Aug. 9, 1919.

No. 3

Article 5 of contract between the Persian Government and the Imperial Bank of Persia relating to the Persian Government 5 per cent. loan of £1,250,000 of May 8, 1911.

(Included for reference)

Art. 5.—The Imperial Government of Persia specially assigns to the service of the loan, and as a first charge thereon, subject only to prior charges amounting to £15,714 1s. 10d.

per annum for three years, and £30,278 12s. 7d. per annum from the year 1913 to the year 1928. The full net customs receipts of every description which the Government now is, or at any time hereafter may be, entitled to collect and receive at all ports or places in the Persian Gulf, including Bushire, Bunder Abbas, Lingah, Mohammerah, and Ahwaz, which receipts are hereby made payable to the Bank, and the Imperial Government of Persia hereby engages forthwith after receipt thereof to pay to the Bank all such customs receipts as aforesaid without deduction other than for actual expenses of administration of the customs of the said ports disbursed prior to the date of such payment.

(a) The Imperial Government of Persia undertakes that throughout the continuance of the loan all sums collected by the customs administration shall be paid to the Bank at the ports of collection or at its nearest branch, week by week, for meeting the prior charges referred to above and for the service of the loan, and an account of such receipts shall be submitted to the Persian Government by the Bank at the end of each month.

(b) The Bank shall, out of the moneys so collected, pay the prior charges above mentioned, and the interest and sinking fund of the loan, and shall hold the surplus at the disposal of the Imperial Government of Persia.

(c) The bank undertakes, out of the moneys so received, to pay on behalf of the Imperial Government of Persia the half-yearly coupon in London, and supervise the working of the sinking fund and service of the loan free of charges connected with the same.

(d) In the event of the customs receipts of the above-mentioned ports for any three months falling short of the amount required for the prior charges and the service of the loan, either for interest or amortization, the Imperial Government of Persia binds itself to make good such deficiency from other sources of Government revenue, and, further, should receipts from these sources fall below the amount required as above, the Persian Government hereby assigns for this purpose the revenue derived from the receipts of the telegraphs—this assignment to constitute a second charge on the said telegraph receipts up to the year 1928, after which the telegraph receipts will be free.

No. 4

Sir P. Cox to his Highness Vossug-ed-Dowleh.

British Legation, Teheran, Aug. 9, 1919.

Your Highness: I trust your Highness has been able, during your successful direction of affairs of the Persian State, to convince yourself that his Britannic Majesty's Government have always endeavored to support to the utmost the efforts of your Highness's Cabinet, on the one hand to restore order and security in the interior of the country, and on the other to maintain a policy of close co-

operation between the Persian and British Governments.

As further evidence of the good-will by which the Cabinet of London is inspired, I am now authorized to inform your Highness that, in the event of the agreement regarding projects of reforms which your Government contemplates introducing in Persia being concluded, his Britannic Majesty's Government will be prepared in due course to co-operate with the Persian Government with a view to the realization of the following desiderata:

1. The revision of the treaties actually in force between the two powers.

2. The claim of Persia to compensation for material damage suffered at the hands of other belligerents.

3. The rectification of the frontier of Persia at the points where it is agreed upon by the parties to be justifiable.

The precise manner, time, and means to be chosen for pursuing these aims shall be discussed, as soon as practicable, by the two Governments. I have, &c., P. Z. COX.

No. 5

Sir P. Cox to his Highness Vossug-ed-Dowleh.

British Legation, Teheran, Aug. 9, 1919.

Your Highness. With reference to the second desideratum indicated in my previous letter of today's date, it is understood and agreed between the two Governments reciprocally that, on the one hand, his Majesty's Government will not claim from the Government of his Majesty the Shah the cost of the maintenance of British troops which his Majesty's Government were obliged to send to Persia owing to Persia's want of power to defend her neutrality, and that on the other hand the Persian Government will not claim from the British Government an indemnity for any damage which may have been caused by the said troops during their presence in Persian territory.

It is to be understood, however, that this agreement of the two parties does not in any way affect the claims of individuals and private institutions, which will be dealt with independently.

A note from your Highness informing me that you accept this position on behalf of the Persian Government will suffice to record the agreement of the two Governments on this subject. I have, &c., P. Z. COX.

ENGLISH EXPLANATION

The English explanation of the events that led to the signing of the Anglo-Persian agreement was as follows:

When the operations on the western front were approaching the stage of final success, the Shah appointed Vossug-ed-Dowleh Prime Minister. He, as well as two other Ministers, was favor-

able to British interests. Almost at the same time Great Britain sent as Minister to Teheran Sir Percy Cox. It was desired to conclude an agreement with Persia which would make it possible to safeguard British interests and prevent a recurrence of the difficulties encountered during the war, and which would give Persia the support she needed to maintain her position among the independent nations of the world. The Persian Government, according to this account, realized that Great Britain was the only great neighboring power interested in her fate and able to lend her assistance from a disinterested point of view.

She decided therefore of her own volition to ask Great Britain's aid in putting Persia's situation upon a sound basis, and to conclude an agreement by virtue of which the former country would be able to give to Persia the assistance she required. The possibility of a protectorate was specifically excluded by the first article of the agreement, which brought an end to the intrigues and jealousies of the different powers that had been disorganizing the country.

FOREIGN COMMENT

The publication of the treaty, however, aroused considerable comment abroad, some of it hostile. The Chicago Tribune, in its Paris edition, declared that the treaty was in contradiction not only with the Fourteen Points of President Wilson, but also with the clauses of the League of Nations. Many bitter attacks upon the treaty appeared in the French Press, especially in the Temps. Prominent Persians in Paris charged that the treaty reduced their independence to a mockery by placing all their financial and military affairs under British control; also, that it violated Article 10 of the League of Nations covenant. They asserted that under this agreement Persia was placed in the grip of England for twenty years at least by the period fixed for payment of the £2,000,000 loan, with no assurance that military and financial control would end even then.

The Echo de Paris objected that the treaty had been concluded without sub-

mitting it to the League of Nations. Commenting on the treaty terms it said:

If the above stipulations do not constitute a most complete protectorate, then words have lost their meaning. Doubtless nowhere is a formal protectorate mentioned, and doubtless a clause announces the independence and full integrity of Persia, but the substance of the agreement will fool no one.

Le Figaro also said that the Anglo-Persian agreement was equivalent to a protectorate and quoted The Morning Post of London, which said: "Were we not concerned in this matter we should say this was a protectorate."

The Temps on Aug. 16 virtually accused England of violating the covenant of the League of Nations. The promise to respect the integrity and independence of Persia it characterized as an oratorical precaution, and declared that Persian independence was attacked by the treaty itself. Persian sovereignty, it said, was lost by the clauses forcing Persia to employ only British officers and intrusting her finances only to British specialists. Persia, one of the nations invited to join the League of Nations, became the victim of what Article X. of the covenant especially forbade. Further, the Temps continued, Persia has a Constitution—that of 1907—which provides that all treaties must be ratified by its Assembly unless for the sake of expediency they are secret treaties. But this treaty cannot be considered secret because England has repudiated secret diplomacy. It cannot be ratified by the Assembly because no Assembly exists, and none can be elected under the existing régime of British military occupation. The Temps added that France resented this Persian treaty on moral grounds because of its violation of Wilsonian principles and of the League of Nations covenant, and asserted that France had no ulterior motive for its attitude and no intention to ask of England compensatory advantages to condone the offense.

Of the English papers The Daily News stood out in disapproval. Its comment was in part as follows:

Great Britain, having secured by the present agreement a position of monopoly in Persia, is prepared to consider doing for herself and us between herself and Persia what Persia desired the Peace

Conference to do in the name of the Allies as a whole. Why did Great Britain frustrate that legitimate and reasonable desire? Was it in order to retain a lever to raise herself into the position of preponderance she obtains by the present treaty? The suspicion may be ill-founded—we should be thankful to be convinced that it was—but few agreements have worn an uglier look.

Other British papers approved the agreement and disclaimed the designs attributed by foreign criticism. The Daily Chronicle said:

No doubt we shall be accused of endeavoring to establish in Persia a second Egypt, but that is not our intention, nor is it to the interests of this country. A prosperous, well-governed, self-dependent and friendly Persia will be of infinitely more value to us than discontented and dependent. With a frontier bordering upon Russia, it is to her interest and ours that she should be free; for, even if we wanted—which we do not—another Egypt, we should not wish to have it in that place, above all others, where we need a friendly buffer State. We want an independent Persia for precisely the same reason that we have always wanted an independent Afghanistan.

The Morning Post commented as follows:

We do not think the new agreement can arouse the objection of any foreign Government; and, indeed, the services of British troops during the war when they occupied the Caspian region and Bagdad and held (what they still hold) the line from Bagdad to Kasvin, thus preventing the Germans from entering Asia by that route, entitle this country to some recognition.

ATTITUDE OF UNITED STATES

London representatives of American oil interests viewed the agreement as an attempt to assure British control over the great Persian oil fields and other natural resources such as the British Government had been planning in the Euphrates Valley; in this connection The London Chronicle's financial editor said that while the agreement was pre-eminently political, it was also true that the Government controlled the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and no doubt had an eye to its financial interests in Persia.

Officially the Government of the United States had been inclined to favor Persian participation in the Peace Con-

ference. Before it convened, the Persian Government had made representations both to the United States and Great Britain on its right of representation. One of the grounds on which it based this claim was that England, Russia, and Turkey had violated Persian neutrality during the war, the British, in especial, having established military bases on Persian territory and used it as a ground for military operations. In a reply to Persia's request sent by Secretary Lansing to Mirza Ali Kuli Khan, then Persian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, it was stated that "The Government of the United States regards with sympathy the request that Persian delegates be admitted to the Peace Conference with power to take part in the discussion and determination of all questions with which Persia is interested or concerned." The Persian Government sent its delegation to Paris in January. All American efforts to secure the delegation's participation in the conference, however, proved abortive, and the mission was allowed only to present certain claims of its country on Feb. 14, followed by a supplementary memorandum on March 23 and a reminder on April 6. The Persians declared that no reasonable attention had been paid to their demands.

It was stated on Aug. 29 that Kaighosrow Shahrokh, member and Chief Custodian of the Persian Parliament, who was sent to the United States on a special mission, and who is now in Washington, had filed with Secretary Lansing a protest against the Anglo-Persian agreement, and that other influential Persians in the United States had begun to organize a movement against the new arrangement.

BRITISH OFFICIAL DENIALS

Officially, meanwhile, the British Government denied all designs on Persia. Cecil B. Harmsworth, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, addressing the House of Commons on Aug. 18, said:

The policy of his Majesty's Government is to assist Persia to re-establish herself on a sound basis. There is not the slightest foundation for a suspicion that the Government proposed or that the Persian Government would have consented

to create anything in the nature of a protectorate.

The Persian Government turned to Great Britain as her most powerful friendly neighbor, and this Government would have departed from its traditional policy of warm interest in the Persian Government had it declined to respond to her appeal.

Mr. Harmsworth said the attitude of the Persian Cabinet and the impending visit of the Shah to England constituted a sufficient answer to all the insinuations.

On Sept. 19 Earl Curzon, Government leader in the House of Lords and President of the council, speaking at a dinner given in London in honor of the Foreign Minister of Persia, said in part:

The independence of Persia is a British as well as a Persian interest. Indeed, our main interest in Persia is its independence. We do not want Persia to be a mere buffer against our enemies. We want her to be a bulwark for the peace of the world, and I can assure our guest he need have no fears upon that point. We shall respect the independence of his country.

We did not ask at the Peace Conference for a mandate in respect to Persia. Had it been offered, we should not have accepted it. I do not believe for a moment that Persia would have asked for it. We prefer to trade with Persia as a partner on equal terms, with that country enjoying her own sovereignty and capable of dealing with us on terms of partnership.

I do not conceal from myself that, fully as we understand the agreement concluded between us, suspicions have been aroused as to its real character. These suspicions rest, in the main, upon a misconception which should not be difficult to remove. I see it stated in some quarters that this agreement is a veiled protectorate by Great Britain over Persia. I take it that a protectorate means some assumption of exclusive responsibility and some curtailment or restriction in the protected country's liberties.

I find no evidence of such a condition of affairs in this agreement. I would not have been a party to any attempt to set up a British protectorate over Persia. In any case, it would have been impossible, because Persia would neither have asked for nor accepted it. On the contrary, she would have resented and resisted it. I should have been opposed to it because it would have been contrary to our repeated engagements, and, in the last resort, because I should have regarded it as inimical to British interests.

We have, or shall have, as a result of this war enough to do in the eastern parts

of the world. If a nation assumes a protectorate, it also assumes certain responsibilities which have a tendency to attain the weight of a heavy burden. Above all, it is compelled to give financial assistance on a scale which may ultimately be overwhelming. Therefore neither I nor my colleagues would have consented to or acquiesced in anything like the creation of a British protectorate over Persia.

DENIES VIOLATION OF LEAGUE

Those who believe the British are going, as a result of this agreement, to settle down in Persia and to Anglicize, to Indianize or Europeanize it in any sense of the term are grossly mistaken. All we want to do is to give Persia expert assistance and financial aid which will enable her to carve out her own fortunes as an independent and still living country.

I see it stated in some quarters that this agreement is a disparagement or deliberate neglect of the League of Nations. Articles X. and XX. of the covenant are supposed in some sense to have been ignored by us.

I would say emphatically, on behalf of my Government and after a conversation with his Highness this afternoon, that both his Government and mine accept unreservedly Articles X. and XX. of the covenant of the League of Nations; and that we see in them nothing inconsistent with what we have done. On the contrary, as soon as the treaty of peace is ratified and as soon as the Council of the League of Nations comes into effective existence, it is the intention of his Government and mine to communicate the agreement to the council of the League with a full explanation and defense of its contents.

There is another point in the agreement concerning which there has been some misunderstanding. There is a passage in it which says the two Governments had agreed to the appointment of a joint committee of experts for the examination and revision of existing customs tariffs, and it seems to have been inferred that Great Britain is claiming the right to revise

customs treaties, not only between Persia and Great Britain, but between Persia and foreign powers. An examination of the text shows there is no ground for this suspicion.

Again, when we undertake in this agreement to co-operate with the Persian Government for the encouragement of Anglo-Persian enterprises, for the development of the country, we create thereby no monopoly. We claim no exclusive rights for ourselves to the exclusion of other powers, and, indeed, some of them have rendered substantial service to that country. . . .

I ask our guest to give, as I am confident he will be able to do, recognition of the fact that in the recent negotiations between us both parties acted with absolute freedom and were subject to no pressure whatsoever. We could not have imposed this agreement upon Persia if Persia had not been willing to accept it, and that country could not have wrung it from us. We are jointly prepared to defend this agreement, and look forward to the vindication of its real character in its operation.

Prince Firuz, Persian Foreign Minister, speaking in Teheran for the Shah, who was in Paris incognito, stated on Oct. 11 that Persia had sent a delegation to the Peace Conference when it was first organized, but the delegates had been refused admission; in the distracted condition of the country it had turned to Great Britain for financial and other assistance, and had received it. The agreement concluded with the British Ministry, he said, would be submitted to the Persian Parliament at an early date, and then to the League of Nations for approval. "Nothing in this agreement," he added, "affects the independence of Persia. It gives no permanent rights to Great Britain, nor any monopolies. We can ourselves fix the powers of counselors and of any military instructors it may please us to accept from England."

Text of the Shantung Treaty of 1898

What China Conceded to Germany

CHINA refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles because that treaty gave to Japan, temporarily, at least, the concessions formerly wrung from China by the German Empire; the President of China, however, issued a mandate at

Peking on Sept. 24, 1919, announcing the termination of the war between that country and Germany. The mandate stated that, though China had refused to sign the treaty, it now recognized all the articles of that document except the

one relating to the Shantung concessions. In view of the continued importance of the Shantung question in international affairs CURRENT HISTORY here presents the text of the original treaty of March 6, 1898, between Germany and China, which came into force with the formal exchange of ratifications at Berlin on April 29, 1898. The portions of the treaty embodying the "commercial concessions" (Parts II. and III.) were not made public officially until ten years later.

Following is the text of the entire document as translated from the German official version:

The incident at the mission station in the prefecture of Tsaouchoufu in Shantung having now been settled by amicable agreement, the Imperial Chinese Government regards the occasion as a suitable one for giving a special and concrete proof of its grateful recognition of the friendship which has hitherto at all times been manifested by Germany toward China. In consequence, the Imperial German Government and the Imperial Chinese Government, inspired by the mutual and reciprocal desire to strengthen the bonds of friendship between their two countries and further to develop the economic and trade relations of the citizens of the two States respectively with each other, have concluded the following special convention:

Part I.—Leasing-Arrangements Concerning Kiao-Chau

ARTICLE I.—His Majesty the Emperor of China, in pursuance of the object of strengthening the friendly relations between China and Germany, and increasing the military preparedness of the Chinese Empire, gives his promise—while he reserves to himself all rights of sovereignty in a zone fifty kilometers (one hundred Chinese li) in width surrounding the line of high-water mark of Kiao-Chau Bay—to permit within this zone the free passage of German troops at all times, and also to make no decree concerning measures of policy or administration affecting this zone without the previous assent of the German Government; and especially not to interpose any hindrance to any regulation of the water courses which at any time may become necessary. His Majesty the Emperor of China hereby reserves to himself the right, in friendly understanding with the German Government, to station troops in the zone above mentioned, and also to decree other military administrative measures.

ARTICLE II.—With the object of fulfilling the justifiable wish of the German Emperor, that Germany, like other powers, may have a place on the Chinese coast under its own jurisdiction, for the repair and fitting out of its ships, for the storing of materials and

supplies for the same, and also for the establishment of other appliances connected therewith, his Majesty the Emperor of China concedes to Germany, by way of lease, provisionally for ninety-nine years, both sides of the entrance to Kiao-Chau Bay. Germany undertakes to carry through to completion, upon the territory conceded to it, the fortification of the buildings and establishments and for the defense of the entrance of the harbor.

ARTICLE III.—In order to prevent any possibility of conflicts arising, the Imperial Chinese Government will not, during the term of the lease, exercise rights of sovereignty, but concedes the exercise of the same to Germany, over the following explicitly defined territory:

1. On the northerly side of the entrance of the bay: The tongue of land bounded on its northeasterly side by a line drawn from the northeasterly corner of Potato Island to Loshan Harbor.
2. On the southerly side of the entrance of the bay: The tongue of land bounded on its southwesterly side by a line drawn from the southwesterly point of the inlet situated southwestward of Chiposan Island in a straight line to Tolosan Island.
3. The Chiposan Islands and Potato Island.
4. The whole expanse of water of the bay up to the highest water-mark as it is at this time.
5. All the islands which front upon Kiao-Chau Bay, and which require to be taken into consideration for the defense of the bay from the side toward the sea, namely, for example, Tolosan, Tschallantau, &c.

The high contracting parties bind themselves to have planned out and established an exact fixation of the boundaries of this territory leased to Germany and also of the fifty-kilometer zone around the bay; this to be done by commissioners appointed by both parties respectively and in a manner adapted to the local circumstances.

Chinese warships and merchant ships shall participate in all privileges in Kiao-Chau Bay on the same basis with the other nations which are on friendly terms with Germany, and the entrance and departure, as well as the sojourn of Chinese ships in the bay, shall be subjected to no other limitations than those which the Imperial German Government, by authority of the rights of sovereignty over the whole extent of the bay ancillary to its land rights and hereby conceded to it, may, at any time, by public decree, declare to be prohibitions applicable to the ships of other nations.

ARTICLE IV.—Germany obligates itself to erect the necessary guides and signals for navigation on the islands and shoals in front of the entrance of the bay.

No imposts shall be collected from Chinese warships or merchant ships in Kiao-Chau Bay except those to which other ships are sub-

jected, for the purpose of the upkeep of the necessary harbor and wharf establishments.

ARTICLE V.—In case Germany should hereafter at any time express the wish to give back Kiao-Chau Bay to China before the expiration of the terms of the lease, China obligates itself to make good the expenditures which Germany shall have made in Kiao-Chau, and to concede to Germany a better place to be under Germany's own jurisdiction.

Germany obligates itself never to give any kind of leasehold right to any other power.

The Chinese people residing in the leased territory, assuming that they demean themselves in conformity with the laws and the public order, shall participate at all times in the protection of the German Government. So far as their lands are not included in plans for public improvements, they shall be at liberty to remain upon them.

If parcels of real estate owned by Chinese shall be included in plans for public improvements, the owner shall be indemnified for them.

As respects the reorganization of the Chinese customs stations which, as formerly situated, were outside the leased territory of Germany, but within the community-zone of fifty kilometers, the Imperial German Government intends to enter into an amicable understanding with the Chinese Government in regard to the determinate regulation of the customs boundary and the collection of customs, in a manner which will protect all the interests of China; and it binds itself to enter into further negotiations on this subject.

Part II.—Railroad and Mining Concessions

ARTICLE I.—The Imperial Chinese Government grants to Germany the concession for the following lines of railroad in the Province of Shantung:

1. From Kiao-Chau by way of Weihsen, Chingchou, Poshan, Tzechuan, and Tsinanfu, and from thence in a straight line to the boundary of Shantung;
2. From Kiao-Chau to Ichoufu and from thence onward through Lalwuhien to Tsinanfu.

It is understood that the building of the section from Tsinanfu to the boundary of Shantung shall not be entered upon until after the completion of the road to Tsinanfu. In order that an opportunity may be given for considering the connection of this line with the line to be built by China itself. The special agreement to be made after consultation, in regard to the details of all the undertakings, shall determine the route for this last section.

ARTICLE II.—For the building of the above-named lines of railroad, one or more German-Chinese railroad companies shall be formed. German and Chinese merchants shall be at liberty to contribute capital therefor, and on both sides there shall be named

trustworthy officials to supervise these undertakings.

ARTICLE III.—For the regulation of the details a special agreement will be drawn up by the high contracting parties. China and Germany will regulate the matter for themselves; nevertheless the Chinese Government hereby obligates itself to the German-Chinese railroad companies which are to build the railroads to concede fair terms for the building and operation of the designated railroads, so that in all economic questions they shall not be placed in a worse position than other Chinese-European companies elsewhere in the Chinese Empire. This provision has reference only to economic matters. No part whatsoever of the Province of Shantung can be annexed or occupied by the building of the railroad lines.

ARTICLE IV.—Along the railroads above named within a space of thirty li from the lines, especially in Poshan and Weihsen on the Kiao-Chau-Tsinanfu line, and also in Ichoufu, and Lalwuhien on the Kiao-Chau-Ichoufu-Tsinanfu line, it shall be permissible for German contractors to work the coal-beds, and carry on other undertakings, and also to carry into execution the plans for necessary public works. As respects these undertakings German and Chinese merchants shall be at liberty to associate themselves in the furnishing of the capital. As in the case of the railroad concessions, so also as respects the working of mines, appropriate special arrangements will be agreed upon after mutual consultation. The Chinese Government hereby promises to concede to the German merchants and engineers fair terms in all respects, in harmony with the arrangements above mentioned undertaken by it in reference to railroads, so that the German contractors shall not be placed in a worse position than other Chinese-European companies elsewhere in the Chinese Empire. Moreover, this provision has reference only to economic matters, and has no other meaning.

Part III.—Priority Rights in the Province of Shantung

The Imperial Chinese Government obligates itself, in all cases in which for any purposes whatsoever within the Province of Shantung, the asking of foreign aid in persons, capital, or material shall be under consideration, to tender the public works and the supplying of materials to which the plans relate, for a first bid, to German industrial development engineers and material supply merchants who are engaged in similar undertakings.

In case the German industrial development engineers and material supply merchants are not inclined to undertake the carrying out of such works or the supplying of the materials, China shall be at liberty to proceed in any other manner at its pleasure.

The foregoing arrangements shall be ratified by the sovereigns of the two States which are the makers of this agreement, and

the instruments of ratification shall be so exchanged that, upon the receipt in Berlin of the instrument of ratification on the part of China, the instrument of ratification on the part of Germany shall be handed to the Chinese Minister in Berlin.

The following agreement is drawn up in four originals—two German and two Chinese: and on March 6, 1898 equivalent to the fourteenth day of the second moon in the twenty-fourth year of Kuang-hsü, it was signed by

the representatives of the two States which are the makers of the agreement.

(Signed)

Baron von HEYKING, Imperial German Minister.

LI HUNG-CHANG, Imperial Chinese Chief Secretary, Minister of the Tsungli-Yamén, &c.

WENG T'UNG-HO, Imperial Chinese Chief Secretary, member of the Council of State, Minister of the Tsungli-Yamén, &c.

Shantung Under General Ma Liang

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

[MANAGER OF THE CHINA BUREAU OF INFORMATION]

The Governmental methods of General Ma Liang, the pro-Japanese ruler of Shantung Province, are described in this article by Mr. Sokolsky, the head of a Chinese bureau of information recently established in Shanghai, China. Though Ma Liang is a Chinaman, his sympathies are on the Japanese side of the controversy. His acts in enforcing martial law in the disputed province during August, 1919, are here reviewed from a Chinese viewpoint.

THINGS reached their climax in Shantung at the end of July, when the Civil Governor, Shen Ming Chang, resigned. Thus the last barrier between the Chinese and the Japanese disappeared. Governor Shen was beloved by the people of the province, and he resigned because of his inability to settle the many disputes which arose between China and Japan in a manner acceptable to the Chinese people; because he wished to protest against the high-handed actions of the Japanese in Shantung; and because he was bitter against the Japanese, stating that they were riding roughshod over China.

After the Civil Governor had resigned, martial law was declared and General Ma Liang was appointed to carry out its provisions. Ma Liang is a man of considerable education and ability. He has written a series of books on the subject of physical training which are the best in the Chinese language. He is a brilliant commander and is very much beloved by his troops. However, he has a purely military point of view, and is unable to understand the present patriotic movements in China, except as a direct offense to the militarists and as an insult to him personally. His army is paid out of a loan which was made by Japan to General "Little" Hsu, and he feels

that if the Japanese lost their power his army would be unpaid. Therefore he has been acting in the interest of Japan and against the interest of his own country in the province.

Ma Liang's attitude toward Japan is best described in his own words in a speech which he delivered at the Normal School for Boys in Tsinan on July 22. He said:

What we eat, the Japanese give us; our clothes, the Japanese give us. We should unite with the Japanese and be as one. We must show the Japanese how grateful we are to them for all their kindness. If you persist in refusing to buy Japanese goods I will force you to buy them. . . .

The Americans want us not to buy Japanese goods, because the white peoples want us to destroy ourselves and the Japanese. The Chinese refused to sign the Peace Treaty only because the Americans told them not to do it. Had they signed the Peace Treaty the following special privileges would have accrued to China:

1. Japan and China would have been friendly to each other.
2. Extraterritoriality would have been abolished, and hereafter Chinese officials would be able to punish Europeans and Americans.
3. The customs would have been revised favorably to China.

Had the Peace Treaty been signed these three points would have been gained and only Tsing-tao lost.

A student arose and asked Ma Liang, "According to you it would be better for China to belong to Japan?" Ma Liang replied: "Why not? Korea, India, and Palestine belong to others. The people in those countries seem to be happy. Why should the Chinese worry about it so? Hereafter any one who boycotts Japanese goods will be executed; and, because I am a Mohammedan, I will begin with the Mohammedans."

On Aug. 3, 600 students in Tsinan met and appointed fifteen of their number to call upon the Military Governor and to make three requests:

1. That the martial law which had been declared throughout the province be canceled.
2. That the old Civil Governor, Shen Ming Chang, who had been permitted to resign, should be reappointed.
3. That General Ma Liang be removed.

Ma Liang regarded this as a personal matter. He immediately arrested the fifteen students and bamboosed them. Ma Liang made violent threats against the student prisoners, whom he said he would execute summarily as a warning to the whole province that his will should not be opposed. At 9 o'clock the same evening the British and American Consuls at Tsinan called upon Ma Liang to inquire after the fate of the students. He said they had been released.

Early in the morning of Aug. 4 General Ma executed three Mohammedans, the eldest of whom was a native physician 68 years old, who had rendered professional services to General and Mrs. Ma. Before being put to death the old man was frightfully tortured with red-hot irons and was given 112 lashes. Ma Liang executed these Mohammedans under the cover of martial law and on the ground that they were Bolsheviks. It is not likely that Ma Liang knew anything about Bolsheviks or that he even knew the word. The act and excuse both emanated from the same source, from his Japanese advisers, who are using him to cow the brave people of Shantung.

The President of the Tsinan Students' Union, Mr. Hsia, is a prisoner in the Shantung Christian College, in which he studies medicine. Should he leave the building, he will be arrested, and if not

executed, at any rate imprisoned and bamboosed. I visited Mr. Hsia and he told me of his interview with Ma Liang. He said that he had asked Ma Liang not to declare martial law, and to release the merchants and proclaim freedom of meeting. The requests were refused. Ma Liang said: "You cannot interfere in this business. If you do I will kill you. I don't want to talk with you; I have the power to force you to do as I say."

On Aug. 2 the students visited the Military and Civil Governors to make the same requests. Ma Liang, through his highly developed spy system, knew what was happening, and frightened the Military Governor by telling him that the students were going to rebel the following day and send him a bomb.

Subsequently sixteen students were imprisoned in the Normal School Building. Sixty girl students, who decided to lend the boys their moral support, were prevented by soldiers from entering the building, but sat in the hot sun in the street. Ma Liang arrived with his body-guard, drove all the students into the school, and delivered this speech:

You students are foolish, not patriotic. You are under the influence of Southern leaders. The merchants who have been arrested were not patriotic. They were Bolsheviks. They must be severely punished. The students must obey the rules. The President has proclaimed martial law, and who does not obey will be shot. * * * The students' movement is due to Western influence. The Chinese and the Japanese must stand together against the Western nations. Had the treaty been signed China would have been in a position of equality with all the nations of the world. * * * The business of a student is to study in the school, and if any student participates in these foolish movements against the Japanese I will shoot him.

One student who remonstrated with him was bamboosed till an artery in his wrist was broken. Girl students who tried to join their imprisoned comrades were brutally treated and insulted.

After this the student headquarters were closed, their literature was burned, the boycott movement was suppressed, and the effort to raise funds to buy back the railroads came to an end for the time being.

Evolution of the Tank

A Brief History of the Land Dreadnoughts and Their Increasing Efficiency in Battle

THE first armored battle cars or "tanks" were a British invention developed from an American automobile tractor used for agricultural purposes on the Western prairies. They made their initial appearance at the battle of the Somme, Sept. 15, 1916. Various models were tried successively after that, both by the French and by the British, with two diverging tendencies, one toward smaller and more mobile machines, culminating in the French "baby tanks," and the other toward still more powerful and heavy machines, culminating in the Mark V. model, weighing thirty-six tons and armed with six-pounder guns. When the war ended there were in hand extensive developments of both kinds of tanks that gave promise of force sufficient to smash through the enemy lines with impunity in the following Spring.

When trench warfare resulted in the establishment of fixed lines the British Navy's armored car division lost its former value, demonstrated in the early part of the war in scouting and skirmishing expeditions. Lieutenant Walter G. Wilson, R. N. V. R., of Squadron 20, throughout 1915 carried on experiments with a view to discovering a trench-crossing machine which would take infantry into the enemy lines with comparative immunity from rifle and machine-gun fire. Meanwhile the Landship Committee, with Mr. (now Sir Eustace) d'Eyncourt as Chairman, had been formed. The test laid down was that the machine must be able to climb a parapet four and a half feet high and cross a trench five and a half feet wide, this being the average dimensions of an enemy trench; it also had to cross soft ground of a consistency equal to Flanders mud and break through barbed wire posts.

Lieutenant Wilson worked in conjunction with Mr. (now Sir William) Trit-

ton of the engineering firm of W. Foster & Co., at Lincoln, and at that firm's works two experimental machines were set up, nicknamed Little Willie and Big Willie. In the latter was embodied the germ from which sprang all subsequent types of tanks—i. e., a curved armored steel hull with all-round track. Trials took place at Hatfield Park in January and February, 1916, at which the King, Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Kitchener, Commodore Sueter, and Mr. Churchill were present. It was the last-named who, as First Lord of the Admiralty, sanctioned and encouraged the experiments when there was a marked lack of enthusiasm in high military quarters.

FIRST EXPERIMENTS

Foster's was ordered to build 125 machines, and in order that no whisper should reach the enemy of what was afoot and owing to some resemblance borne by the very first machine to an oil tank cart such as used to be seen in the streets of London, the name "tank" was adopted. It was undoubtedly the best-kept secret of the war. Supply was placed in the hands of a leading member of the Landship Committee, also an officer of the Armored Car Squadron, Major Albert Stern, (now Colonel Sir A. Stern.) a man of immense resource and energy. Colonel Stern put his whole heart and soul into the pioneer work of production, and was not afraid to enlist the support of the most powerful in the land when opposition had to be broken down. Another order for tanks was given to the Metropolitan Carriage Works Company, Birmingham, and in time this firm became the backbone of heavy tank production.

By September, 1916, a considerable number of tanks, Marks I., II., and III., were in France ready for action, receiving their first practical test on the

Somme. They carried 105 horse power Daimler engines, with an armament of 6-pounder 40-calibre naval guns and machine guns and averaged two miles an hour on fairly hard ground.

With the development of the tanks, these first machines, by the end of the war, had come to be looked upon as the Noah's Arks of the Tank Corps, with the cartwheel device at the back for getting over awkward angles. It had become manifest that speed, steering, and invulnerability had to be greatly improved, and the terrain for these juggernauts of war carefully chosen. The huge possibilities of the tank even in its primitive state were exemplified in the Ministry of Munitions Journal, in which it was reported that on Sept. 25, 1916, one tank followed by a company of infantry cleared 1,500 yards of enemy trench, killing many Germans and capturing 360 prisoners at a cost of five casualties to English troops.

TANK MARK IV.

Thus came the Mark IV. tank, with its epicyclic control, its thicker armor plate, and its unditching gear, a beam which could be manipulated to lever it out of awkward holes. The latter device, however, could not be used unless the crew exposed themselves, a drawback that was remedied in the later types. The Mark IV. male tank carried two 6-pounder guns of a new type, shorter than the naval gun, and four Lewis machine guns; and the female tank six machine guns. Its highest speed was a little less than four miles an hour on firm ground, and it weighed twenty-eight tons and measured twenty-six feet over all. It had a 150 horse power Ricardo engine.

Meanwhile the medium Mark A tank, commonly known as the "whippet," had been designed. It weighed seventeen tons, carried two forty-five horse power Tylor engines, had a maximum speed of eight miles an hour, and was armed with four Hotchkiss machine guns. The crew comprised one officer and three men. It made its debut in a minor action during the great German push in March, 1918, and in the following month filled the enemy war correspondents with dismay

at machines "which could outpace cavalry and were too quick for field guns to put them out of action." This was an exaggerated notion of the mobility of the whippet, but the machine did accomplish some remarkable feats. Near Villers' Bretonneux, after the German bid for Amiens had failed, a few whippets routed a German brigade, causing 400 enemy casualties at a cost of five British casualties and one whippet hors de combat.

FRENCH BABY TANKS

By this time the French had taken up tanks most enthusiastically, and their light Renault chars-à-assaut—with a thirty-seven-millimeter gun or eight-millimeter Hotchkiss machine guns—caused the enemy almost as much uneasiness as its British prototype.

Louis Renault had submitted a model for smaller tanks to the French commission handling such matters. No decision being reached regarding their use, he manufactured at his own risk of failure one hundred of these light machines and presented them to General Pétain. After seeing them in action the Commander in Chief of the Armies of the North and Northeast realized their possibilities, and a large order was given Renault's firm. These tanks, manufactured in great numbers, contributed largely to the victory obtained by Mangin's army on July 18, 1918. To commemorate this event and to express due recognition of Renault, the French Association of Automobile Manufacturers tendered him a banquet on the occasion of his nomination as a member of the Legion of Honor.

The heavier French tanks—the St. Chamond and Schneider—carried much more formidable armaments than the British machines, but were necessarily less mobile with their seventy-five-millimeter (about 3.3 inch) guns and ammunition. All these machines did well at the battle of Noyon and other engagements.

THE MARK V.

Other types were being designed in England throughout 1916 and 1917—gun carriers, salvage, and infantry supply—but every nerve was strained to improve the heavy fighting tank. Thus came the

Mark V., whose main feature was the very much easier control and rapidity of turning. This machine weighed thirty-six tons, was twenty-eight feet in length, had a maximum speed of close on five miles an hour, and was armed with two short six-pounder guns and four Hotchkiss machine guns. The female Mark V. carried six machine guns and no six-pounders. The Mark V. carried a 150 horse power Ricardo engine.

This machine and a modified form of it—Mark V.—bore the brunt of the tank fighting in the Summer of 1918, and it is acknowledged by the military experts that Marshal Foch's great counterattack on the Soissons salient in July owed much of its success to the co-operation of tanks, which gave courage and confidence to the troops, while it spread a corresponding measure of despair among the enemy ranks. Heavies used to make a plunge at machine-gun posts and go clean over them, burying the enemy gunners and their weapons in the ground under thirty-six tons of metal. In a short time their coming became in most cases a signal for an enemy *saue qui peut*.

IN THE CAMBRAI BATTLE

The very idea of tanks contemplated a vast saving of infantry man power, and if in its early essays the tank did not execute this function in a marked degree it was largely due to the softness and the flatness of the terrain selected. On the Somme in 1916 and near Arras in the Spring of 1917 it was this difficulty of ground, coupled with the slowness of the machines then in use, which gave the German gunners chances which they could not miss. But in the capture of the Messines Ridge in June, 1917, tanks gave great assistance to the infantry, and this was repeated in the Ypres-Comines Canal operations in the following months. In a certain small attack in August, 1917, which ordinarily would have been expected to incur several hundreds of casualties, the co-operation of several tanks reduced the number to fifteen.

Then came the famous battle of Cambrai in November, 1917, which dispelled any lingering doubts as to the efficacy

of tanks and resulted in the capture of an enemy zone over six miles deep and of thousands of prisoners and over a hundred guns and trench mortars, besides the loss to the enemy of many killed and injured. The surprise was so complete that on the first day the British infantry losses were only half the number of prisoners taken. Yet the best machines used in this attack were Mark IVs., and during the operations of 1918 that terminated in the enemy's complete surrender the saving of casualties by the Mark V. and Medium Mark A machines was immeasurable; though it must be stated in fairness to the Tank Corps that the tank casualties were often very heavy. The Germans had devoted an extraordinary amount of thought and genius to combating tanks, having failed to produce a successful machine themselves. They turned out a few very cumbrous machines, inferior in everything but armament to the earliest British types, and the German Headquarters Staff is understood to have reported adversely on the use of them, though several came into action, together with some of the British captured Mark IVs.

The enemy were under no illusion as to the efficacy of tanks in 1918, but neither their designing nor manufacturing capacity was capable of quick production, and when this new weapon really began to appear in numbers on the British side the tank became the bugbear of the Germans.

WHO INVENTED THE TANK?

Secretary for War Winston Churchill, testifying before the Royal Commission on Awards to Inventors, declared that it was impossible to say "that this or that man invented the tank," the caterpillar monster that broke through the enemy's wire entanglements, and its progeny, the whippet (British) and the baby (French), that chased retreating Germans and poured machine-gun fire into them. Mr. Churchill spoke of eighteen types of land ships from which models were constructed by the Government, though only ten or eleven of these designs dealt with the tank idea. The caterpillar tractor, a farm implement invented by "Uncle" Ben Holt of Cali-

fornia, was finally adopted as the motive power and basis of the war tank. Colonel I. C. Welborn, Director of the Tank Corps of the United States Army, made the following statement in December, 1918, about the evolution of the machine which the British first used at Delville Wood on Sept. 15, 1916, in the battle of the Somme:

For several years prior to the world war the authorities of the British Army had been endeavoring to create some machine highly destructive in its fighting capacity, and at the same time affording maximum protection to human life. The Holt Manufacturing Company, maker of the Holt farm tractor, was giving a tractor demonstration in one of the large German cities [in 1914]. A representative of the British Government who happened to see the exhibit conceived the idea that the caterpillar tractor might be employed in propelling a huge steel fighting machine which would enable a moving fort to negotiate the steepest hills and to move over difficult ground impossible of passage by any other vehicle. This officer immediately brought the tractor to the attention of General (then Colonel) E. D. Swinton of the British Army, who also realized the effective use to which the caterpillar tractor could be put.

GENERAL SWINTON'S TESTIMONY

Whether General Swinton was the first to prepare a model of the superstructure of an armored turret car based on a caterpillar tractor is still disputed

by some of his countrymen. When General Swinton visited the United States in June, 1918, he frankly said:

America must be credited with both the machine gun and its antidote, for in Antwerp in 1914 [not in a German city, it seems] a friend of mine saw for the first time an American agricultural caterpillar tractor. He wrote to me inquiring if there were not some military uses to which the idea could be put, and the invention of the tank resulted.

The tank idea was born of the tactical problems of the Great War, not long after the first battle of the Marne, when trench fighting began and open warfare was brought to a sudden stop: Never before had defenses bristled so densely with wire entanglements. Open warfare, according to Field Marshal Haig, was resumed in some degree in the battle of the Somme, but it was not until Sir Julian Byng made his surprise attack on the German line before Cambrai in the Autumn of 1917 that tanks were employed in force and without artillery preparation. Then the trench system was broken up for a time, and there was open warfare on a front of several miles. Open warfare had been planned by both the French and British General Staff long before the Americans entered the war, but there was no practical test until the British were ready to assemble a large number of tanks to lead the infantry into action.

Humorous German Balance Sheet of Gains and Losses

In an August issue of the Berlin comic paper, *Ulk*, appeared the following ingenious "Balance Sheet of the War."

PROFIT AND LOSS TO AUG. 1, 1919			
DEBIT.	Marks.	CREDIT.	Marks. Pf.
Maintenance of Germany at The Hague Conference	113,766,500	Patriotic spirit of war volunteers	120,000,000.0
U-boat war	110,000,000	The German soldier	1,000,000,000.0
Depreciation of enemy	120,000,000	Strength to endure	50,000,000.0
The great Pan-German clique	684,000,000	Eight patriotic poets .....	.8
Speeches of Kaiser	209,277,492		
The German Professors	1,120,000		
Sinking of Lusitania	342,200,000		
Deportation Belgian workmen	280,400,000		
Senseless destruction of enemy territory	1,800,000,000	Loss	2,667,582,160.2
Food organization at home	174,218,169		
Activities of war press	12,000,000		
Total	3,837,582,161	Total	3,837,582,161.0
German Republic (Incorporated.)		(Formerly the Kaiser's Empire.)	

Secret History of the Tanks

By SIR ALBERT STERN

Sir Albert Stern, who was made a Lieutenant in the Armored Car Division of the British Navy in November, 1914, and who was one of the chief creators of the tank, has narrated in the Strand Magazine the secret history of the new engine of war. A Major Hetherington, Transport Officer of the division, was a great advocate of new inventions. After a discussion of the uselessness of armored cars except on roads, Major Hetherington one day got the Duke of Westminster sufficiently interested in the idea of a "land cruiser" to invite Winston Churchill to dinner to discuss it. Mr. Churchill was delighted with the project of a cross-country car, and appointed a committee to study it, Eustace Tennyson d'Eyncourt, Director of Naval Construction, being made its Chairman, on Feb. 24, 1915. After describing this committee's early efforts, Sir Albert Stern continues:

WE encountered opposition from all quarters. Manufacturers did not like our type of work. It was all experimental and meant continual canceling of orders. Then, in July, 1915, the Ministry of Munitions took over all inventions in connection with land warfare. * * * In August the whole of the Armored Car Division was disbanded. This disbandment was stopped by the personal intervention of Mr. d'Eyncourt. It was one of the many occasions on which he saved the landships (and future tanks) from extinction.

The first tank, "Mother," was finished on Jan. 26, 1916, and sent by train to Hatfield station. Colonel Sir Maurice Hankey arranged for Mr. McKenna, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to travel down to the Hatfield trials in my car. I explained to him our ideas of mechanical warfare and its value in the saving of life and shells. After the trials Mr. McKenna said that it was the best investment he had yet seen, and that, if the military approved, all the necessary money would be available. Sir William Robertson was well satisfied with the machine.

Colonel Swinton, who was acting at this time as Assistant Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defense, was intrusted with the task of raising and training a corps to man the tanks, and a camp was taken at Thetford, in Norfolk. It was kept a great secret, and the whole ground, several miles in extent, was surrounded by armed guards. Several displays were given there during the Sum-

mer, and live six-pounder shells were used. The King, Mr. Lloyd George, and Sir William Robertson were among those who saw our displays.

On Sunday, Sept. 17, Sir Douglas Haig appeared in front of General Butler's offices and congratulated Colonel Swinton and me. He said: "We have had the greatest victory since the battle of the Marne. We have taken more prisoners and more territory, with comparatively few casualties. This is due to the tanks. Wherever the tanks advanced we took our objectives, and where they did not advance we failed to take our objectives." He added: "Colonel Swinton, you shall be head of the Tank Corps. Major Stern, you shall be head of the construction of tanks. Go back and make as many more tanks as you can. We thank you." Immediately after my return we were ordered to build 1,000 tanks.

On Oct. 10 I received an official instruction from the Army Council canceling the order for 1,000 tanks. I immediately went to see Mr. Lloyd George, the Secretary of State for War. He said that he had heard nothing of the instruction. I told him that he could cancel my appointment, but he could not possibly get me to cancel the orders I had placed. Sir William Robertson, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, then appeared, and Mr. Lloyd George said that he could not understand how this order could be canceled without his knowledge, since he was President of the Army Council. He asked me to tell Sir

William Robertson what I had told him. This I did. Excusing myself owing to pressure of work, I then left the room. The order for the production of 1,000 tanks was reinstated next day.

In May, 1917, Sir Douglas Haig wrote a letter to Lord Derby, the Secretary of State for War, in which he said that the importance of tanks was firmly established and that there should be a special department at the War Office to look after them. A committee was therefore set up, with General Capper as Chairman. On July 27 Sir Eustace d'Eyncourt and I ceased to attend the meetings of this committee. We found that the three military members, who a month before had never even seen a tank, laid down all rulings even with regard to design and production. They were in the majority and we could do nothing. Instead of orders being given for thousands of tanks, as I had hoped, Mr. Churchill told me that the requirements of the army for 1918 were to be 1,350 fighting tanks. This I determined to fight with every means in my power, and I told Mr. Churchill so. I then had an interview with Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and told him that the proposed preparations for 1918 were wholly and entirely inadequate.

On Oct. 11 I asked for an interview with Mr. Churchill in order to put my views before him, for he appeared to be taking the advice of the War Office and not of the pioneers of mechanical warfare. He said that I had his confidence, but that the War Office wanted a change made. The War Office, he said, accused me of lumbering them up with useless tanks at the front and of wasting millions of the public money. In the opinion of the War Office there had been a total failure in design, no progress had been made, all the money spent on tanks had been wasted, and the belief in mechanical warfare was now at such a low ebb that they proposed to give it up entirely. * * * On Oct. 15 I was told by Sir Arthur Duckham that three Generals at the War Office had asked for my removal.

The whole trouble with the War Office was that I had pressed for a large pro-

gram of tanks, at least 4,000, for the fighting of 1918, but the committee against which we had continually protested, with its War Office majority of Generals who know nothing of tanks, had overruled me. Now, at a time when the decisions of experts were absolutely necessary in preparation for 1918, and when it was clear to us that enormous quantities of tanks were needed, the War Office program was for 1,350 tanks. Mr. Churchill told me that he agreed with Sir Eustace d'Eyncourt and me that quantities of tanks were necessary for 1918, but as Minister of Munitions he could not argue with the Generals at the War Office about their requirements; his business simply was to supply what they wanted.

Next day Sir E. d'Eyncourt and I asked for an interview with Mr. Churchill. He refused to see Sir E. d'Eyncourt, and told me that, with regret, he had decided to appoint a new man in my place, and, therefore, there was no object in discussing the situation. He added that he was in power and, therefore, it was his responsibility, and that he had taken the advice of the Council member, Sir Arthur Duckham. I told him that I would not resign, as I believed it to be against the public interest, but that he could dismiss me. I had an interview with Sir Arthur Duckham on the same day, and he told me that Mr. Churchill was unable to persuade the War Office to have a larger number of tanks, but that, as he was a believer in mechanical warfare, it was his opinion that America should be persuaded to arm herself with the necessary number of tanks for next year's fighting.

On April 8, 1918, Lord Milner, now Secretary of State for War, came to see me at the offices of the Mechanical Warfare (Oversea and Allies) Department in Paris. I explained to him the development of mechanical warfare, and told him that the tanks had great power of destruction quite out of proportion to their own total cost of humanity, which was limited to eight men a tank. I explained that I had been removed from my position on the demand of the War Office because I had fought for the development of mechanical warfare, and

told the War Office that their preparations for 1918 were entirely inadequate; that the program had now been increased, too late, from 1,350 to nearer 5,000; that I had fought for the standardization of mechanical warfare against continual change of design, and that standardization was at last to be brought in by August, 1918—again too late. I said that we had fought our hardest to prevent inexperienced officers from ruining the one development in this country in which we had outstripped the Germans, but that instead of continuing its healthy growth under imaginative prac-

tical men, it had been placed under the heel of elderly service men, with the usual results: that the modern methods of standardization and efficiency, untrammelled by army procedure and prejudice, had been stamped out.

Finally, I begged him to see Sir Eustace d'Eyncourt and to discuss the question of some proper authority to control and develop mechanical warfare. From this date a new era of progress started for mechanical warfare at the War Office, with Sir Henry Wilson as Chief of the Imperial General Staff and General Harrington as Deputy Chief.

Colonel McCrae's Famous Poem and a Reply

IN FLANDERS FIELDS

By JOHN McCRAE

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly,
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe!
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high!
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.
France, June, 1915.

YE ARE NOT DEAD

By FRANK E. HERING

In Flanders still the poppies grow
Among the crosses, bending low,
On fragile stems, their cups of red
Like censers swinging o'er the dead
That fell short days ago.

Ye are not dead! If it were so
We that abide could never go
As blithely marching by your bed
In Flanders fields.

Because your bodies lie below,
Above, with an intenser glow,
The Torch moves on; in your brave stead
Men dare to bleed as ye have bled—
That larks may sing, and poppies blow
In Flanders fields.
South Bend, Ind., Oct. 30, 1918.



INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

[Norwegian Cartoon]

The Two-Edged Sword



—From *Karikaturen*, Christiania

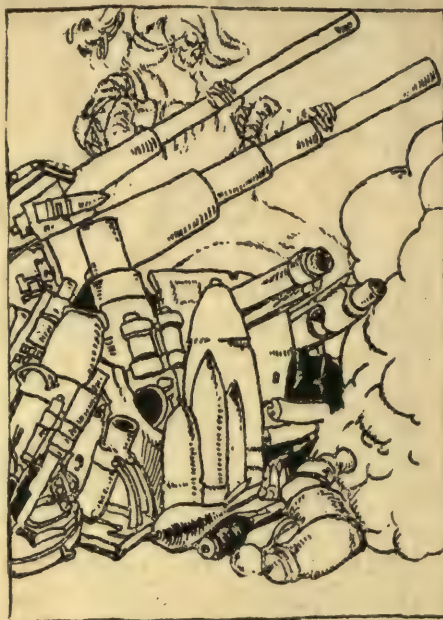
When the agitator strikes at society he usually hits the workers the hardest

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

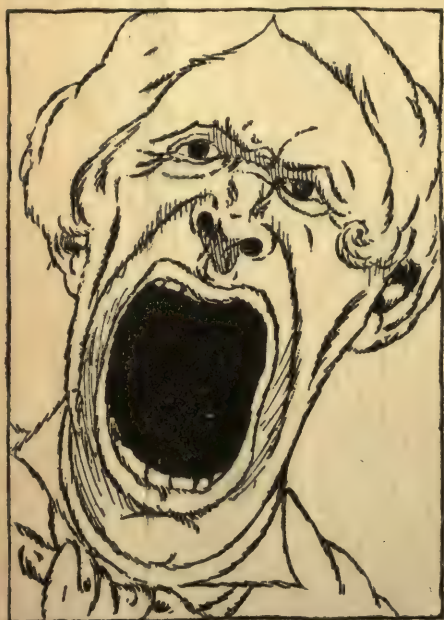
The Great War



A pyramid of the skulls of the fallen would be ten times as great as the corpse pyramid of Jenghis Khan



Still greater the mass of weapons which achieved this effect



Still greater the mouth of a man, a so-called statesman



But, greatest of all, the apish stupidity of mankind which permitted it all!

—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich

[American Cartoon]

Who's Going to Put the Cat Out?



—From The Los Angeles Times

[American Cartoon]

Doesn't Seem to Have Any Parents



—From The New York Tribune

[American Cartoon]

The Operation Was a Failure



—From The New York Herald

— but the Patient survived

[Italian Cartoon]

The Caporetto Investigation



—11 1/20. Florence

All efforts to smother Truth are in vain. She insists on coming out of her well and charging these with responsibility for the Caporetto disaster

[American Cartoon]

D'Annunzio at Fiume



—The New York World

[English Cartoon]

A Modern Gabriel



—Daily Express, London

[American Cartoon]

Vesuvius Has a Rival



—From The Dayton News

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Wilson's Departure From Europe



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

"Farewell, sweet lady, the Senate will be angry with me if I stay any longer"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

A Neighborly Visit



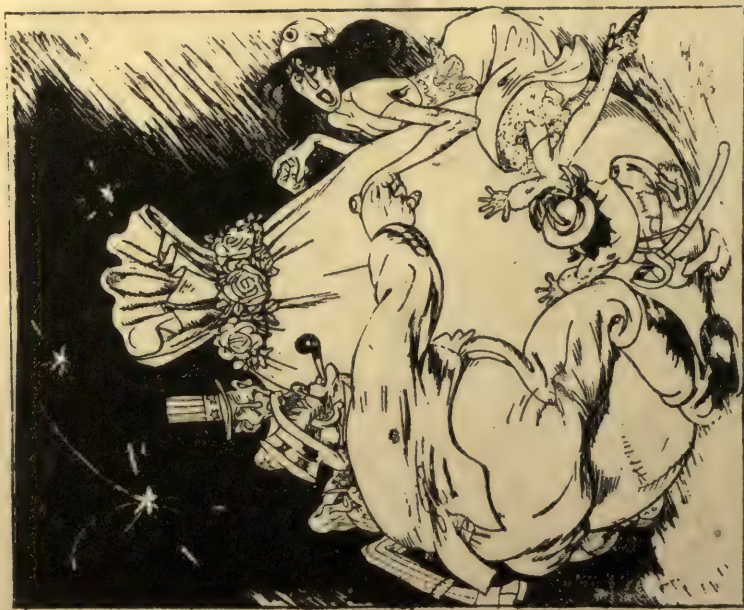
—From *Nebelspatter*, Zurich

SWITZERLAND: "Well, dear sister, how do you like your new bonnet?"

GERMANIA: "Very well indeed, thanks! And I should be quite happy if I could only get rid of these bracelets and this footwear"

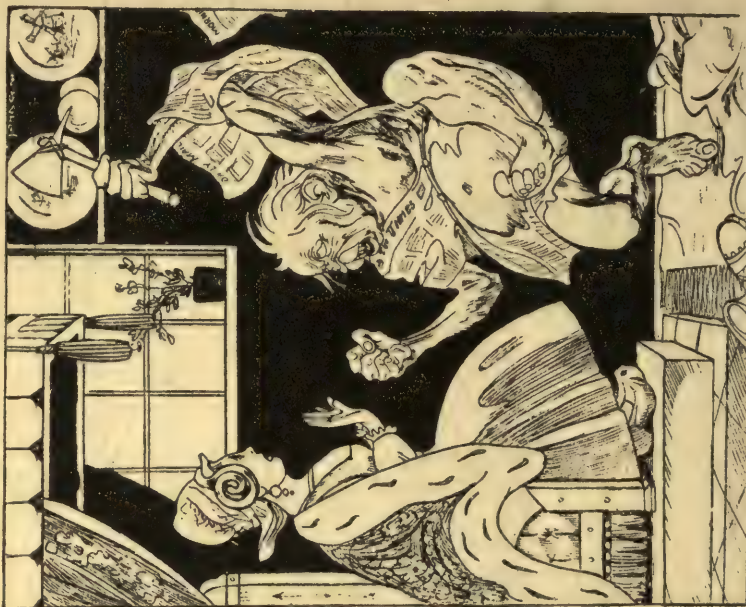
[German Cartoons]

The Entente's Victory Jubilee



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin
Dancing around the spoils of war

The Crazy Salome



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin
LLOYD GEORGE-SALOME TO QUEEN WILHELMINA: "Give me the head of William II."

Prometheus!



[The Gallic cock about to pluck out Germany's vitals under the Peace Treaty]

—Kladderdatsch, Berlin

Parisian Victory Jubilation



—Simplicissimus, Munich

GERMANY TO THE GALIC COCK: "Don't crow so loudly! Wilson is using your feathers as well as mine to stuff his pillow with."

His Reward if He Adopts Article X.

The Missionary's Sons



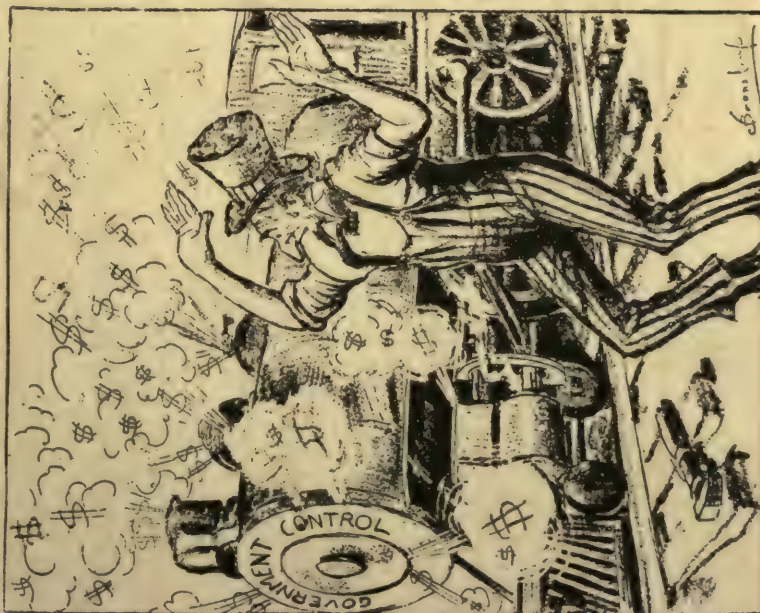
—Chicago Tribune
[© By John T. McCutcheon]



—Chicago Tribune
[© By John T. McCutcheon]

[American Cartoon]

I've Had Enough



—San Francisco Chronicle
News Item: "The Government has encountered a deficit of nearly \$300,000,000 in operating the railroads for the first 8 months of 1919."

[English Cartoon]

None So Blind—



—The Passing Show, London
AGITATOR: "I don't care. It ain't my tree!"

[Australian Cartoon]

The Two Swords



From The Sydney Bulletin

[American Cartoons]
The Modern Nero



—The New York Times

The Blinded Samson



—The New York Tribune

As Usual



—The New York World

[American Cartoon]

A Merry Chase



—Newspaper Enterprise Association

[Norwegian Cartoon]

Plucking the German Bird



—Vikingen, Christiania

What is the use of plucking? In a few years the eagle will have as many feathers as ever

[Chinese Cartoon]

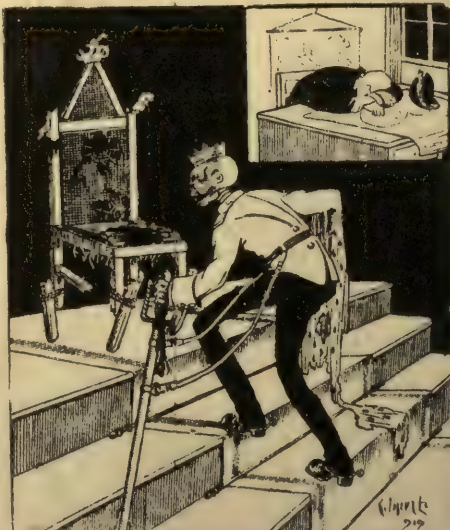
Japan's Policy in China



—China Bureau of Information, Shanghai

[Italian Cartoon]

Archduke Joseph in Hungary



—Il 420, Florence

The Entente being asleep, the Hapsburg ghost tried to get back on the throne

[English Cartoon]

The Dying Lion



—The World, London

[Mexican Cartoon]

Carranza's Way of Avoiding American Intervention



—El Monitor Republicano, Mexico City

"A former tool of von Eckhardt has just been appointed to issue an official newspaper for the Mexican Government"

[American Cartoon]

Study of a Man Filing a Bill



—Los Angeles Times

[German Cartoon]

Fruits of the Kaiser's War



—Der Ull, Berlin

He has brought us beautiful times in Germany.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Peace Soup



—Nebelspatter, Zurich

MOTHER EUROPE: "Just as I was going to have this nice soup, which has taken so long to prepare, that dirty fellow spat in it"

DEFEAT OF RATIFICATION

Decisive Vote Against Peace Treaty Ends Long Debate in the United States Senate

THE United States Senate on Nov. 19, 1919, at 10:30 P. M., refused by a decisive vote to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. This decision, by which the United States alone of all the great powers rejected the treaty and the League of Nations covenant, was the outcome of four months of bitter debate, during which the Republican majority in the Senate—under the leadership of Senator Lodge of Massachusetts—had striven to alter or modify the treaty, and the Democratic Administration minority had tried to preserve it intact. When the crucial test came, each side defeated the purpose of the other, so that the treaty was rejected in two different ways. The vote on unconditional ratification—without amendments or reservations—stood 38 ayes and 53 noes, whereas an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the whole number was required to ratify. On ratification with the reservations, which had been adopted by the Senate sitting as a Committee of the Whole, the decisive vote was 39 ayes, 55 noes. A motion to reconsider brought a third vote of similar import.

Party lines were broken in the final votes by seven Democrats who joined the Republicans in rejecting the treaty without qualification; one Republican (McCumber of North Dakota) voted with the Democrats for unconditional ratification. In the ballot for ratification with reservations seven Democrats voted with the Republicans, while thirteen Republican Senators, known as irreconcilable opponents of the League of Nations covenant, voted with the Democrats.

Shortly after thus defeating the treaty the Senate adjourned, putting an end to the extra session, and dispersed to reassemble at the regular session on Dec. 1.

This action of the Senate killed the treaty for the time being, so far as the

United States was concerned, and left the relations between this country and Germany in the same position as when the armistice was signed, Nov. 11, 1918. The President was the sole authority that could decide what further steps were to be taken. It was generally believed that he would again present the treaty to the Senate when it reassembled; that one or two of the Lodge reservations would be modified slightly to make them acceptable to friends of the treaty, and that ratification would follow in due course.

In CURRENT HISTORY for November the proceedings of the Senate on the treaty up to Oct. 25 were reviewed. The first decisive action after that date was the defeat by a vote of 38 to 40 of the amendment offered by Senator Johnson of California regarding the voting strength of Great Britain in the Assembly of the League of Nations. This amendment sought to equalize the vote of Great Britain and its dominions and colonies with the vote of the United States.

ALL AMENDMENTS DEFEATED

On Oct. 29 the Senate clearly demonstrated that, while it favored many reservations, it would sanction no amendments to the treaty; on that day it voted down four amendments by decisive majorities. By voting down an amendment sponsored by Senator Moses, Republican, of New Hampshire, on equality of vote in the League Assembly, by a vote of 47 to 36, the Senate completed the list of amendments promulgated by the Foreign Relations Committee. The other amendments voted on that day were offered by individual Senators. They were these:

One by Senator Johnson of California offered as a substitute to his amendment on equality of vote, killed by the Senate earlier in the week, and amplifying it so as to make it more emphatic; defeated by a vote of 43 to 35.

One offered by Senator Shields, Demo-

crat, of Tennessee, to provide that Great Britain and her colonies and dominions have collectively but three delegates and one aggregate vote in the assembly; defeated 49 to 31.

One by Senator Sherman, Republican, of Illinois, to insert the phrase to "invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God," in the preamble, defeated 57 to 27.

All the amendments proposed by the Foreign Relations Committee had now been defeated by decisive majorities. On Nov. 4 Senator Lodge put in an amendment to strike from the treaty the three sections under which the economic rights on the Shantung Peninsula are awarded to Japan. He had given notice of this amendment early in October, when the Senate defeated the committee amendment on Shantung by a vote of 55 to 35. The Senate voted down the new amendment by 41 to 26. Then Senator Borah offered an amendment to strike from the treaty the article guaranteeing the territorial integrity and political independence of members of the League of Nations. After two hours of debate on it Mr. Borah withdrew the amendment, explaining that he would await the Senate's action on his reservation to limit the obligation imposed on the United States under that article.

On Nov. 5 an amendment by Senator La Follette of Wisconsin to strike from the treaty the labor provisions was defeated by a vote of 34 to 47. The following day the last attempt to amend the treaty, made by Senator Gore (Dem., Okla.) was defeated by a vote of 76 to 16; it provided that the United States should hold a referendum vote before entering any war.

BATTLE ON RESERVATIONS

The real battle on the qualifying reservations reported by the Foreign Relations Committee began on Nov. 7. The first vote was on the preamble, which required the written assent of three of the allied powers to the American reservations. Efforts to modify it were defeated, and it was adopted by a vote of 48 to 40; three Democrats, Senators Gore, Reed, and Walsh of Massachusetts, voted aye with the Republicans; one Republican, Senator McCumber, voted no

with the Democrats; Senator Shields, Democrat, of Tennessee, would have voted aye, but was paired with Senator Martin (Dem., Va.), who was ill.

On Nov. 8, after a stubborn fight by the minority, the Senate, by a vote of 50 to 35, adopted the reservation offered by the Foreign Relations Committee majority, under which the United States claims the right to be the sole judge, in the event of its withdrawal from the League of Nations, as to whether its obligations to the League have been fulfilled.

Had all the Senators who were unable to vote because of being paired or absent cast their votes, the result would have shown every one of the forty-nine Republican Senators in favor of the reservation, together with six Democrats, making an aggregate of fifty-five Senators for the reservation and forty-one against it.

Efforts were also made by the minority to strike out all mention of a concurrent or joint resolution, giving Congress the option to proceed as it deemed fit. These were likewise defeated.

On the final vote, although Senators McCumber and Nelson had assailed the proposal for a concurrent resolution, contending that it was a deliberate affront to the President, in taking away the veto power he had under the Constitution, they voted for the reservation exactly as it was offered by the majority. An unexpected vote in favor of the reservation was that of Senator Chamberlain, Democrat, of Oregon, who, supporting it, broke away for the first time from the Administration alignment.

ANNULLING ARTICLE X.

The Senate on Nov. 10 began the debate on the reservation regarding Article X. of the treaty; this reservation put the United States on record as refusing to be bound by any obligation to use its armed forces in case of outside aggression threatening the territory of any of the members of the League, except by the consent of Congress. This was the reservation which President Wilson had denounced as "a knife-thrust at the heart of the covenant." A modified reservation

offered by Senator Thomas, Democrat, of Colorado, was defeated by a vote of 48 to 36, four Democrats—Gore, Reed, Smith of Georgia, and Walsh—voting with the Republicans. The debate continued on Nov. 11 and 12. On the 13th the reservation precisely as recommended by the Foreign Relations Committee was adopted by a vote of 46 to 33. On this crucial ballot all the Republicans voted aye, together with four Democrats, Senators Gore, Reed, Smith of Georgia, and Walsh of Massachusetts. Senator Shields, Democrat, of Tennessee, was also paired in the affirmative.

INVOKING CLOSURE RULE

After the reservation had been adopted, Senator Lodge, the majority leader, offered a petition, signed by thirty Republican Senators, to invoke the closure rule, so as to limit further debate on the treaty. Under the rules the petition went over until Nov. 15, when it was to be voted on without debate. The Senate took a recess over Nov. 14 on account of the funeral of Senator Martin.

Senator Lodge's move for closure came after a similar attempt made by Senator Hitchcock, the minority leader, under which debate on the reservations alone would have been restricted. This effort of Mr. Hitchcock failed, when the Senate sustained a ruling by Senator Cummins, Republican, of Iowa, who was in the chair, that the closure, if invoked, must operate as to the entire treaty and not the reservations alone.

Among the reservations offered by Senator Hitchcock was one, touching upon Article X., to provide that the advice which the League of Nations Council might give to members of the League respecting the use of their military forces might be considered by the members as only advisory and that, for itself, the United States reserved the right, through Congress, to decide whether to accept the advice. The minority reservation on Article X. was offered by Senator Hitchcock as a substitute for the committee reservation before the latter was finally voted upon. It was defeated by a vote of 44 to 52.

Nov. 15 was a field day for voting.

The closure rule was first adopted by a vote of 78 to 16, whereby all further debate on any question regarding the treaty was limited to one hour for each Senator. The Foreign Relations Committee reservations were then offered in quick succession, and ten were adopted during the day by votes averaging 53 to 40, the Republicans voting solidly for each reservation; various Democrats voted with them, as many as thirteen breaking party lines in certain cases.

On Nov. 17 two reservations offered, respectively, by Senators Owen and Reed, both Democrats, were voted down. One of them rejected participation in the disposal of the German colonies, and the other excluded the League of Nations from action affecting the "honor and vital interests" of the United States.

THE PRESIDENT'S ATTITUDE

Senator Hitchcock announced on the same day that President Wilson had informed him that he would "pocket" the treaty if the Lodge resolution of ratification, with the majority reservations as a part of it, were adopted. Various minor reservations offered by different Senators were quickly voted down at this session, the majority indicating that no further reservations would be adopted. During the session of Nov. 18, preceding the final vote on the ratifying clauses, a number of reservations were offered, but each in turn was defeated by a decisive majority.

On Nov. 19 the way was clear for final and decisive action on the treaty. The Democrats held a conference before the Senate assembled, at which the following letter from President Wilson to Senator Hitchcock was read:

My Dear Senator: You were good enough to bring me word that the Democratic Senators supporting the treaty expected to hold a conference between the final vote on the Lodge resolution of ratification and that they would be glad to receive a word of counsel from me.

I should hesitate to offer it in any detail, but I assume that the Senators only desire my judgment upon the all-important question of the final vote on the resolution containing the many reservations of Senator Lodge. On that I cannot hesitate, for, in my opinion, the resolution in that form does not provide

for ratification but rather for nullification of the treaty. I sincerely hope that the friends and supporters of the treaty will vote against the Lodge resolution of ratification.

I understand that the door will then probably be open for a genuine resolution of ratification.

I trust that all true friends of the treaty will refuse to support the Lodge resolution. Cordially and sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

DEFEAT OF THE TREATY

The Senate debate continued throughout the day, each side availing itself of every known manoeuvre in parliamentary tactics, but the Republicans stood solid on every vote, and were aided by the votes of four to seven Democratic Senators.

The first crucial vote, which betokened the fate of the treaty, came late at night on the question of ratification with the Lodge reservations. Thirty-nine Senators voted for ratification on these terms and fifty-five voted against. The second vote was on the same question, revived by a motion to reconsider, and this time forty-one Senators voted for and fifty against. The third and final vote was on the question of ratification without reservations of any kind; thirty-eight Senators voted "yes" and fifty-three "no." The Senate then adjourned sine die at 11:10 o'clock.

Immediately after the last vote, which spelled the doom of the treaty as far as that session of Congress was concerned, Senator Lodge, the majority leader, offered a concurrent resolution declaring peace to exist between Germany and the United States, this being done so as to pave the way for an independent treaty with Germany.

As the House had adjourned sine die, the Lodge resolution had to go over until the next session of the Congress, which meets Dec. 1.

After the Democrats for the second time had voted down the Lodge resolution of ratification, Senator Underwood, Democrat, of Alabama, offered the substitute resolution of ratification without reservations. Although Senator Lodge and those working with him had blocked all previous efforts of the Democrats to obtain a vote on any resolution of their

own through parliamentary points of order, Mr. Lodge allowed the Underwood resolution to come to a vote.

Seven Democratic Senators voted against it and one Republican Senator, Mr. McCumber of North Dakota, voted for it. The vote on the resolution ended the efforts of the minority to save the treaty.

The defeat of the treaty was witnessed by crowded galleries which followed the various manoeuvres with acute interest. Crowds stood in the corridors leading to the galleries, unable to get into the Senate Chamber.

In the votes on ratification, the full voting strength of the Senate was recorded except that of Senator Fall, who was at his home in New Mexico. He would have voted to reject the treaty.

VOTE ON LODGE RESOLUTION

The vote on the Lodge resolution of ratification came at 5:30 P. M., after the Senate had debated the treaty for five and a half hours. Senator McCumber of North Dakota had just made a four-minute speech, in which he told the Administration forces that, by assuming their attitude for unequivocal ratification of the treaty, they were "scuttling their own ship." As he sat down cries of "vote, vote, vote," came from all over the Chamber.

No other Senator arose to speak and the Vice President ruled that the majority resolution of ratification was "now before the Senate for vote."

The crowded galleries sat in tense silence as the roll was called. A murmur swept through them as the vote was announced, 55 to 39, by which the resolution was defeated.

The vote on the Lodge resolution was:

FOR THE RESOLUTION—39 Republicans—35

Ball,	Jones, Wash.,
Calder,	Kellogg,
Capper,	Kenyon,
Cole,	Keyes,
Cummins,	Lenroot,
Curtis,	Lodge,
Dillingham,	McCumber,
Edge,	McLean,
Elkins,	McNary,
Frelinghuysen,	Nelson,
Hale,	New,
Harding,	Newberry,

Page,
Penrose,
Phipps,
Smoot,
Spencer,
Sterling,

Sutherland,
Townsend,
Wadsworth,
Warren,
Watson.

Democrats—4.

Gore, Smith, Ga.,
Shields, Walsh, Mass.

AGAINST THE RESOLUTION—53.

Republicans—13.

Borah, La Follette,
Brandegge, McCormick,
Fernald, Moses,
France, Norris,
Gronna, Poindexter,
Johnson, Cal., Sherman.
Knox,

Democrats—42.

Ashurst, Overman,
Bankhead, Owen,
Beckham, Phelan,
Chamberlain, Pittman,
Culberson, Pomerene,
Dial, Ransdell,
Fletcher, Reed,
Gay, Robinson,
Gerry, Sheppard,
Harris, Simmons,
Harrison, Smith, Ariz.,
Henderson, Smith, Md.,
Hitchcock, Smith, S. C.,
Johnson, S. D., Stanley,
Jones, N. M., Swanson,
Kendrick, Thomas,
King, Trammell,
Kirby, Underwood,
McKellar, Walsh, Mon.,
Myers, Williams,
Nugent, Wolcott.

Chairman of the committee; Senator Hitchcock, the minority leader, and four other Senators to be named by the Chair. Under Senator Pomerene's proposal the committee would "prepare and report to the Senate such a resolution of ratification and reservation as, in their judgment, will meet the approval of not less than two-thirds of the Senate. Senator La Follette, Republican, of Wisconsin, moved to lay the resolution on the table and his motion was carried, 48 to 42.

The motion for unconditional ratification offered by Senator Underwood was defeated by 38 to 53. Senator McCumber, Republican, voted aye; Senators Gore, Reed, Shields, Smith (Ga.), Thomas, Trammell, Walsh (Mass.), all Democrats, voted no with the Republicans.

THE RATIFYING RESOLUTION

The following is the official text of the ratifying resolution offered by Senator Lodge, which met defeat:

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of the treaty of peace with Germany concluded at Versailles on the 28th day of June, 1919, subject to the following reservations and understandings, which are hereby made a part and condition of this resolution of ratification, which ratification is not to take effect or bind the United States until the said reservations and understandings adopted by the Senate have been accepted by an exchange of notes as a part and a condition of this resolution of ratification by at least three of the four principal allied and associated powers, to wit, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan:

1. The United States so understands and construes Article I. that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

2. The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article X., or to employ the military or

A motion was immediately made by Senator Reed to reconsider the vote in order to bring the resolution of ratification again before the Senate; it prevailed by a vote of 62 to 30. Various parliamentary moves followed, but the Republican majority voted down all efforts to outmanoeuvre them in their position. The second vote on the Lodge resolution, which followed, resulted in defeat by 41 to 50.

Senator Pomerene, Democrat, of Ohio, who in the meantime had been in conference with the Administration leaders, moved that the treaty, along with the majority resolution of ratification, be referred to a "Committee of Conciliation," composed of six Senators to be appointed by the President of the Senate. Those on the committee, he proposed, should comprise the majority leader, Senator Lodge, who would be

naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall by act or joint resolution so provide.

3. No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article XXII., Part I., or any other provision of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

4. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children, and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations, or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

5. The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations, provided for in said treaty of peace, any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

6. The United States withholds its assent to Articles CLVI., CLVII., and CLVIII., and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.

7. The Congress of the United States will provide by law for the appointment of the representatives of the United States in the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations, and may in its discretion provide for the participation of the United States in any commission, committee, tribunal, court, council, or conference, or in the selection of any members thereof and for the appointment of members of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences, or any other representatives under the treaty of peace, or in carrying out its provisions, and until such participation and appointment have been so provided for and the powers and duties

of such representatives have been defined by law, no person shall represent the United States under either said League of Nations or the treaty of peace with Germany or be authorized to perform any act for or on behalf of the United States thereunder, and no citizen of the United States shall be selected or appointed as a member of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences except with the approval of the Senate of the United States.

8. The United States understands that the Reparations Commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

9. The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency, organized under the League of Nations or under the treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States.

10. If the United States shall at any time adopt any plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the Council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article VIII., it reserves the right to increase such armaments without the consent of the council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

11. The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a covenant-breaking State, as defined in Article XVI. of the covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than that violating said Article XVI., to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

12. Nothing in Articles CCXCVI., CCXCVII., or in any of the annexes thereto or in any other article, section, or annex of the treaty of peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification, or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

13. The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII. (Articles CCLXXXVII. to CCCCXXVII. inclusive) unless Congress by act or joint resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XIII. and in such event the participation of the United States will be

governed and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

14. The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any election, decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate have cast more than one vote, and assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League if such member, or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

RESOLUTION TO DECLARE THE WAR ENDED

The following resolution offered by Senator Lodge just before the Senate adjourned was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Whereas by resolution of Congress adopted April 6, 1917, and by reason of acts committed by the then German Government, a state of war was declared to exist between that Government and the United States; and

Whereas the said acts of the German

Government have long since ceased; and Whereas by an armistice signed Nov. 11, 1918, hostilities between Germany and the allied and associated powers were terminated; and

Whereas by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles Germany is to be at peace with all the nations engaged in war against her whenever three Governments, designated therein, have ratified said treaty; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the said state of war between Germany and the United States is hereby declared to be at an end.

Following the adjournment of the Senate there was great activity among the friends of the treaty to bring about a compromise. President Wilson made no public utterance regarding the matter. In European countries general regret was expressed over the failure of the Senate to accept the treaty, but the feeling persisted that at the following session some compromise would be reached whereby the United States would ratify the treaty with reservations that would prove acceptable.

Putting the Treaty Into Force

Steps Taken by Allies to Start Machinery of Peace Pact Without the United States

AFTER receiving the news that the United States Senate had adjourned without consenting to the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles the peace delegates of France, England, and Italy at Paris decided to give up their long wait for America's participation, and on Nov. 21 the Supreme Council agreed upon Dec. 1, 1919, as the date for the final ceremonies that would put the treaty and all its machinery into operation. There was still great reluctance to undertake the work of the many commissions created under the treaty without the aid of the United States, and some sign of a change of heart at Washington was still awaited eagerly.

Meanwhile many further steps toward the final exchange of ratifications had

been made. The German "instrument of ratification" had reached Paris on July 11. Great Britain, Italy, and France, as related in detail a month ago, had furnished the three allied ratifications required by the treaty itself for putting the pact into force, but certain things besides American acceptance were still lacking. In England the treaty had received the assent of King George on July 31, but it had been arranged that the British ratification should not be fully completed until the dominions had passed their several measures in favor of the treaty. Both houses of Parliament in the four British dominions gave their approval as follows:

In the case of New Zealand resolutions were passed by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives on Sept. 2.

In the case of Canada resolutions were passed by the Senate and House of Commons on Sept. 4 and Sept. 11, respectively.

In the case of the Union of South Africa resolutions were passed by the Senate on Sept. 12 and by the House of Assembly on Sept. 10.

In the case of Australia resolutions were passed by the House of Representatives on Sept. 19 and by the Senate on Oct. 2.

King George completed the British ratification on Oct. 10 and dispatched his "instrument" to Paris on that date. The instrument included a copy of the Peace Treaty bearing the royal signature and the wafer Great Seal; the King's ratification on behalf of the British Empire; the protocol and the agreement concerning the Rhine Provinces, and the treaty respecting Poland. It was largely printed on vellum and magnificently bound in gold and embossed leather, the whole being held together by ribbons in the colors of the four great Orders of Chivalry. It was dispatched from London on Oct. 10 to Paris in charge of a King's messenger and deposited in the archives there.

The King of Italy had ratified the treaty by royal decree on Oct. 7, thus being the first of the "principal allied and associated powers" to complete the task of ratification; the measure, however, still awaited action by Parliament, which was not in session, before becoming a national law.

RATIFICATION BY FRANCE

The French ratification, the third in order, having received the approval of the Chamber and Senate on Oct. 2 and 11, respectively, was formally completed on Oct. 13, when the *Journal Officiel* contained this laconic item: "On Oct. 13, 1919, the President of the French Republic signed the instrument ratifying the treaty of peace with Germany and other documents signed at Versailles June 28, 1919, in order that these might be deposited in conformity with the final clauses of said treaty." The instrument signed by President Poincaré consists of a copy of the Treaty of Versailles preceded by a sheet of paper on which is written:

From Raymond Poincaré, President of the French Republic, to all those who shall see this, Salutation!

A second sheet, placed at the end of the treaty, bears the following:

Having examined the said treaty, we have approved and do approve it by virtue of the provisions of the law voted by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. We declare that it is accepted, ratified, and confirmed; and we promise that it will be inviolably observed.

In token of which we have given the present document bearing the seal of the republic.

Done at Paris, Oct. 13, 1919.

RAYMOND POINCARÉ,

President of the Republic.

S. PICHON,

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

JAPAN'S RATIFICATION

Japan, the fourth of the great powers to accept, ratified the peace of Versailles on Oct. 30. Three days previously the Privy Council had approved it at a meeting over which the Emperor presided. Some of the members had criticised the Government, and complained that the delegates to Paris had not been sufficiently prepared, blaming them for having accepted without protest the waiver of indemnity for the maintenance of prisoners of war. It was pointed out that Japan, unlike her allies, had no prisoners in Germany to counterbalance the expense of caring for enemy prisoners in Japan. Regarding the Shantung issue, it was decided that the United States Senate's rejection of the Shantung amendment removed any obstacle of courtesy that might stand in the way of Japan's immediate adoption of the treaty.

The committee, headed by Viscount Kiyoura, in its report dwelt particularly on the view that as the ratification by the Emperor was tantamount to imperial assent to the League of Nations, the League would not encroach upon the prerogatives of the Emperor; also that it would not interfere with the alliance with England. This satisfied the critics in the council, who had feared that the League would hopelessly fetter the future of Japan. The report pointed out that the League covenant permitted the withdrawal of Japan under stated conditions. Finally, after unanimous approval without reservations, the treaty was submitted to the Emperor, and received his signature on Oct. 30. No Par-

liamentary vote was necessary to complete the ratification.

The Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, on Nov. 7, approved the Treaty of Versailles without discussion or amendment; before the vote was taken Deputy Joaquin Czorío paid a tribute to the work of President Wilson at the Peace Conference, characterizing him as the world's leader of human progress. The Senate took similar action after a short discussion on Nov. 11, and late that afternoon President Pessoa affixed his signature to the instrument of ratification. Thus Brazil officially ended her war with Germany on Armistice Day.

A semi-official message from Prague announced that the Czechoslovak National Assembly had adopted both the Versailles and St. Germain treaties on Nov. 7.

PROMULGATING THE TREATY

The principal steps that still remained to be taken after the first three powers had ratified the treaty were these: The formal exchange of the three ratifications by the powers concerned, and the deposit of the "instruments" in the archives of the French Foreign Office at Paris; drawing up the "procès-verbal," or formal record of the deposit of these instruments; then the promulgation of the treaty.

After the procès-verbal has been drawn up, the treaty must be promulgated in France by a special decree inserted in the *Journal Officiel*, whose first article, according to the *Paris Temps*, will read about as follows: "The Senate and Chamber of Deputies having approved the treaty signed June 28, 1919, at Versailles, between France * * * and Germany, and the ratifications of this act having been exchanged at Paris, the said treaty, whose substance follows, will receive its full and entire execution." Finally will come the putting into force of the treaty with all its machinery of executive boards and commissions. The whole series of formalities can be completed in a short time.

Besides bringing the League of Nations formally into existence, the promulgation of the Peace Treaty by the powers which have already ratified it

will bring into force a prodigious list of obligations which must be performed by Germany. They touch upon great and small matters in many parts of the world, and are subject to time limits ranging from fifteen days to fifteen years.

A number of commissions, including that which is to take charge of the Sarre Basin and the one which is to delimit the Polish-German frontier, are to be set up within fifteen days of the establishment of peace.

Within three months the German Army must be reduced to 200,000 effectives, all unauthorized munition plants must be closed. Germany must hand over all her military and naval aeronautical equipment, including the remnants of her once proud Zeppelin fleet, and must modify her laws to conform with various treaty provisions.

The time limit for the reduction of the German Navy personnel to its prescribed strength is two months, and by the same date the German warships named in the treaty must be delivered to the Allies. One month is the limit for the delivery of the last scrap of submarine equipment. The German forts which the treaty names must be disarmed within two months and dismantled within six.

The date of May 1, 1921, is stipulated as the limit for Germany's delivery to the Reparations Commission of her initial reparation payment of 20,000,000,000 marks, and the commission is required by May 1, 1919, to notify Germany of the total damage claims to be filed against her by her late enemies. Germany immediately loses legal title to all her colonies and to all her surface warships not in home ports. Rights in Shantung pass formally to Japan and Great Britain's protectorate over Egypt is legalized.

Germany immediately accepts as binding upon her some fifty treaties relating to many subjects, and agrees to accept in future many other treaties yet to be negotiated by the Allies. Prisoners of war are to be repatriated, the treaty says, "as soon as possible" after the date of effective peace. German troops must be withdrawn from various sections, including portions of East Prussia and Poland,

within fifteen days. Coal deliveries to Belgium and France must begin at once.

FRANCO-BRITISH PACT

The supplementary treaty between Great Britain and France, by which Britain agrees to go to France's aid in the event of unwarranted German aggression, was advanced another step toward effectiveness in the evening of Nov. 20, when Stephen Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, and Sir Eyre Crewe, British Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, exchanged ratifications of that treaty. Sir Eyre was the representative of Great Britain in the Supreme Council in the absence of Premier Lloyd George. The treaty does not come into full force until the similar treaty with the United States has been ratified.

Five additional countries indicated their adhesion to the League of Nations during the month. Chile gave official notice to that effect on Nov. 4. Colombia, through its Congress, gave provisional adhesion to the covenant on Nov. 10 and the action was approved by the President. The Senate of Paraguay on Nov. 13 voted for adhesion to the League and to the International Labor Organization. Holland announced through her Minister of Foreign Affairs on Nov. 15 that she intended to enter the League of Nations as soon as the Peace Treaty came into force. Switzerland's adhesion to the League was voted by the National Council at Berne on Nov. 19. The vote came after eight days of debate, the count being 124 in favor of joining the

League to 45 against. The decision of the council is subject to a referendum.

AUSTRIA RATIFIES TREATY

Ratification of the Treaty of St. Germain between Austria and the allied and associated powers was the first important business submitted to the Austrian National Assembly when it convened in Vienna on Oct. 14. Dr. Karl Seitz, the President of the Republic, presided over the sessions, and on Oct. 15 the treaty was referred to a special committee. This committee reported the treaty two days later with recommendation of its acceptance, and the National Assembly at once voted for its ratification without debate—on Oct. 17. The German party alone opposed it, that party being a unit in opposition.

On the same day a bill was introduced stipulating that the territory assigned to Austria by the Treaty of St. Germain should be a democratic republic to be known as "the Republic of Austria." Another provision in the bill abrogated the law of 1918, which had declared Austria to be an organic part of the German Empire. All these acts were in compliance with demands of the Peace Conference. On Oct. 25 President Seitz completed Austria's acceptance by signing the treaty. The peace of St. Germain will become effective when the formal notices of ratification by Austria and three of the principal allied and associated powers have been deposited in the French Foreign Office and this fact has been made public in a *procès-verbal*.

Holding Germany to the Terms

Extensive Violations of Armistice and Treaty Provisions Dealt With in a New Protocol

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 20, 1919]

THE question of the fulfillment of the reparation terms by Germany occupied the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference during October and November. Many details still remained to be worked out, but the coun-

cil's determination to insist on Germany's full responsibility for violations of the armistice terms, including the sinking of the German battleships at Scapa Flow and the maintenance of armed forces in the Baltic in the face of

repeated Entente protests, was made plain by the measures which it adopted. Such questions as the punishment of the German officials who had conducted or encouraged atrocities in France and Belgium, the failure of Germany to restore art treasures and machinery stolen from both of these countries, her double-dealing in the matter of the disposal of her ships, her arbitrary actions in respect to Danzig, and illegal methods in the preparation of plebiscites were considered and discussed.

One matter that came prominently to the fore was that of the delimitation of the territory of the Sarre Valley. In this district, which was occupied by French forces, serious troubles had occurred owing to various causes connected with the high cost of living, the lack of coal, and the scarcity of food staples, especially potatoes. Spartacist agitators, taking advantage of this, organized a revolt, which was put down by the French authorities after 10 persons had been killed and 600 others arrested. The delimitation of the portion of this territory to be administered by France was urgently necessary, but this could not be done by the council until the League of Nations was convened. The appointment of the Sarre Commission was scheduled for swift action as soon as the treaty came into force and the League should begin to function.

GERMANS STRIP DANZIG

Another matter that came to the council's attention was Germany's action in Danzig, which, by the terms of the treaty, was to be constituted as a free city. It was stated on Oct. 16 that the German authorities in this port were stripping both the city and the port of all objects of value; that they had sold naval shipyards, artillery magazines, State workshops and arsenals, and other institutions which had brought them in more than 275,000,000 marks. The value of the docks sold amounted to hundreds of millions. On Nov. 6 the German Government, in a communication addressed to the Danzig municipality, announced that it did not consider itself bound to surrender its authority over the city until the United States ratified the treaty, as

the terms of the treaty provided that this transfer must be made to the "principal allied and associated powers," among whom, the German note held, the United States must be included.

Meanwhile Sir Reginald Tower was appointed High Commissioner for Danzig under the Peace Treaty, and he took up his official duties at the beginning of November. By Article 101 of the Peace Treaty a commission of three members was to be constituted within fifteen days after the coming into force of the treaty; this commission was to be composed of a High Commissioner as President, one member to be appointed by Germany and one by Poland. Its main duty was to be the delimitation of the frontier of the future free city. At the date mentioned the members of the Entente Military Mission had reached Danzig.

In some respects Germany manifested her desire to fulfill the reparation demands laid upon her, notably in the establishment of a new Government censorship of all letters from and to England and America, devised to control tax-dodging and the sending of money out of Germany; but the Supreme Council was by no means satisfied with Germany's official acts in other directions. In the preparation of the coming plebiscites in Upper Silesia, Schleswig, Teschen, and Klagenfurt the German methods adopted to secure control were particularly obnoxious to the council, which received many complaints of the German proceedings.

GERMANS TERRORIZE SILESIA

In Upper Silesia the Poles charged that 200,000 German troops had been brought in, and that every one who had ever been in Silesia was being traced down and given free transportation to enable him to cast his vote in the disputed district. The Germans, they also declared, were terrorizing the Polish population and killing many Poles. Complaints of German activities in Schleswig were also received by the council. In all the regions where plebiscites were to be held, provision for the sending of allied troops had been decided upon under the treaty.

An example of the German method of preparing for plebiscites was embodied in an appeal made by the Government to the German people on Oct. 15, which called the Peace Treaty "dreadful" and "unbearable," especially with regard to the loss of German territory. All the territories to be disposed of by plebiscite, said this appeal, could be saved to Germany if every German did his duty at the voting time. Every former citizen of any of these districts was urged in fervent language to return to his former home "to perform an act which future historians will classify with the great deeds of the past."

ARMISTICE TERMS VIOLATED

Discussion of the terms of the armistice which Germany had not fulfilled was begun by the Supreme Council on Oct. 29. At this meeting military, naval, and financial reports were presented on violations of these terms, including the following transgressions: the presence of German soldiers in the Baltic, the sinking of the ships of war at Scapa Flow, and the failure of Germany to restore art treasures, machinery, and agricultural implements stolen from France and Belgium. Other violations of less importance were also cited. To deal with those not covered by the treaty a special protocol was drafted and forwarded, with a letter, to Germany on Nov. 6. The text of this letter, which dealt also with the question of ratification, was as follows:

By the terms of the final provisions of the treaty signed at Versailles June 28, 1919, it has been stipulated that "A first procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up as soon as the treaty has been ratified by Germany on the one hand and by three of the principal allied and associated powers on the other hand."

The President of the Peace Conference had the honor of calling to the attention of the Government that three of the principal allied and associated powers, namely, the British Empire, France, and Italy, have ratified, and Germany, on the other hand, having also ratified the treaty, the condition referred to above has been fulfilled.

The other allied and associated powers who have up to the present time made known their ratification are Belgium, Poland, and Siam.

In compliance with the said provisions, and if the various acts necessary to the coming into force of the treaty be fulfilled in time, there will take place in Paris, at a date which will be announced later, and notification of which will be given five days in advance, a procès-verbal of the deposit of these ratifications, at which the German Government is requested to participate. The final provisions of the treaty add: "From the date of this first procès-verbal the treaty will come into force between the high contracting parties who have ratified. For the determination of all periods of time provided for in the present treaty this date will be the date of the coming in force of the treaty."

The principal allied and associated powers have decided that the treaty shall not go into force until the execution of the obligations which Germany had by the armistice convention and the additional agreements undertaken to fulfill, and which have not received satisfaction, shall have been fully carried out.

The German Government is therefore asked to give to the German representatives authorized to sign the procès-verbal of the deposits of ratification full powers to sign at the same time the protocol, of which a copy is hereto annexed, and which provides without further delay for this settlement.

The German Government therefore is now invited to send to Paris, by Nov. 10, 1919, duly qualified representatives for this purpose to:

- I. Arrange in agreement with the representatives of the allied and associated powers the conditions for the setting up of the commissions of government, of administration, and of plebiscite, the holding over of powers, the transfer of services, the entry of interallied troops, the evacuation of German troops, the replacement of the said German authorities, and all other measures above provided for. Attention is now called to the fact that the German authorities must leave intact all service organizations and officers as well as the documents required by the interallied authorities for the immediate entry on their duties, and that the German troops must also leave intact all the establishments which they occupy.

2. Agree with the staff of the Marshal, Commander in Chief of the allied and associated armies, as to the conditions of transport of interallied troops.

TEXT OF PROTOCOL

The text of the proposed protocol, transmitted at the same time, was as follows:

Protocol: At the very time of proceeding to the first deposit of ratifications of the Peace Treaty it was ascertained that

the following obligations which Germany had agreed to execute, in the armistice conventions and the complementary agreements, have not been executed or have not received full satisfaction, viz.:

First—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 7: Obligation of delivering 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 cars. Forty-two locomotives and 4,460 cars are still to be delivered.

Second—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 12: Obligation of withdrawing within the frontiers of Germany the German troops which are in Russian territory as soon as the Allies judge the time proper. The withdrawal of troops has not yet been executed, in spite of the reiterated injunctions of Aug. 27, Sept. 27, and Oct. 10, 1919.

Third—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 14: Obligation to discontinue immediately all requisition, seizures, or coercive measures in Russian territory. The German troops continue to use these methods.

Fourth—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 19: Obligation of immediate delivery of all documents, specie, values of property and finance, with all issuing apparatus, concerning public or private interests in the invaded countries. The complete statements of the specie and securities removed, collected, or confiscated by the Germans in the invaded countries have not been delivered.

Fifth—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 22: Obligation of delivering all German submarines. Destruction of the German submarine UC-48 off Ferrol, by order of her German commander, and the destruction in the North Sea of certain submarines proceeding to England for delivery.

Sixth—Armistice convention of Nov. 11, 1918, Clause 23: Obligation of maintaining in the allied ports the German battleships designated by the allied and associated powers, these ships being destined to be ultimately delivered. Clause 31: Obligation of not destroying any ship before delivery; on June 21, 1919, destruction at Scapa Flow of the said ships.

Seventh—Protocol of Dec. 17, 1918, annexed to the Armistice Convention of Dec. 13, 1918: Obligation of restoring all works of art and artistic documents removed from France and Belgium. All works of art were transported into unoccupied Germany and have not been restored.

Eighth—Armistice Convention of Jan. 15, 1919, Clause III. and Protocol 392-1, additional Clause III. of July 25, 1919: Obligation of delivering agricultural implements in lieu of the supplementary railroad material provided for in Tables 1 and 2 and annexed to the protocol at Spa of Dec. 17, 1918. The following were not delivered on the date fixed (Oct. 1, 1919): Forty "Heucke" plowing outfits, all the

personnel necessary to operate the apparatus, all the spades, 1,500 shovels, 1,130 plows, T. M. 23-26; 1,765 plows, T. F. 18 21; 1,512 plows, T. F. 23 26; 629 Belgian plows, T. F. O. M. 20; 1,205 Belgian plows, T. F. O. M. 26; 4,282 harrows of 2 K 500; 2,157 steel cultivators; 966 fertilizer spreaders, 2 M. 50; 1,608 fertilizer spreaders, 3 M. 50.

Ninth—Armistice Convention of Jan. 16, 1919, Clause 6: Obligation of restoring the industrial material removed from French and Belgian territories. All this material has not been restored.

Tenth—Convention of Jan. 16, 1919, Clause 8: Obligation of placing the entire German merchant fleet at the disposal of the allied and associated powers. A certain number of ships of which delivery had been requested by virtue of this clause have not yet been delivered.

Eleventh—Protocols of the Brussels Conference of March 13 and 14, 1919: Obligations of not exporting any war material of any nature. Exportation of aerial material to Sweden, Holland, and Denmark.

A certain number of the above unexecuted or incompletely executed stipulations were renewed by the treaty of June 28, 1919, the going into force of which will of right render applicable the sanctions provided for. This applies in particular to the various payments in kind stipulated as reparations.

On the other hand, the question of the evacuation of the Baltic provinces was the object of an exchange of notes and decisions which are in course of execution. The allied and associated powers expressly confirm the contents of their notes, the execution of which Germany by the present protocol agrees to carry out loyally and strictly.

Lastly, the allied and associated powers cannot overlook or sanction the other infractions committed against the armistice conventions, and violations as serious as the destruction of the German fleet at Scapa Flow, the destruction of the submarine UC-48 off Ferrol and the destruction in the North Sea of certain submarines proceeding to England for delivery. Consequently Germany agrees:

First (A)—To deliver as reparation for the destruction of the German fleet at Scapa Flow:

(a) Within a period of sixty days from the signing of the present protocol and under the conditions provided for by Paragraph 2 of Article CLXXXV. of the treaty of peace, the following five light cruisers: Königsberg, Pillau, Graudens, Regensburg, Strassburg.

(B) Within a period of ninety days from the signing of the present protocol and in all respects in good condition and ready to function, such a number of floating docks, floating cranes, tugs and dredges equivalent to a total displacement of

400,000 tons as the principal allied and associated powers may demand. As regards the docks the lifting power will be considered as displacement. In the number of docks above provided for there should be about 75 per cent. of docks of over 10,000 tons.

(b) To be delivered within a period of ten days from the signing of the present protocol: A complete list of all the floating docks, floating cranes, tugs and dredges which are German property. List which will be delivered to the Interallied Naval Control Commission provided for by Article CCIX. of the peace treaty will include the material which on Nov. 11, 1918, belonged to the German Government or in which the German Government had an important interest at that date.

(c) The officers and men who formed the crews of the battleships sunk at Scapa Flow, and who are actually detained by the principal allied and associated powers, with the exception of those who surrender, as provided for by Article 228 of the Peace Treaty, will be repatriated at the latest when Germany shall have completed the above Paragraphs A and B.

(d) The destroyer B-98 will be considered as one of the forty-two destroyers the delivery of which is provided for by Article 185 of the Peace Treaty.

Second—To deliver within a period of ten days from the signing of the present protocol the machines and engines of the submarines U-137, U-138, and U-150, to offset the destruction of the submarine UC-48, as well as the three engines of the submarine U-146, which is still to be delivered to offset the destruction of submarines in the North Sea.

Third—To pay to the allied and associated Governments the value of the exported aerial material according to the decision and estimation which will be made and notified by the Aerial Control Commission provided for by Article 210 of the Peace Treaty and before Jan. 1, 1920.

In case Germany should not fulfill these obligations within the time above specified, the allied and associated powers reserve the right to have recourse to any coercive measures or other which they may deem appropriate.

The date set for the signing of this protocol by Germany's representatives, Nov. 10, 1919, came and passed, but the German delegation did not appear until a week later. It was made up as follows: Herr von Simson, Director of the Office of Foreign Affairs in Berlin; Herr Gauss, Counselor of Legation; Herr Loehrs, Captain von Gayern, Major

Michaelis, and Herr von Boeticher. Baron Kurt von Lersner, German representative in Paris, sat with the commission. After a preliminary session, however, the whole delegation returned to Berlin on Nov. 22, leaving the matter in suspense.

QUESTIONS OF OCCUPATION

The question of the expenses of the occupation by the allied troops in Germany was referred to the Sub-Committee on Reparations on Oct. 1. France requested that these expenses be calculated in accordance with the French tariff. M. Rolin-Jacquemyns, Belgian High Commissioner in the Rhineland, proceeded to Coblenz early in October, where the sessions of the Interallied Commission, composed of four members, representing respectively Belgium, Great Britain, France, and America, were to be held. Command of the interallied troops of occupation of the Rhine was taken over by General Degoutte, hero of the great Marne counterstroke in July, 1918, to replace General Fayolle, who was to head the Interallied Commission to supervise the disarmament of Germany.

Another change announced was the appointment of André Tardieu, head of the General Commission for Franco-American War Matters, as Minister of Blockade and Invaded Regions in the place of Albert Lebrun, whose resignation M. Clemenceau had demanded on Nov. 6, on the ground that he was running for election as a Deputy on the same ticket with Louis Marin, who cast his vote against ratification of the Peace Treaty by the Chamber of Deputies.

BELGIAN QUESTIONS

The measures taken by the Belgian Government in occupying the districts of Eupen and Malmédy were made the subject of strong protests by the German Government in notes to the Entente powers dated Sept. 1 and Sept. 5. In answer, the Supreme Council pointed out on Sept. 26 that Germany had renounced all rights in these territories in favor of Belgium, on the understanding that a part or all of them might revert to Germany under the League of Nations on

the basis of a plebiscite; meanwhile they were incontestably under the sovereignty of Belgium, which had signified its consent to enter into *pourparlers* with Germany regarding the execution of the treaty in these territories, as well as in neutral and Prussian *Moresnet*.

The Belgian Minister on Oct. 28 gave Belgium's approval to a list of 1,150 Germans, soldiers and civilians, whose arrest was demanded on charges arising from violation of the laws of war at the time of the invasion of Belgium, or during the occupation of that country by German troops. This list was sent to the Peace Conference on Nov. 5. The indictments were based principally on the executions of civilians at Louvain and other towns, on the deportation of workmen, on forced labor exacted from prisoners of war, on the treatment of young men who attempted to cross the frontier to join the Belgian Army, and on pillage.

WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION

The report of the German Mining Commission sent to France to ascertain the extent of the damage done by the

Germans in the devastated regions stated that the work of construction would have to be done "from the ground up," especially in the Departments of Pas de Calais, Courrière, Lens, Lievin, Drocourt, Mourchin, Carvin and Dourgas, where the damage done was "terrible." Most of the mines, the report said, had been "drowned," and in rebuilding new shafts they would have to be protected against the inward pressure of the water. The work of reconstruction was one of great difficulty, and the extent of damage was in many cases impossible to ascertain; location of responsibility, also, the report, stated, would be hard to make, owing to the inadequacy of military records showing the chronological location of the military units. Commenting upon this report, the German newspaper *Vorwärts* declared that there was enough work to be done in reconstructing these mines to keep all the unemployed of Germany busy for the next eight years, and that this showed the fallacy of the frequently expressed theory that the emigration of thousands of people from Germany was an economic necessity.

Work of the Peace Conference

Many Momentous Problems Occupy the Historic Paris Congress in Its Last Sessions

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 20, 1919]

MANY questions of international importance were discussed, and some were decided, in the final weeks of the Peace Conference at Paris; others, which could not be settled before the imminent dissolution of the conference, were covered by the creation of special machinery devised to function after the body which for so many months had virtually ruled the whole of Europe had broken up. The great difficulties facing the conference in October and November were the German-Russian imbroglio in the Baltic, and the continued defiance of Rumania, whose armed forces remained in Buda-

pest despite the sending of no fewer than nine notes demanding their evacuation, and whose Government approved the annexation of the Province of Bessarabia contrary to the decisions of the Supreme Council.

The note which the Supreme Council dispatched to Germany inviting her, in common with the allied and neutral nations of Europe, to participate in the blockade of Soviet Russia, was published in the November *CURRENT HISTORY*. It was announced from Berlin on Oct. 26 that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly had agreed with the Government that the invitation to

share in such a blockade must be declined, and that all the party committees had accepted this decision unanimously. The reply to the allied invitation was subsequently drafted and dispatched to Marshal Foch. In this reply Germany stated that she declined to participate on the ground that she did not believe that such a blockade would achieve the desired end, as all coercive steps would lead to Russian reaction, but added that Germany was prepared to co-operate in any other measures against the Bolshevik régime which would prove effective. The note also pointed out that, according to the articles of the League of Nations, a blockade would not be justified at that time. The opportunity was seized to ask that the blockade against Germany be completely removed, and that all German ships held in Baltic harbors be restored to their owners. The Supreme Council referred the German reply to the proper commission for consideration and reply.

In view of the obstinate refusal of the troops of General von der Goltz to leave Courland, the Supreme Council sent several notes to the German Government demanding that it take more effective measures to secure this evacuation, under penalty of a re-establishment of the economic blockade existing before the armistice. Against such a prospect the German Government protested vigorously, asserting that it had done all in its power to recall these insubordinate troops, and asking that an interallied commission be appointed to proceed to Berlin, and then to the Baltic, to control the situation.

INTERALLIED BALTIC COMMISSION

Such a commission was subsequently appointed by the Supreme Council, under the official title of the Allied Commission to Supervise the Evacuation of the Baltic Provinces, and was made up as follows: General Niessel, representing France, President; General Turner, England; General Marietti, Italy; Commandant Takeda, Japan; Brig. Gen. S. A. Cheney, United States. General Niessel had been much in Russia under the Bolsheviks, and spoke Russian fluently; formerly he had been a member of the Interallied Commission to Posen. This

commission left for Berlin early in November, where it began an investigation of the Allies' suspicions that the German Government was not free from complicity in the failure of General von der Goltz's troops to withdraw, and discussed the question of control of the railroad lines running from East Prussia to Courland. After the completion of the Berlin discussions, the commission was charged to proceed to Riga to bring about, by persuasion or sterner measures, the dispersal of the Germano-Russian troops under Colonel Avalov-Bermondts who had attacked the Letts in Riga.

With regard to complaints against German activities in the plebiscite regions in Schleswig and Upper Silesia, and the Polish complaint that the Germans were holding municipal elections in the latter district, although these elections were scheduled to take place only after the arrival of the mission to organize the plebiscite, word was sent to Germany that the results of these elections—which turned out to be in favor of the Polish element—must be disregarded.

Foreign Minister Trumbitch of Serbia, who arrived in Paris on Oct. 23 from Belgrade, brought with him authorization from his Government to sign the Austrian Peace Treaty under reservations. Serbia, like Rumania, had failed to sign the Austrian treaty because of objections on the part of the Yugoslavs to the clause dealing with racial minorities. The signature of Rumania was promised by the latter country on Nov. 6. The Austrian delegation handed the Peace Conference the document of ratification of the treaty on the following day.

On Oct. 25 the Supreme Council adopted instructions for the commission appointed to conduct the plebiscite in the disputed district of Teschen and to determine whether the region was to be allotted to Czechoslovakia or Poland. Regarding this latter country, the council was still considering the future of Eastern Galicia, formerly Austrian territory, though now for some time occupied by Polish troops. It also decided on Nov. 3 to request the Polish Government to open to traffic certain railroads crossing the German-Polish frontier north of Warsaw.

RUMANIA'S DEFIANCE

The Rumanian Government's defiance of the wishes of the Supreme Council in respect to the evacuation of Hungary by the Rumanian Army continued week after week. On Oct. 16 Frank L. Polk, Under Secretary of State and head of the American peace delegation at Paris, submitted to the council a telegram from the Interallied Mission at Budapest, which complained of the action of the Rumanians in Hungary, particularly concerning their requisitions of foodstuffs on a large scale, and their preventing the distribution of what remained; it demanded in forcible terms that the Rumanians withdraw from Hungary and make restitution. The council commissioned Sir George Clerk to proceed immediately to Budapest to inform the mission that the council had already sent a note to the Rumanians demanding their immediate withdrawal, and that it would insist on compliance with its demands. On Nov. 1, to add to the council's perplexities, Rumania's representatives announced the annexation by Rumania of the Province of Bessarabia, despite the council's warning of the serious consequences which this annexation might create and its proposal of a plebiscite. No action on Rumania's announcement was taken by the council at this time.

A further note, however, was sent to Rumania on Nov. 3 calling on her to answer the communication sent her three weeks before, which she had avoided until that time on a technicality. This note, dispatched on Oct. 12, called on the Bucharest Government to remove the Rumanian troops from Hungary, notified it that it must cease all efforts to obtain more territory for Rumania than the Peace Conference had assigned to it, and served notice that all "requisitions" on Hungary would result in diminishing the total of the reparations to which Rumania would be normally entitled. The text of the allied note of Nov. 3 was as follows:

The Supreme Council has decided to request the allied Ministers at Bucharest to notify jointly, without delay, the Rumanian Government of the fact that it was unfavorably impressed upon learning that General Conda, sent as special envoy to

Paris by the Rumanian Ministry, arrived without the Rumanian reply to the last note from the powers under the pretext that the Italian Minister had not taken this step at the same time as France, England, and the United States.

The Supreme Council expresses the formal desire to obtain within the shortest time a brief and clear reply from the Rumanian Government on all the points discussed. As the situation in Hungary demands an early decision in order to insure the re-establishment of normal conditions, which is absolutely essential for the security of Central Europe, the principal allied and associated powers cannot allow Rumania to prolong dilatory negotiations on the three questions stated Oct. 12 last.

Please communicate this in the name of the conference, collectively with your colleagues, who need not wait for special instructions from their Governments owing to the urgency of the situation.

PICHON.

RUMANIA'S EVASIVE REPLY

Rumania's answer was received and read to the Supreme Council on Nov. 12. This reply stated that the Rumanian troops were being withdrawn to the River Theiss, but made no mention of any further evacuation. As the River Theiss lies far to the west both of the boundary line between Hungary and Rumania laid down by the Peace Conference and the line which the Rumanians themselves have demanded, this reply was deemed by the council as inadequate and unsatisfactory. Regarding the question of requisitions in Hungary and the signing of the Austrian treaty the reply evaded all commitment. Reports reaching the conference confirmed the Rumanian withdrawal to the River Theiss, which was said to be attended with great disorder, and the levying of requisitions on an unprecedented scale.

Hungarian troops, under Admiral Horthy, entered Budapest on Nov. 15. The council voted that a new note to Rumania should be drafted, calling on her to declare her intentions in regard to withdrawal to the line desired and as to signing the Austrian treaty within one week.

Shortly after the conclusion of the session, at which this decision was taken, Rumania's representatives dispatched to the Foreign Office notice of a telegram sent on Nov. 6 from Bucharest, which

stated that the Rumanian Government would sign the Austrian treaty with the clause on racial minorities, but would demand an understanding as to the spirit in which this article would find application.

This left outstanding disputes with Rumania over the subject of requisitions in Hungary, and the question of her future boundaries, including Bessarabia. Regarding these boundaries, it was reported in Paris on Oct. 24 that Rumania's demands for a rectification of the frontiers fixed for the western borders, involving a removal of her boundary with Hungary to a point fourteen miles to the west of the point fixed by the Supreme Council, had been refused. The vexed question of the disposition of the Banat of Temesvar had been settled at this time by dividing this territory between Rumania and Serbia; the frontier was minutely defined in a note communicated by Secretary Dutasta of the Peace Conference to both of the nations involved. According to this division Serbia received most of the rich agricultural plain adjoining Serbia on the north, and two-thirds of the waterways, while Rumania received the eastern half of the Banat, including several important industrial towns.

Besides the difficulty involved in compelling Rumania to evacuate Budapest, the council was faced with the vexation of being unable to conclude terms of peace with Hungary, owing to the continuance in office of the Cabinet of the Hungarian Minister, Stepan Friedrich, reports of whose monarchial proclivities had reached the council's ears, and whose Government had never been recognized by the Entente Powers. Energetic measures were taken on Nov. 12, when Sir George Clerk, the allied emissary, on his arrival at Budapest, delivered an ultimatum to Premier Friedrich, notifying him that a Coalition Cabinet must be formed within forty-eight hours, or he himself resign his office.

GREEK OCCUPATION OF SMYRNA

The report of the commission appointed to investigate the Greek occupation of Smyrna was approved by the council on Nov. 12, at which date it was decided to

ask the Greek authorities to insure that order be maintained in future, and that there be no recurrence of such anti-Turkish aggressions as those of which Turkey had complained after the Greek occupation, and also to notify the Greeks that their military occupation of Smyrna must be understood to be only provisional and temporary.

M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, announced in Paris on Nov. 15 that he had asked for a new investigation, and urged that the commission's findings be rejected, on the ground that no Greeks had been appointed on the commission, and no Greek testimony had been accepted. As regards the duration of the occupation, M. Venizelos stated that it had been his understanding that the Greeks should occupy permanently "a country which has been Greek for 3,000 years."

BULGARIA'S ACCEPTANCE

Bulgaria's reply to the peace terms of the allied powers was delivered on Oct. 24, the last day of the time limit set for its receipt. The answer comprised three pamphlets. The first of these related to the political and labor clauses, the second to the territorial provisions, and the third to the military, naval, aerial, and reparations terms. The reply was moderate in tone, and adhered unreservedly to the clauses concerning the League of Nations and labor. It accepted the principle of the protection of minorities in Bulgaria on condition that the same measures be applied to other Balkan States. The reply, however, made reservations regarding reparations, and protested especially against the total sum demanded of Bulgaria. It asked for the suppression of interest charges, and requested an extension of the time limit for payment. Regarding the military clauses, Bulgaria objected to the voluntary enlistment system, maintaining that conscription alone could produce sufficient forces to preserve order.

The longest part of the reply dealt with territorial clauses, and protested against modifications of frontiers on ethnical grounds. Quoting statistics extensively, it proposed a plebiscite in Thrace, and the formation of this region into an autonomous State. The various

subdivisions of the Bulgarian reply were submitted to the proper commissions for reports, on the basis of which the council would formulate its answer.

This answer, which made but slight concessions to the Bulgarians' demands, was completed by Nov. 1 and submitted to the Bulgar representatives the following day; a time limit of ten days was set for Bulgaria's final decision. The council likewise considered the terms of a note to be sent to the Rumanian and Yugoslav Governments, setting forth the status of those Governments with regard to the Bulgarian treaty, and informing them that it would be impossible for them to sign this treaty so long as they withheld their consent to sign the treaty with Austria. Subsequently the consent of both of the countries involved was transmitted to the council.

The Bulgarian peace delegation on Nov. 13 sent an official note to the council announcing that Bulgaria was prepared to sign the treaty. M. Stambulisky, the Bulgarian Premier, had left Sofia for Paris to complete the ceremony.

In a statement issued at Boston on Nov. 7 the League of Friends of Greece in America assailed the terms of the treaty with Bulgaria. This statement said in part:

The treaty is unjust to Greece, Serbia, and Rumania. The Bulgarian troops, under orders from Sofia, have annihilated half of the Serbian populations, have desolated Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace. Despite all these crimes, Bulgaria has lost no Bulgarian territory. Western Thrace is Greek, not Bulgarian, yet Bulgaria is given by the Bulgarian treaty 250,000 inhabitants of Thrace, of whom only 35,000 are Bulgarians, the others Turks and Greeks.

NEW COMMISSION CREATED

With the prospect that the Bulgarian treaty would be signed, the labors of the conference drew appreciably nearer to their logical termination. Many problems, however, after the expected dissolution of the conference in December would be left in abeyance. Besides the League of Nations a plan was formed for the future conduct of European affairs by means of a new commission, whose creation was announced about Oct. 16 as a co-ordinating committee to which the

various sub-committees created by the Versailles treaty would report from time to time. On Oct. 21 this body assumed the name of "The Committee for the Enforcement of the Treaty of Versailles."

This new commission was to concern itself not only with the enforcement of the German treaty, but with the enforcement of all treaties made by the Peace Conference. While the League of Nations Council would receive reports from the League committees, the Enforcement Commission would receive reports from other committees. The underlying reason for the creation of the new commission was to make sure that there should be some organization to represent the allied nations authoritatively at all times, whether the League of Nations functioned smoothly or with difficulty. Effectiveness was to be given to the decisions of the commission by the support of the Reparations Commissions, which, in case of any emergency, would bring pressure to bear upon the former enemies of the Entente.

The ceremony of formally putting in force the treaty of Versailles was still deferred pending the much-hoped-for ratification by the United States. The possibility that the American Senate, however, might defeat the ratification measure was given due consideration by the Supreme Council, and on Nov. 10 the council reached an agreement on the procedure for convoking the first council of the League of Nations without the participation of the United States, though admitting the difficulties in the way of executing the treaty without American participation in the numerous Interallied Commissions on Reparations, Control, and Military Occupation.

Belgium's request that the seat of the League of Nations be changed to Brussels, the council decided, would be placed before the first meeting of the Assembly of the League. This first meeting, it was also decided, would take place in Paris on the day when the final exchange of ratifications took place. The call for this meeting would be issued by President Wilson after the date for the exchange of ratifications was finally decided.

A note was dispatched to Germany on Nov. 2 inviting her to send a deputation to attend the ratification ceremony and sign a protocol assuming responsibility for the fulfillment of certain terms of the armistice; also agreeing to make good in actual payment the loss of the ships sunk at Scapa Flow, as well as to surrender 400,000 tons of floating docks, tugs, and other naval equipment. In this note no mention was made of the inter-allied blockade of Soviet Russia, in which Germany, as well as several neutral nations, including Sweden and Switzerland, had declined participation, and this was taken in allied circles to be significant of the Entente's lack of belief that the blockade could be successfully maintained.

POLAND GETS GALICIA

The Supreme Council on Nov. 21 decided to turn over Eastern Galicia to Poland for twenty-five years, at the end of which the League of Nations will determine what to do with this territory. Eastern Galicia, with its 16,000,000 inhabitants, will be federated with Poland under a mandate, the arrangements for which will give Poland practically the government of the region.

This decision came after many weeks of discussion of the Galician problem. Poland asked for annexation outright, but this was opposed by England, which favored giving a mandate to Poland for five years, at the end of which time there would be a plebiscite. Paderewski opposed this solution, asserting that Galicia could not be reconstructed if for five years there was to be constant electioneering. The solution finally adopted was a compromise acceptable to Poland. The mandate is different from the mandates provided in the treaty as League of Nations mandates. It means that if Po-

land administers Galicia well for twenty-five years that area will become an integral part of Poland.

The council on Nov. 21 also approved the text of an agreement granting political suzerainty over the Spitzbergen Archipelago to Norway.

CONFERENCE NEARS CLOSE

It was stated in Paris that the Peace Conference would reach the end of its labors early in December. Both the British and American delegations expressed the opinion that the League of Nations should take over the functions of the Peace Conference as soon as possible, on the ground that the conference was originally charged with making peace, and not with governing the world. They favored leaving to a Committee of Ambassadors, with fixed powers, the winding up of the few specific tasks which might remain undone.

Matters still in abeyance at the time when these pages went to print were the dispute between Holland and Belgium over the revision of the treaty between these two countries; the settlement of the Adriatic problem, including the Fiume question; the final disposition of Dalmatia and Albania; the Germano-Russian Baltic problem; the persuasion or compulsion of the recalcitrant small powers, including Rumania, to fulfill their obligations; the securing of a stable Hungarian Government that could sign a peace treaty; the defining of the eastern boundary of Poland; the effecting of an arrangement whereby Greece, Rumania, and Serbia would sign treaties guaranteeing the rights of ethnical minorities, and the completing of arrangements, for control of plebiscites in Schleswig, Galicia, Upper Silesia, and elsewhere, where national territorial claims were still in conflict.



D'Annunzio's Seizure of Zara

Raid on the Dalmatian Coast

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 22, 1919]

DURING October and November the occupation of Fiume by the armed forces of Gabriele d'Annunzio continued. A dramatic message from d'Annunzio brought to Rome by Whitney Warren, the American architect, on Oct. 23, addressed Americans as "brothers" and implored their aid for Fiume, which, the message said, "is fighting for liberty."

At the Fiuman elections, held on Oct. 27, the Annexationists won by a large majority, amid a great display of military strength by the d'Annunzian forces, Fiume was in a ferment. Walls and streets were placarded with slogans appealing to all citizens to vote as a patriotic duty, and denouncing as traitors all who did not vote for annexation. Only the Unions Nazionale was allowed to enter the field, and the only option was in the choice of forty candidates for the "National Council." The polls were guarded by gendarmes and soldiers. Girls and women went to vote with shouts of jubilation. Two American newspaper men were roughly handled.

Fiume, said a neutral at the time, was ruled by 9,000 bayonets, and everything was possible. The "elections," according to this view, were nothing but a farce. All comers and goers were held up and searched. All not in favor of Italy were considered traitors. The Sushak bridge was closed by d'Annunzio, barring all the Croats of that suburb from participating in the vote. Results of the election received in Paris on Oct. 29 showed that 6,688 persons voted the straight annexationist ticket, 186 voted for the party led by Professor Zanella, d'Annunzio's opponent in Fiume, and 3,189 of those registered did not vote.

D'ANNUNZIO'S STATEMENT

D'Annunzio in a statement of some length given on Oct. 31 to a representative of The New York World set forth his entire case in a remarkable state-

ment, in which he declared that by the results of the recent elections Fiume had confirmed her declaration of May 18 that she alone had the right to decide her own fate. This statement was in part as follows:

Why did we make war? I asked a meeting of recruits one evening behind an embankment of the Piave, which had become a frontier of tremendous import. "To reacquire the summit of an Alp, a handful of land jutting into the sea or the bend of a gulf? Yes, surely, for these things as well, but the great reason is the cause of territory, the cause of the spirit, the cause of immortality."

The cause of territory has its limits and because it is only in Fiume today that people talk frankly and roughly amid so much senile chatter we shall persist in our frankness and our rudeness. The cause of territory has its limits. To the north of Fiume it must include Idria as far as the Toroid Balkans; the district of Idria (40 miles south of Fiume), because by centuries of historical traditions and by the evidence of its configuration it belongs to the body of Italy. It has no sound frontier of itself, but forms the bulwark of the Alps of Ternova.

With Idria in our hands, Gorizia (15 miles northwest of Trieste) remains protected. If it be taken away from us Gorizia remains exposed to the Yugoslav guns. Italy has no raw materials. If she possessed Idria she would have at least one, mercury, in which the district is rich.

As Idria, so should Postumia be ours by rights. If we do not possess Postumia the waves of Balkan tribes, bitter waves of barbaric Slavs, will surge up to within twelve miles of the walls of Trieste. Without the district of Postumia we would leave in the hands of the Southern Slavs, Longatico, Nauporto, and perhaps Prevaldo, which from time immemorial, constitute the true gate of Italy, the Latin threshold against the northern and eastern incursions of the barbarians of all times.

And tomorrow the citizens of free Trieste on ascending one of the hills which crown St. Just could, with the naked eye, discern a railway equi-distant from Trieste and Fiume, and he who dominates that railway has full command of their trade.

To renounce St. Pietro on Carso is to

renounce the district of Castelnovo, twenty-two miles southwest of Trieste, which includes a large zone of Carso territory. (Carso, or Karst, consists of rugged platforms and mountain ranges rising east of the Adriatic. The chief range extends north of Istria from the Isonzo River to the Quarnero Gulf.)

Thus our adversary would occupy the crest of Middle Carso from Mount Aquila to Mount Maggiore, would dominate the Valley of the Timavo and so cut off Trieste from its aqueducts and its water works. The adversary would threaten from near the railway between Trieste and Pola, and by destroying its strategic value he would weaken the naval frontiers. Furthermore, we should lose the bulwark which consists of Mount Auremiano, Mount Tore and Mount Nevoso, which is our necessary frontier, and thus an absurd frontier would be traced between villages like that frontier which once existed in Friuli (now part of Udine).

Without Idria, without Postumia, without Castelnovo, Italy's boundaries would remain in the hands of foreigners, would remain in the hands of Balkan tribes.

And not Fiume alone, but the whole of the Julian Veneto would be reduced to an Italian agony behind a broken frontier. When, on May 19, the Fiumians and Italians shouted in the face of the Supreme Council that the history written with Italy's most generous blood could not stop at Paris and that they firmly awaited violence, no matter whence it came, they announced thereby the fall of the old world.

Therefore, Fiume's cause is the biggest and finest opposed today to the meanness and weakness of this world. It stretches from Ireland to Egypt, from Russia to the United States, from Rumania to India. It embraces the white races and the black, it reconciles the gospel with the Korean, Christianity with Islam.

Every insurrection is an effort toward expression, an effort toward creation. No matter if it be interrupted by bloodshed, so long as the survivors pass on to the future the spirit of liberty and of a new life and the profound instinct of that indestructible relationship which binds people to their soil.

LEADER'S ADVICE TO ITALY

D'Annunzio on Nov. 8, in a statement made public by his Press Bureau, proposed that Italy decline to restore order in the Fiume situation at the behest of the Supreme Council. This statement was as follows:

The way out is wide, clear, direct. it is the same for us who entered the city Sept. 12.

I realize that the Italian Government persists in its erroneous judgment and increases it by accepting from the Supreme Council a mandate to restore order in Fiume, held by me.

I propose that the Italian Government send back the Fiume problem to the Peace Conference by returning the mandate, which it will be impossible to execute without shedding fraternal blood and without the danger of civil war throughout the nation.

When the mandate is returned the Government of Fiume claims the honor of remaining solely responsible for its attitude before the conference and before the world.

Soon after the issuance of this statement the blockade of Fiume was officially lifted; food was passing freely into the city over the railway from Trieste, and commercial relations with the outside world had been resumed. Efforts were being made at this time by d'Annunzio's Government to stabilize the currency; all old Hungarian money had been invalidated, and Italian money was pouring in from all parts of Italy, which was being used by d'Annunzio to pay his soldiers and the expenses of his organization.

D'ANNUNZIO RAIDS DALMATIA

A dramatic development of d'Annunzio's campaign occurred on Nov. 15, when the poet-soldier landed at Zara, on the Dalmatian Coast, made a triumphal entry into the city amid enthusiastic acclamations from the populace with 600 troops, including Arditi, grenadiers, and d'Annunzio's entire staff, and announced its occupation. D'Annunzio had sailed from Fiume in the darkness of early morning on the torpedo boat Nullo, followed by the war fleet of Admiral Millo, who received him and publicly swore allegiance to him.

News that d'Annunzio had begun a new adventure soon reached Trieste and roused great excitement. The newspapers both there and at Rome were generally unsympathetic to the Dalmatian enterprise. D'Annunzio returned to Fiume on Nov. 16 and received a great ovation. His intention to occupy other territory, including Spalato and part of Istria, which he argued should form an independent State, was announced at this



FIUME AND THE DALMATIAN COAST, SCENE OF D'ANNUNZIO'S EXPLOITS

time. The dictator of Fiume was said at this time to have a force of 50,000 men, ample food supplies and equipment, and the favor of a large element of the regular army.

A semi-official statement issued in Rome on Nov. 22 declared that a minority of d'Annunzio's forces, counting on the support of friends in the interior of Italy, persisted in the idea of attempting seditious action against Italy itself, contemplating the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. In Zara, meanwhile, a Belgrade statement said that d'Annunzio's troops left in control had instituted a reign of terror, insulting and attacking all not wearing the armlet of Italian colors inscribed "Italy or Death!" Private advices reaching London on Nov. 22 left no doubt of d'Annunzio's intention of annexing the whole Dalmatian coast and attacking Montenegro. The situation was regarded as extremely grave. A Serbian division, 12,000 strong, was concentrated at Spalato on Nov. 22, ready to oppose the ad-

vance of d'Annunzio and his forces if he approached the city.

GOVERNMENT SENTIMENT CHANGING

The situation of the Italian Government, crushed with war debts, with its army still mobilized, and unable to secure a settlement of the Adriatic question with its allies, was made even more unpleasant by d'Annunzio's new activities. The defection of Admiral Millo to d'Annunzio at Zara was officially disapproved. In Rome, however, Premier Tittoni, in a letter to his constituents, came out boldly for an Italian Fiume, and reproached the Allies for not understanding that the question of Fiume had for the Italians not an economic but a moral significance.

No steps were taken to combat d'Annunzio's new activities, and up to the time when this edition of *CURRENT HISTORY* went to press, the situation created by d'Annunzio's occupation of Zara remained unchanged.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 20, 1919]

KING ALBERT IN WASHINGTON

AFTER touring the United States from New York and Boston to the cities of the Pacific Coast, everywhere encountering formal receptions and cordial addresses of welcome, King Albert, Queen Elizabeth, and Prince Leopold of Belgium arrived in Washington, D. C., on Oct. 28. Both Houses of Congress paused in their discussions on that date to give a hearty welcome to the royal guests. King Albert delivered short addresses before the Senate and the House, paying tribute to the American Army, to which he gave the credit of deciding the victory; to Brand Whitlock, the American Ambassador to Belgium when the war broke out, and to Herbert Hoover, the American Food Administrator. He predicted that the ties linking the United States with Belgium would never be broken, and offered thanks to all Americans who aided his people in the war. The galleries of both houses were crowded, and the King's remarks were greeted with the most enthusiastic applause. In the House many of the children of the members were present. Later in the day, at a reception in the home of the Assistant Secretary of State, Breckinridge Long, Secretary of War Baker pinned upon the King's breast, by the order of President Wilson, the American Distinguished Service Medal, in the presence of General Pershing, General March, and other military and civil notabilities. In the evening the King and Queen and their son were the guests of honor at a dinner given by Vice President Marshall, at which King Albert proposed a toast to President Wilson's speedy recovery from illness.

On Oct. 29 the Belgian monarchs visited Mount Vernon and placed a wreath of chrysanthemums on the granite slab of George Washington's tomb. In the course of the day, the King was visited by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, who after a 45-minute interview declared the

Belgian monarch to be "a real man, even if he is a King." In the evening the royal guests attended a dinner given by Secretary Lansing. On the following day King Albert and Queen Elizabeth made an informal visit to the bedside of President Wilson, with whom they had a cordial conversation, and on Oct. 31 the royal guests sailed on the American transport *George Washington*, after sending a heartfelt message of farewell to President Wilson by wireless. Before departure the King gave expression to the pleasure and interest of his visit to the United States, and on landing at Brest, Nov. 13, he again cabled his gratitude for the rare hospitality vouchsafed by the United States.

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SUPPRESSING GERMAN OPERA

A GERMAN opera company in New York City attempted in October to produce operas in the German language, but public sentiment, voiced through the ex-soldiers who still had many comrades lying wounded in New York hospitals, refused to permit this form of art. After throngs of soldiers and sailors had practically stopped the performances in the Lexington Theatre, despite the attempts of a large force of policemen to keep order, Justice Leonard A. Giegerich of the State Supreme Court issued a decision dissolving an injunction which had restrained Mayor Hylan and the police from interfering with the production of German opera in the theatre named. Justice Giegerich based his decision on the state of feeling consequent on the war, which made the performance of opera in the German language a provocation to a large proportion of the community. All performances of this kind were prohibited until after the Peace Treaty had been ratified by the United States.

A curious contrast to this action in the United States was afforded by the announcement from Paris on Nov. 9 that a performance of Wagnerian music had

been given on the preceding day at the Pas de Loup Concert, and had elicited only two isolated protests in the audience; the protestors, a man and a woman, were ushered out, and the conductor of the concert, René Baton, declared that interruptions against German music would not be tolerated. He regarded it as a pure question of art, and said that he proposed to include at least 20 per cent. of German music in his programs. A vote of three Pas de Loup concert audiences on the subject resulted in 4,983 favoring the return of German music and 213 opposing it.

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EXPLOITS OF A MASTER SPY

CAPTAIN FRITZ DUQUESNE, a former Boer officer, is being hunted in Mexico by British and American Secret Service agents on charges of arson and murder. Duquesne, according to evidence in hand, was Germany's most daring spy in America, and was responsible for many "sink without a trace" plots against British shipping. Information gathered by the British Secret Service showed that Duquesne operated during the war as head of a desperate gang in South America. Their principal exploits were related to attempts to destroy allied shipping, including the following list of outrages:

Destruction of the steamship San Salvador by fire.

Narrow escape from complete destruction by S. S. Vauban.

Burning of coaling station at Bahia.

Destruction of the Pembrokehire in the Atlantic.

Bursting of boilers of the liner Liger, through dynamite mixed with the coal.

Dynamiting of the steamship Tennyson.

Erection of illicit wireless station north of Pernambuco.

Complete disappearance of four ships leaving for South American ports, and never heard from again.

Duquesne himself was arrested in New York last May on a charge of fraud. It was learned at this time that he traveled under various aliases, notably Frederick Fredericks and Captain Claude Stoughton. When taken into custody he was posing as a Captain in the Australian Light Horse, with the ribbons of the South African, Matabele and Long Service medals. By simulating complete pa-

ralysis Duquesne got himself transferred to the prison hospital, whence he escaped with the aid of confederates, who took him in a waiting automobile to an airplane, in which he flew to Mexico. Secret Service agents followed him there, but at the middle of October he was still evading them.

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GERMAN DYNAMITER SENTENCED

WERNER HORN, the German reservist who on Feb. 2, 1915, attempted to dynamite the international bridge at St. Croix between the United States and Canada, was sentenced by a New Brunswick court on Oct. 31, 1919, to ten years in the penitentiary. Horn stated his intention to appeal to Germany, declaring that he could not be punished after the signing of peace.

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SENTENCE OF A FRENCH BOLSHEVIK

CAPTAIN JACQUES SADOUL, sent to Russia as a member of a French military mission, entered a year ago into close personal relations with Lenin and Trotsky, a fact which enabled him to take an effective part in the release of the French journalist, Ludovic Naudeau, from Moscow prisons, as recounted by M. Naudeau in the November *CURRENT HISTORY*. Sadoul's relations with the Bolsheviks, however, proved to be of a treasonable and even traitorous nature, according to charges filed against him by the French military authorities, and on Nov. 6 court-martial proceedings were begun against him at Paris on the ground that at the fall of Odessa he had deserted his own countrymen in support of the enemy; that he was with the Bolshevik forces which captured the city from the French and British troops; that he supplied information to the enemy, and later urged French prisoners to join the Bolsheviks.

Meanwhile Captain Sadoul's friends had submitted his name as a candidate for election to the Chamber of Deputies, though he was still in Russia, and an active campaign in his behalf was in full swing at the time of his court-martial. The President of the court refused to allow Mme. Sadoul to be represented at the trial. Albert Thomas, the

former Socialist Minister of Munitions, also was unsuccessful in the object of a petition which he filed in Sadoul's behalf. On Nov. 8 Captain Sadoul was condemned to death by unanimous vote of the court-martial. Though the sentence cannot be executed until the condemned officer is given up by Lenin and Trotzky, the episode is not without significance.

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D'ANNUNZIO'S ODDITIES

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO, the Italian poet and dramatist, now the centre of the world's attention as the raider and military chief of the disputed port of Fiume, has for many years given abundant evidence of the eccentricities of his artistic temperament. Among these were innumerable "love" affairs, including the episode with Eleanora Duse. Nearly all his novels and plays were written at "La Capponcina," a remarkable pseudo-monastic abode, covered with Latin inscriptions, in which every article of furniture is alleged to be at least 400 years old. Photographs of d'Annunzio writing, according to his fixed custom, on an ancient church altar by the light of sixty candles, because he believed, with Balzac, that only by candle-light could he obtain inspiration, have been spread throughout the world. They recall the legend of Alfred de Musset writing feverishly all night in his apartment in Paris by the light of candles. D'Annunzio, like Mascagni, pays great attention to his dress, and just before the war a Neopolitan paper published an amusing inventory of his clothes.

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LABOR TROUBLES IN SWEDEN

IN the first week of October a lock-out was proclaimed in the wood-working trades of Sweden, including that of the furniture and piano makers; repeated conciliatory efforts had failed, and the fight was bitter. This strike was one of a long series which have afflicted Sweden and crippled her industries for a whole year. As early as last January there were strikes among the sailors and engine-drivers which assumed serious dimensions. A threatened

strike by the railway men, which aimed eventually at the State railways and food supply, was averted by the Government only by the granting of important concessions. There followed a long and demoralizing strike in the Swedish match industry and among the dockers at Gothenburg, the latter as the direct outcome of the decision taken at the International Stevedoring Congress in Holland that all goods which could in any way be classed as war material should be blockaded. Most serious of all was the printers' strike, which lasted for about two months. During this time all the papers, except the Bolshevik organ, *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, appeared with considerably reduced issues, but the conflict ended with the victory of the owners. That this strike was managed and supported by Bolshevik money was stated from Stockholm to be beyond question.

The extra session of the Swedish Riksdag in October had before it the Eight-hour Working Day bill. This measure was defeated by a substantial majority in the First Chamber last Spring, after its acceptance by the Second Chamber, but the Premier's statement in the debate showed the Government's determination to carry it through. Industrial leaders almost without exception opposed the bill on the ground that it would mean nothing short of ruin to Swedish industry, which was already working under severe depression owing to strong competition from abroad.

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HELGOLAND AND ENGLAND

A MESSAGE from Cuxhaven dated Oct. 1 stated that a strong agitation was proceeding in Heligoland for separation from Germany and union with Great Britain, and that a plebiscite on the question was planned. The people of the island, according to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, are anxious to come again under British rule. Before Great Britain ceded Heligoland to Germany it was one of the most peaceful spots in the world, a unique place to study the habits of rare sea birds, inhabited by a tiny community untroubled by the cost of living, inasmuch as it escaped the income tax

and was well supplied with German wine and cigars, imported for the Summer visitors who came for the bathing season. The change which dug huge fortifications a hundred feet deep in the cliffs, covered them with gun emplacements, and girdled them with a labyrinth of walls 50 feet thick, as a means of protecting the Elbe, and providing a base for attack on England, was considered by the inhabitants as a doubtful blessing and proved a severe strain on the island's zeal for the Fatherland. When the war broke out the Heligoland fishermen were all shipped off to the mainland, and the island was given over to the sea-gulls and the German gunners. Since the Berlin revolution the original inhabitants have returned, the island has again been thrown open, and a beginning has been made with the dismantling of the formidable fortifications as stipulated by the Versailles Treaty.

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NORWAY FOR PROHIBITION

BY a popular referendum vote on Oct. 7, Norway adopted the prohibition of whisky, brandy, and other strong liquors. The vote stood 428,455 in favor of prohibition to 284,137 against it. Christiania was strongly against the proposal, and only 18,500 voted for it, as compared with 70,000 in opposition. The passing of the measure did not affect the consumption of wines and beers.

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AUSTRIA SELLS ART TREASURES

IT was decided by the Austrian Government on Oct. 1 to sell the vast and costly art treasures of the nation, in order to obtain money to feed the half-starved people. Valuable paintings, rare manuscripts, tapestries, porcelain, historical furniture from the Imperial palaces, Ministries and other State buildings, aggregating a total value of 1,000,000,000 crowns, (\$250,000,000 at the pre-war rate of exchange), as the result of this decision will be scattered throughout the world. Among the objects offered for sale are the famous Gobelin and Arras tapestries collected by the Hapsburgs during many decades. These number nearly 400 pieces, and their value

cannot be estimated. There are also costly gold and silver saltcellars, and dishes and flagons set with precious stones, the work of the most famous Florentine jewelers. Even after the alienation of all these objects, however, Vienna will still be rich in art treasures, as the Peace Treaty with Austria provides that the collections belonging to the Government of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire or to the crown of Austria-Hungary may not be sold or dispersed within a period of twenty years.

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END OF A ROBBER CHIEF

TOWARD the beginning of October it was announced from Teheran that the Persian Government, which had shown unusual activity in repressing disorders in the country, had at last hanged the famous robber chief Nayib Hussein, who was so old that he had become almost legendary in his own lifetime, as well as his son, Mashallah Khan, both of whom had long terrorized the district of Kashan. Nayib Hussein lived in a huge fortified castle on his "estate" near Kashan, where, supported by his sons, he levied blackmail in the bazaars of the town. Often he occupied the town itself, and he became so powerful that in 1912 the Government invited him to assume responsibility for the safety of the roads from Kashan to Kum and Yezd. His name was a household word in Persian homes, and was used as a bogey to frighten naughty children. On six previous occasions his violent end had been announced in the official Gazette of Teheran, but the old brigand had always survived to demonstrate that the news of his death had been "very much exaggerated."

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BOLSHEVISM IN THE FAR EAST

THE Berlin correspondent of the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* pointed out at the end of September that propagandist traffic was being actively carried on by means of couriers between Moscow and India, and that prominent Indians and Persians, as well as Turks, were welcome guests in the Soviet Capital. The propagandists

traveled between the front of Kolchak and the Ural troops of General Dutov. Lenin himself has stated that his main objective is Asia, and that at one time he sent so many troops and such quantities of money to that theatre that the western front was weakened by it. A Russian, the Berlin correspondent said, conducted the propaganda campaign in India as a representative of Lenin, while a former Turkish officer had the management of affairs in Turkestan. Here he had initiated a great anti-British organization by means of unlimited Russian money, as well as arms and ammunition. These various organizations which, according to Lenin's own words, were directed against the integrity of India, were being extended and were gaining strength.

When the revolt against British rule in Afghanistan broke out, Lenin's couriers brought hope and encouragement to these new foes of Great Britain. After the revolt was ended, Lenin received the Afghans' Extraordinary Ambassador in Moscow with the greatest honors. The attitude and words of the envoy on this occasion were scarcely those of the representative of a beaten and humiliated nation, such as the British Afghan officials had depicted the Emir's people to be. A leading article of The London Times pointed out on Oct. 11 that the Government of India, after forty years, had given the Afghans control of their external relations.

The visit of the Afghan Embassy to Moscow had its picturesque and significant features. The Ambassador, Mahomed Vali Khan, according to the reports of eyewitnesses of the ceremony of greeting, was a stately figure, above the average height, and under forty years of age. Like all the rest of his embassy, he was dressed in European costume, with the exception of an astrakhan cap. The embassy arrived in Moscow on Oct. 10, and was met at the station by a large deputation. A guard of honor had been provided, accompanied by a band and banners. "Comrade" Narimanov, Director of the Musulman Near East Department, delivered the following greeting:

Welcome! In the name of the Soviet

Authority and the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, I greet, in the person of your Excellency, Afghanistan, and its first embassy to the capital of the Russian Workers and Peasants' Government. This historic fact proves that Russian imperialism, striving to enslave and degrade small nationalities, has gone, never to return. In the name of my Government, I purposely greet you in the Turkish language in the Red Russian capital, in order to prove that the Workers and Peasants' Government treats all peoples and languages with sincere respect. Such a Government knows how to value sincere friendship. I welcome you.

Comrade Sultan Galiev, welcoming the Ambassador in the name of the Revolutionary Council of the republic, said:

Your small but heroic country is fighting for its emancipation from the age-long oppressors of the East, British imperialism. We know that you need help and support, and that you expect this support from Soviet Russia. In the name of the Revolutionary Council, and in the name of the revolutionary organizations of the many million laboring Mohammedan masses of Soviet Russia, I declare to you that Soviet Russia will give you that assistance, as she herself is fighting against international imperialism and for the rights of the oppressed nations of the whole world.

In reply to the greeting of Comrade Sultan Galiev, the Ambassador said:

We know that the Musulman peoples of Russia are now free, and we strongly hope that, with the assistance of Soviet Russia, we shall succeed in emancipating our Afghanistan and the rest of the East.

* * *

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

THE great pause in the life of the universities on the banks of the Isis and the Cam caused by the war has come to an end. Oxford and Cambridge have been unlike themselves, unlike any portion of their history, except perhaps the civil war period, when pikemen thronged the streets and "quads," as the men in khaki of the modern armies have thronged them during the past five years. The writer of these lines visited both universities in 1914, some months after the war had broken out; the "yard" was filled with the tents of wounded British soldiers, and uniformed guards were everywhere. Today Oxford and Cambridge are returning to their traditional pursuits; freshmen are pouring into the

classrooms, and the Don is assuming once more the importance of which he had been temporarily deprived. The number of undergraduates in the Fall of 1919 was wholly unprecedented, and both of the great British universities have some difficulty in finding accommodation for them all. So the new era of peace and the life intellectual has been inaugurated within the old stone walls of Oxford and Cambridge, and the world of books has again come into its own.

* * *

STRASBOURG UNIVERSITY

IN Alsace-Lorraine the life of Strasbourg University has begun anew under French direction, but there are still German disharmonies to mar the even tenor of student life. Evidence of such disharmony is contained in an open letter which the students addressed to M. Millerand, High Commissioner of the French Government in Alsace, in which they strongly protest against the excessive number of Germans who still frequent the classes at the university. This letter reads as follows:

After the evacuation of the territory by German troops there was a conviction, both in Alsace and in Lorraine, that the Germans would deem it more suitable not to remain in the territory which had been restored to France once again, and that the great majority would ask to return to the country of their origin.

To the general surprise, not only do a considerable number of Germans manifest a tendency to attach themselves permanently to the country, but many of those whose presence was merely tolerated show themselves unworthy of the kindness of the French Government by openly expressing sentiments contrary to the interests of France.

There are even some who, by a stealthy and clever propaganda, are tending to sow discontent between Alsations and the people of Lorraine. In a word, there are very few Germans who observe a correct attitude; most of them take advantage of the mildness of the Government to affect public opinion for their own advantage. Actuated by these motives, the club of the students of Strasbourg, deeply solicitous for the future of the country, expresses the wish that the general commissary should not allow himself to be influenced by demands often prompted by purely personal considerations, but should take against the Germans residing in Strasbourg the rigorous measures which public opinion unanimously expects of him,

viz., that the great majority of German citizens, if not all of them, should be invited to quit the reintegrated territory, and that those whose presence is tolerated should be subjected to the strictest observation.

The French Government is doing all in its power to make the great Alsatian University worthy of the best French standards. The most renowned French professors are being sought for the institution, and the substitution of French for German in the examinations has already been begun with considerable success. The German-speaking but French-sympathizing Alsatian students are working hard to master the difficulties of the new academic tongue, which they take pride in using. French professors, it is said, will have no great difficulty in the work of reassimilation, for Teutonic "kultur" never succeeded in taking deep root in Alsace, especially in the old University of Strasbourg, where French sympathies for many decades have been openly expressed.

* * *

THE FRENCH PEACE ARMY

AREPORT of the French Sub-Committee on Armaments, submitted to the Senate Commission on Military Affairs and dealing with the reorganization of the French Army in time of peace, contained the following program:

An annual conscription of 200,000 instead of 600,000 men, as previously.

Enlistments and re-enlistments, 150,000.

Divisions retained in twenty districts.

Headquarters of the 21st Division to be moved from Epinal to Strasbourg.

North Africa, two army corps; an additional corps of colonial troops.

Home army to have one active corps, instead of two, with a reserve division.

Army corps on eastern frontier to have two active divisions, one at more than full strength, to be stationed on the Rhine. The North African army corps and the colonial corps each to send a division to the Rhine, thus giving six infantry divisions for the French Army of Occupation on the Rhine.

Cavalry to be reduced to four divisions; one division to be sent to the Rhine.

The fulfillment of the program, to sum up, involves a peace footing of 350,000 men and a war footing of 1,350,000. The Rhine front is to be heavily guarded. A further reserve of 2,000,000 men, based on the fifteen classes of the territorial

and reserve forces, is kept for emergencies.

* * *

CANADA'S WAR MEMORIALS

THE Canadian Government was the first to submit detailed plans to the Battle Exploits Memorials Committee for sites for battlefield memorials. The sites proposed by Canada, and fully approved by the Memorials Committee, whose duty it is to pass upon all memorial proposals, so as to avoid clashing with other units and to investigate the validity of the claim, were as follows:

1. St. Julien.
2. Courcellette.
3. Observatory Ridge (Sanctuary Wood).
4. Vimy. (Hill 145.)
5. Passchendaele.
6. Caix. (Between Caix and Le Quesnel.)
7. Dury. (Drocourt-Queant Line.)
8. Bourlon Wood.

Plans to obtain title and permission to build are being obtained from the respective Governments concerned. A preliminary estimate of \$500,000 was authorized in the Canadian Parliament in October for the erection of the proposed memorials. The French and Belgian Governments were co-operating heartily with the Canadian representative, Colonel Hughes, in all steps taken.

* * *

STRAINED RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

A SITUATION fraught with serious possibilities in the relations between the United States and Mexico arose during November, owing to the abduction by bandits in the City of Puebla, Mexico, of William O. Jenkins, a prominent cotton manufacturer in that city, who for years had been acting as United States Consular Agent there. The seizure of Mr. Jenkins was accomplished on Oct. 19, 1919. He was overpowered at his home by five masked men, his safe was forced open and \$30,000 taken from it, and he was forced to accompany the bandits to their headquarters, where he was held for ransom, \$150,000 being the sum named.

The State Department at Washington on Oct. 25 instructed the American Embassy in Mexico City to demand the release of Mr. Jenkins. The release was

accomplished on Oct. 26 by the payment of \$25,000 in cash and the balance in notes by friends of the kidnapped man. A few days later Señor Mestre, Mr. Jenkins's attorney, and two weeks thereafter Mr. Jenkins himself were arrested by the Mexican authorities on the charge that they had connived to bring about the kidnapping in order to place the Carranza Government in disrepute. The American authorities had previously investigated this report through the embassy at Mexico City and had satisfied themselves that it was cruelly unjust and utterly groundless; the Mexican Judge, Franko, who investigated the abduction originally, took occasion to refute the charge and praised Mr. Jenkins as a friend of the Mexican people.

Mr. Jenkins in a letter to Congressman Davis of Tennessee, who represents the district where he was born, stated that the bandits told him their principal object was to show the helplessness of the Carranza Government and force that Government to pay the large ransom. He further stated that while he was held by the bandits, he suffered greatly from exposure and became very ill, and that after his release he was subjected to humiliations and serious annoyances by the Carranza authorities, until at length he was again arrested on the trumped-up charge of having connived at his own abduction.

Secretary of State Lansing on Nov. 20 sent a note to the Carranza Government demanding Mr. Jenkins's immediate release. The official announcement regarding the action was as follows:

The note, which is based on the rearrest of Consular Agent Jenkins at Puebla, points out that the United States Government is "surprised and incensed" to learn of the reimprisonment of Mr. Jenkins, particularly in view of the suffering and losses already sustained by him in connection with his kidnapping through lack of protection by the Mexican authorities and in connection with his first arrest by Mexican officials.

The note expresses the view, based on the information in the possession of the Department of State, that his rearrest is absolutely arbitrary and unwarranted and warns the Mexican Government that further molestation of the Consular Agent will seriously affect the relations between the United States and Mexico, for which

the Government of Mexico must assume sole responsibility.

* * *

"PUSSYFOOT" JOHNSON

WILLIAM E. JOHNSON, an American who is conducting a prohibitionist propaganda in Great Britain, was attacked by a group of students at London Nov. 13, while speaking at Essex Hall, near King's College, in the Strand. The students seized the speaker, placed him on a stretcher, and carried him through the streets of London. They disclaimed any attempt to injure him, but some one in the crowd threw a missile that struck him in the face, destroying the sight of one eye. Mr. Johnson, universally dubbed "Pussyfoot" by the British press, had become one of the most-talked-of men in the United Kingdom, and though his campaign was unpopular, his injury was commented upon everywhere with regret.

* * *

BRITISH FINANCES

THE British Budget, laid before the House of Commons on Aug. 27, indicated a deficit of over \$2,300,000,000. The estimated expenditure is in round numbers \$8,000,000,000; the estimated revenue \$5,800,000,000. The increase in expenditure was due to war pensions and bonuses, police grants, increased pay for army, navy, and air forces, loans to allies, and the railway strike. The army increase is over \$500,000,000; navy, \$50,000,000. The national debt is estimated at \$40,000,000,000. The cost of the army during the ensuing year was estimated at \$2,000,000,000; that of the navy, \$800,000,000; that of the air forces, \$280,000,000.

* * *

ARMISTICE DAY

THE first anniversary of the signing of the armistice was celebrated on Nov. 11 throughout America, Great Britain, France, and other allied countries. In Great Britain all business ceased precisely at 11 A. M. for two minutes in memory of the dead. The most impressive scenes were witnessed everywhere as the solemn moment was observed. Civic employes stood still at their posts. Judges in their courtrooms,

Cabinet members in their offices, or wherever they happened to be, ceased their duties and stood at attention when the clock struck and the rockets burst that signaled the hour. Every man bared his head, and in many instances men and women stood sobbing in the streets.

In France high mass was celebrated and in some cities there were public demonstrations.

The dominating note at American celebrations was a memorial tribute to the dead; the observance was general, and a note of solemnity pervaded. President Wilson issued a formal message in commemoration of the day, in which he said:

The war showed us the strength of great nations acting together for high purposes, and the victory of arms foretells the enduring conquests which can be made in peace when nations act justly and in furtherance of the common interests of men. To us in America the reflections of Armistice Day will be filled with solemn pride in the heroism of those who died in the country's service, and with gratitude for the victory, both because of the thing from which it has freed us and because of the opportunity it has given America to show her sympathy with peace and justice in the councils of nations.

General Pershing paid tribute to the American Expeditionary Forces in his statement, saying:

Our armies have been demobilized and our citizen-soldiers have returned again to civil pursuits, with assurance of their ability to achieve therein the success they attained as soldiers, thus bringing a new asset to the nation. With broadened visions they return, not only with pride in the high standards of American manhood but with a new conception of its relations to the duties of citizenship.

As we pay tribute to our fighting men, we remember that solidly behind them stood the American people, with all our resources and our determination. This common service has welded together our people. These experiences safeguard the future of America and enable us to look forward confidently to the development of a stronger nationality and a deeper sense of the obligations that rest upon us. The exercise by the American people of practical patriotism during the war was an avowal of our firm adherence to the principles of free government that will continue to have great influence upon the progressive thought throughout the world. These are things which make this day significant.

MR. GLASS A SENATOR

CARTER T. GLASS, Secretary of the Treasury, was appointed Nov. 15 to the United States Senate to succeed the late Thomas S. Martin. His term does not expire until 1925. Mr. Glass became the Secretary of the Treasury after the resignation of William G. McAdoo. It was reported Nov. 24 that the President would appoint Russell Cornell Leffingwell, a New York attorney, who was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, to the Secretaryship. Mr. Leffingwell is a member of the law firm of Cravath & Henderson of New York City.

* * *

GERMANS IN MEXICO

MEXICO, in order to encourage German colonization, has given concessions of over 3,400,000 acres of land, which were sold to German capitalists, and it is stated that Mexican authorities expect to bring Germans into Mexico at the rate of 45,000 a year.

* * *

THE KAISER'S PRIVATE YACHT

THE Meteor, formerly the private steam yacht of the German Kaiser, recently arrived at Buenos Aires on a regular trip under the Royal Steamship Company, to which it was assigned after the British Government had taken it over after the armistice. On this trip the ship carried 170 passengers. The Kaiser's yacht is now regularly in the passenger and cargo service.

* * *

BERGER EXCLUDED FROM CONGRESS

THE House of Representatives by a vote of 309 voted to exclude Victor L. Berger, Socialist, elected to Congress from the Fifth Wisconsin District, from his seat in the House. Berger had been convicted of violation of the Espionage act. Shortly after his expulsion he was renominated for Congress by the Socialists at Milwaukee.

* * *

AMERICANS WHO DIED IN RUSSIA

THE armored transport Lake Daraga arrived Nov. 12 from Archangel, by way of Brest, with the bodies of 103 soldiers who had died in Russia. Patriotic services, held the following day, were attended by members of the American

Legion and a special committee of Senators and Congressmen.

* * *

ST. MARK'S BRONZE HORSES RESTORED

THE famous Quadriga, the group of four bronze horses of St. Mark's, were replaced over the principal portal of the Basilica at Venice on Nov. 11 after having been hidden in a safe place during the years of war. This stately, ancient bronze was brought to Venice in the year 1204 by Doge Enrico Dandolo, and was removed early in 1915 in the fear that it would be damaged by the Austrian bombardment. This was the second time the horses had been removed from Venice, Napoleon having taken them to Paris to decorate the Triumphal Arch in the Place du Carrousel. They were returned to Venice in 1815.

* * *

BELGIAN AND FRENCH GRANTS IN AFRICA

BY an Anglo-Belgian agreement, referred to in the Belgian Senate on Aug. 26, the districts of Ruanda and Urundi, in German East Africa, were ceded to Belgium by Great Britain. The whole of German East Africa was assigned to the latter country by the Peace Conference as a mandatory of the League of Nations. Ruanda and Urundi constitute the most fertile district of the colony, and have a population of over 3,000,000 natives. The cession was made by Great Britain as a mark of British gratitude to her Belgian ally.

By a Franco-British agreement about four-fifths of Cameroun and two-thirds of Togo are to be ceded to France. German statistics give Cameroun an area of 540,000 square kilometers and a native population of 2,750,000 inhabitants. The population in French Cameroun has been estimated at about 1,500,000. The port of Douala will be the principal port of the whole territory when united. Togo, according to German statistics, possesses 87,000 square kilometers and a native population of 1,032,000 inhabitants. In 1912 its commerce totaled 26,731,000 francs. The British cession will include the port of Lome, which will be the principal issue of Dahomey, and two railways which are susceptible of extension to regions of French Sudan.

The Month in the United States

With Demobilization Practically Completed the Nation Grapples With Peace-time Problems

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 20, 1919]

FEW American troops remained abroad on Nov. 1, and most of these were getting ready to return. During the first twenty-seven days of October 16,047 army personnel sailed from Europe. Since the armistice a total of 3,421,916 men had been discharged from the army, more than a million of whom were in this country and never had an opportunity to go to France.

The estimated strength of the army on Nov. 3 was 270,200, not including nurses and field clerks. The distribution included 18,455 in Europe, 7,783 en route to or from Europe, and 209,884 in the United States. The total "enlisted" strength was 247,543, which was 30,000, or 12 per cent., below the number permitted under existing appropriations. There are still 13,560 emergency officers in the army.

Comparative figures prepared by the General Staff and published on Nov. 17 showed that the rate of demobilization of the army since the armistice exceeded the rate for the same period following the civil war and the war with Spain. Demobilization for the year reached 96 per cent., as compared with 94.4 the first year following the civil war. Demobilization following the war with Spain terminated with the tenth month, when a percentage of 83 was reached, the Philippine insurrection preventing the disbandment of some volunteer organizations until the succeeding year.

As compared with the civil war, demobilization during 1919 was less rapid for the first six months, and more rapid for the second six months. The emergency forces at their greatest strength, regulars not included, in each of these three wars, were:

Civil War—April 30, 1865, 1,034,064.

Spanish War—Aug. 31, 1898, 216,256.

World War—Nov. 11, 1918, 3,560,000.

The mustering out of troops after the civil war was virtually completed by the Summer of 1866, although a few volunteers were retained in service after Nov. 1, 1866. The last volunteer organization was disbanded Dec. 20, 1867, or two and one-half years after hostilities had ceased.

On Armistice Day, Nov. 11, the publication at Washington of a revised list of American war casualties showed a total of 293,089. The list included 34,625 killed in action, including 382 lost at sea; died of wounds, 13,955; died of disease, 23,392; died of accident and other causes, 5,326; wounded in action, 215,489; missing in action, 2.

Thirty-three graduates of West Point were killed in action or died of wounds received in action during the world war, according to information from the official records of the War Department. These officers belonged to fifteen graduating classes. The classes of 1917 and 1918 sustained the heaviest losses, six officers of the class of 1917 having lost their lives and ten of the class of 1918, which was graduated on Aug. 30, 1917.

No West Pointer of higher rank than Colonel lost his life in the war, but the majority of those from West Point killed in action were of grades ranging from Captain up to Colonel, only eight being of as low rank as Lieutenants. One of the officers, Second Lieutenant Albert F. Ward, was killed in action at Vladivostok, and the other thirty-two were killed in France.

DEATHS AT FLYING FIELDS

It was stated by the General Staff on Oct. 28 that since June 1, 1918, the Air Service had had 390 fatalities at flying fields in the United States, of which 14, or 4 per cent., were attributed to the failure of engines or the collapse of air-

planes. The causes of 9 per cent. of all fatalities are declared to be unknown. The causes, numbers of fatalities, and percentage which each class of fatality bears to the total were made public, as follows:

	Number.	P.C.
Tail spin	118	30
Collision	61	16
Nose dive	47	12
Unknown	36	9
Side slip	21	5
Stall	19	5
Fire	15	4
Failure of machine.....	14	4
Struck by propeller.....	13	3
Others	46	12
Total	390	

300,000 FOR PEACE ARMY

The House Military Affairs Committee, it was announced Nov. 15 by Representative Julius Kahn, Chairman of the committee, had reached an agreement for a peace army of 300,000 officers and men.

The unanimous opinion of the committee is that the regular army should be recruited by voluntary enlistments, and that promotions should be from a single list, as recommended by General Pershing. The Tank and Chemical Warfare Service, Mr. Kahn said, would be continued, although many other divisions and bureaus created during the war probably would be discontinued.

Mr. Kahn's statement read to the committee was, in part, as follows:

It is believed by the members of the committee that in the legislation that we ultimately will report to the House such branches of the army as a tank section and a chemical warfare section will have to be provided. These are two of the entirely new developments of modern warfare. A number of new divisions and bureaus of the supply departments also were created during the war. Among these were the finance division, the transportation corps, and the storage and traffic division, while the air service was divorced from the signal corps and functioned as a separate organization.

The committee has reached virtually a unanimous conclusion as to the size of the regular army at this time. We feel that the legislation ought to contemplate a regular force of 250,000 combat troops. With the necessary auxiliary forces in the supply and staff corps it probably will bring the total number of officers and men to about 300,000. Enlisted men

in the regular army we feel should be recruited by voluntary enlistments.

PERSHING'S MILITARY POLICY

General Pershing on Oct. 31 appeared before the House and Senate Committees on Military Affairs and gave his views as to the reorganization of the army. He insisted that the standing army, officers and men, should not total more than 275,000 or 300,000, as against 575,000, recommended by the General Staff. In agreement with the General Staff he recommended universal military training for youths of 19 for six months. He favored this, even though there were never another war, for its physical and educational features and the preliminary and necessary training it gave in citizenship. The youths so trained would not be subject to draft in peace times, as the standing army would be maintained by volunteers. General Pershing said:

In considering the total strength of the army all of us should take into consideration the cost. We cannot afford to adopt the principle of a large standing army at the enormous expense indicated in this bill.

Our success in the war was not due to our forethought in preparedness, but to exceptional circumstances, which made it possible to prepare after we had declared war. It is my belief that had America been adequately prepared our rights would never have been violated, our institutions would never have been threatened. As a military policy we should have:

(A)—A permanent military establishment large enough to provide against sudden attack.

(B)—A small force sufficient for expeditionary purposes to meet our international obligations, particularly on the American Continent.

(C)—Such force as may be necessary to meet our internal requirements.

(D)—A trained citizen reserve organized to meet the emergency of war.

In addition to preparing our young manhood to defend their country, universal military training brings many benefits which our Government should hasten to provide. It develops physical vigor and manliness. It develops mentality. It would decrease illiteracy. It teaches men discipline and respect for constituted authority. It encourages initiative and gives young men confidence in themselves. It better prepares young men for the duties of citizenship.

Such training is especially needed among our alien population, who would learn something of our language and our in-

stitutions. All these benefits have been bestowed upon the men who composed our forces during the war, and the benefits of such training should be universally extended to all our young men. Through service it increases their patriotism. It broadens their views through associating with men of all classes. It is democratic.

RESIGNATION OF OFFICERS

Up to Nov. 8 more than one-fourth of all the officers of the combatant army, who were in the regular army, had resigned, and other resignations were awaiting the action of the President and the Secretary of War. The total number accepted up to noon of that day was 1,999, which meant that 32 per cent. of all the officers in the Coast Artillery Corps, 30 per cent. of the officers of the field artillery, 24 per cent. of the cavalry officers, 28 per cent. of the infantry officers, and 16 per cent. of the official personnel of the Corps of Engineers had left the service.

More officers have resigned since the armistice than resigned during the entire history of the regular army prior to November, 1918. They are the younger officers, the Lieutenants and Captains, the ones who can least be spared. Virtually none of the field officers, whose salaries make it possible for them to make both ends meet during this present period of high cost of living, are resigning. A memorandum issued by the Morale Division of the General Staff says:

The army is in a very serious condition. The extraordinarily high cost of the necessities of life has so reduced the standard of living to which officers have heretofore been accustomed that there has resulted a profound state of discontent and low morale in the service.

* * * Those who resign are men of high initiative, force, energy, and self-reliance, military qualities which the army can ill-afford to lose.

The officers of the army are now being paid on the salary scale passed by Congress in 1908, since which time no increases have been granted. In numerous instances the situation in which the younger married officers find themselves, as a result of their inadequate incomes, borders on the pathetic. It is of record that in scores of cases they have had to cancel their life insurance,

to sell their Liberty bonds, while their wives and daughters attend to all domestic work.

The answer to the problem now facing the country, on the solution of which depends the future of the military establishment, is in the hands of Congress, which now has before it a bill to increase the salary of officers of the army, navy, Marine Corps, Coast Guard, and Public Health Service 30 per cent., and the pay of all enlisted men 50 per cent.

GENERAL OFFICERS NAMED

Secretary Baker on Oct. 31 announced the names of 101 general officers to be retained in the army under the provisions of the bill, which allows a total of 18,000 officers during the current year. The list includes the names of two Generals, two Lieutenant Generals, fifty-five Major Generals, and forty-two Brigadier Generals. Some of these are holding their permanent ranks, while others are holding temporary ranks as general officers higher than their permanent ranks.

The Generals ordered to be retained, all of whom will remain in their duties until further orders, are:

GENERALS—John J. Pershing and Peyton C. March.

LIEUTENANT GENERALS—Hunter Liggett and Robert L. Bullard.

MAJOR GENERALS—Leonard Wood, John L. Morrison, Charles G. Morton, Joseph T. Dickman, Charles E. W. Kennedy, Francis J. Kernan, Frank McIntyre, George W. Burr, William G. Haan, Henry Jervoy, James W. McAndrew, Charles H. Muir, Peter C. Harris, John L. Chamberlain, Enoch H. Crowder, Harry L. Rogers, M. Perritt, W. Ireland, William M. Black, Clarence C. Williams, George O. Squier, Jesse McCarter, Frank W. Coe, William J. Spow, Charles T. Menoher, William L. Sibert, Charles P. Summerall, James G. Harbord, William M. Wright, John L. Hines, Henry T. Allen, William S. Graves, Grote Hutcheson, James H. McRae, Samuel D. Sturgis, William S. McNair, Clarence H. Edwards, George Bell, Jr., Joseph E. Kuhn, David C. Shanks, Edwin F. Glenn, John Biddle, Omar Bundy, Harry C. Hale, George W. Read, Edward F. McGlachlin, Jr., Henry C. Sharpe, Charles J. Bailey, Charles S. Farnsworth, Ernest Hines, Clement A. F. Flagler, Edward M. Lewis, William H. Hay, Robert L. Howze, and A. W. Brewster.

BRIGADIER GENERALS—Marlborough Churchill, Herbert M. Lord, Charles R. Krauthoff, Walter D. McCaw, Robert E. Noble, Samuel D. Rockenbach, Frank T. Hines, Richard C. Marshall, Jr., Charles B. Drake, William Mitchell, Edward A. Kreger, Francis H. French, Henry C. Hodges, William H. Sage, Richard M. Blatchford, William S. Scott, D. A. Poore, Arthur Johnson, Wilds P. Richardson, Francis C. Marshall, Harry H. Bandholtz, Frank H. McCoy, Charles G. Treat, Edwin B. Babbitt, George G. Gately, George V. S. Moseley, Fox Conner, W. W. Harts, William J. N. Holson, Harry F. Hodges, John W. Ruckman, John D. Barrett, Johnson Hagood, Richmond P. Davis, Andrew Moses, Andrew Hero, Jr., William C. Davis, Adelbert Cronkrite, Douglas MacArthur, William D. Connor, W. A. Bethel, and Robert C. Davis.

ARMY SALES EXCEED BILLION

On Nov. 18 it was stated by the War Department that the sales of surplus army property in the United States and Europe reported to Nov. 8 amounted to \$1,152,328,305. Sales in the United States alone amounted to \$602,000,000, which was 9½ per cent. greater than the total sales in Europe. The total for the United States covered sales of real estate and improvements and included \$123,245,240 in sales made prior to the establishment of the office of the Director of Sales. The value of sales of army property in this country and Europe was given as follows:

United States, \$602,000,000; France, \$400,000,000; Poland, \$48,459,152; Belgium, \$28,605,661; Siberia, \$18,716,009; Czechoslovakia, \$14,958,937; Rumania, \$12,879,313; Esthonia, \$10,820,117; Ukraine, \$8,557,771; Lithuania, \$4,414,861; Letvia, \$2,538,313; Provincial Governments of Russia, \$378,171. Total, \$1,152,328,305.

To Nov. 5 the Liquidation Commission had made credit sales of surplus property in France and the liberated countries aggregating \$550,328,305. Corrected reports received by the department reduced the value of the liquidated contracts.

The value of 22,596 contracts, reported liquidated to Nov. 1, was \$2,091,436,000, as compared with \$2,128,795,000 reported last week. This was a reduction of \$37,000,000 due to corrected reports.

THE AMERICAN LEGION

The first convention of the American Legion, a national organization of ex-soldiers of the world war, was held in Minneapolis in the second week of November. It adjourned on Nov. 12 after selecting Franklin D'Olier of Philadelphia as First National Commander. Resolutions passed as the convention closed included condemnation of strikes of policemen, firemen, or other public employes, and a call for settlement of industrial disputes.

The convention for a time seemed split on the proposal to indorse a specific bonus plan. Representative Royal O. Johnson of Aberdeen, S. D., who served in France, urged the delegates to ask Congress to recognize and relieve the financial disadvantages incurred by persons who made sacrifices to serve their country. Former Senator Luke Lea of Tennessee, Chairman of the Bonus Committee, formally put this resolution before the convention and it was adopted.

A broad variety of subjects, including the Centralia tragedy, industrial unrest, and the National Non-Partisan League, were touched on. Delegates from Northwestern States drew up a resolution assailing the activities of President A. C. Townley of the Non-Partisan League, but it was tabled.

Commander D'Olier issued the following statement soon after his election:

The American Legion has an enormous amount of constructive work before it in the coming year, but the spirit of clear thinking, fair play, and co-operation manifested so wonderfully throughout this convention leaves no doubt in my mind that we shall be able to accomplish during the coming year just as remarkable results for our country as we did in such a comparatively short time in effecting the utter defeat of the enemy.

Every action of the convention was discussed carefully, and in every instance the soundest possible judgment prevailed. There was only one thought of every delegate present, and that was to do what was best for this country of ours, for which only so recently we were willing to give our all.

Declarations placing the legion on record against anti-American propaganda and activities were adopted, and resolutions passed, including:

Demand for the deportation of alien slackers and enemy aliens interned during the war, with selective admission of foreigners.

Authorizing the appointment of a legion committee to spread the teaching of the legion doctrine of "100 per cent. Americanism" among veterans of the war and aliens in this country.

Demanding a "change in the Department of Justice from a passive organization to a militant, active branch, whose findings will be promptly acted upon by the executive authority."

Opposition to organization of societies for relief of civilian populations of Germany, Austria and Hungary unless these societies be authorized by Congress.

NAVAL MINE SWEEPERS

On Oct. 12 it was announced at Plymouth, England, that the units of the American Navy then in British waters were assembling at that port for their journey across the Atlantic, and on Nov. 24 this whole fleet was receiving honors in New York Harbor. These vessels had just completed the gigantic task of sweeping up 21,000 of their mines, which formed a part of the North Sea barrage from the Orkneys to Norway. The barrier was 230 miles long, with an average width of 25 miles, and consisted of 70,000 mines.

The sweeping up of this huge mine field began on May 10 last, and American officers say they completed in one season's work that which it was confidently expected would take two years.

They employed eighty vessels, including thirty-six sweepers, and only four out of the thirty-six sweepers escaped damage through mines exploding near.

One ship sank and Commander King and six men were lost. The commander's devotion to duty was such that the American Navy promptly named a new destroyer after him.

INCREASES IN NAVY PAY

Urging immediate pay increases as necessary to retain present navy officers and men and obtain new ones, Secretary Daniels on Nov. 12 recommended to the House Navy Committee temporary increases aggregating \$53,000,000 a year for all officers and men. The proposed new schedule would remain in effect until June 30, 1921.

Mr. Daniels also told the committee

that funds allowed naval officers for public and official receptions should be increased.

The following annual increases, with similar advances in the pay of officers of corresponding rank in the Marine Corps, were recommended by Mr. Daniels:

Admirals, Rear Admirals, Vice Admirals, and Captains, \$1,000; Commanders, \$900; Lieutenant Commanders, \$840; Lieutenants, senior grade, \$720; Lieutenants, junior grade, \$600, and Ensigns and warrant officers, \$480. Monthly pay of chief petty officers would be limited to \$126, and that of other enlisted men to \$40 instead of \$32.60.

ARMY TRANSPORT SERVICE

Brig. Gen. Frank T. Hines, Director of Transportation, declared on Nov. 15 that since the armistice was signed the Army Transportation Service has redelivered to the Shipping Board and to private owners nearly 600 passenger and cargo ships aggregating about 4,000,000 deadweight tons. General Hines said:

The first anniversary of Armistice Day found the National Army returned from overseas and a division of the regular army on watch on the Rhine with scattering caretakers here and there in France, guarding American supplies and equipment yet to be returned to the United States. The Army Transport forces have been withdrawn from Marseilles, Bordeaux, St. Nazaire, La Pallice, and Le Havre. Soon the famous port of Brest will be closed, as Antwerp has been established as the port or base of operations for supplying the Rhine Valley Army during the reconstruction period. The return movement of troops and cargo was no sooner well under way than the transportation service of the War Department, heeding the call of Mr. Hurley and the American merchant marine, began redelivering cargo troop transports to the Shipping Board and American steamship lines.

The prompt redelivery of these steamships has proved a most potent economic transaction for the Government in reducing the enormous cost of war operations as well as a most timely stimulus to the American merchant marine in lifting the enormous congestion of export cargo that had accumulated at American seaports for shipment to all parts of the world. The war tonnage that has been redelivered by the Transportation Service reached a total of 590 ships of 3,911,000 tons deadweight, not including twenty-

four battleships of 352,395 displacement tons that were pressed into service as troop carriers, and two troop ships and thirty-one cargo ships which were sunk. * * *

Today, with the emergency functions of the Oversea Transportation Service practically completed, an excellent perspective of these titanic accomplishments may be had. Briefly stated, it picked up 2,100,000 soldiers from the interior of the United States and set them down in every part of Europe and even in Siberia and brought them home. It carried overseas 8,000,000 tons of supplies and distributed same to wherever required for their sustenance. It transported their equipment, armament, ammunition, and all the varied paraphernalia necessary to successfully conduct modern, scientific warfare. Before the ink was dry on the signatures of the German envoys it had started to reverse the operation. It brought the soldier back and deposited him at his own fire-side, so that he might renew his normal existence in the industrial life of the nation with the least possible interruption. It gathered up 700,000 tons of army stores from various corners of Europe and returned same to the United States. It turned the chartered tonnage back to the merchant marine with all practicable speed.

It was stated in Washington, Nov. 1, that with the completion of the present construction program of the Shipping Board there would be under the American flag 1,731 oil-burning steamers of an aggregate of nearly 10,000,000 dead-weight tons. Fuel stations are now being established along the trade routes in the Atlantic and Pacific so that the American ships will be able to make a complete circuit of the world without taking fuel at other than American-owned stations.

A total of 486 oil-burning ships is now in the Government merchant fleet, while sixty-seven others have been sold to Americans or reconveyed to their American owners. In addition 636 oil-burning vessels are under construction.

BILL TO RETURN RAILROADS

By a vote of 203 to 159 the House on Nov. 17 passed finally the Esch bill to regulate the railroads after their release by the Government. This action was taken after Representative Claude Kitchin, former Democratic floor leader, had denounced the provision the railway unions demanded for the adjustment of

wage disputes, and after Representative Mondell, Republican leader, had characterized the measure as a whole as "strong, sane, and sensible."

Representative Kitchin's denunciation of the so-called Anderson amendment, dealing with the adjustment of labor disputes, was made in a five-minute speech before the bill was reported from committee. This section continues in effect the present machinery of the railroads and presents no way to force a dispute before the adjustment boards unless action is initiated by the railway unions. There is nothing in the amendment which attempts to prevent strikes or gives authority to the board to enforce its decision.

Representative Mondell said that at no time in twenty years had the House so faithfully considered an important measure as in this instance. "While I am not in favor of some parts of the bill," he said, "yet I believe that it, as a whole, is strong, sane, and sensible, and represents the view of the majority."

The House, when the bill was reported from committee, where earlier important sections enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission had been adopted, declined, by a vote of 200 to 165, to recommit it, and rejected a motion to strike out the Anderson amendment by a vote of 253 to 112. The latter vote represented a stronger sentiment for the labor adjustment section than when it was adopted originally by the committee.

The bill passed finally also enlarges the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The commission is empowered to pass upon the issue of stocks and bonds by railroads and to decide in certain emergencies when joint terminal and other facilities shall be used by the carriers.

INCREASING RAILWAY WAGES

Director General Hines on Nov. 15 submitted to representatives of the four railway brotherhoods an increased wage scale amounting approximately to \$3,000,000 a month, or \$36,000,000 a year. The increase would affect trainmen, firemen, engineers, and conductors,

but more particularly those employed in the slow freight train service. In making the awards the Railroad Administration set forth these facts:

The Railroad Administration in discharging its responsibility to make readjustments necessary to avoid unjust inequalities in the compensation of different classes of railroad employes has proposed to the four brotherhoods representing the train and enginemen that, in order to give an additional measure of compensation to the train service employes in the slow freight service, time and one-half will be paid for time required to make runs in excess of what would be required if an average speed of 12½ miles per hour were maintained, provided, however, that all arbitraries and special allowances now paid in various forms of freight train service are entirely eliminated for the railroads as a whole.

In discharging the responsibility which unavoidably rested upon the Railroad Administration consideration has been given to the claim that various classes of train and engine employes are relatively underpaid. In considering these claims the conclusion has been reached that the train service employes in freight train service, who are habitually averaging less than twelve and a half miles per hour, do not get an opportunity to earn a reasonable monthly wage, as compared with employes in fast freight service or employes in passenger train service, without working abnormally long hours, frequently amounting to from 275 to 300 hours or more per month, and the above method has been decided to be the best

way in which to make a fair equalization of this condition.

Compromise terms with the Track Workers' Brotherhood were accepted on Nov. 24, and representatives of the other unions were in session, with every prospect of an early adjustment of remaining differences.

FOOD CONTROL REVIVED

President Wilson in a proclamation of Nov. 21 placed the Government again in control of the nation's food supply by transferring the authority of the Food Administration to Attorney General Palmer. The revival of the wartime functions of Administrator Hoover resulted directly from the Government's efforts to avert a famine in sugar, but the powers delegated to the head of the Department of Justice will be used also to help put down the ever-mounting cost of living.

Mr. Palmer's staff began immediately to build up a sugar-distributing system which should allocate all sugar stocks in the country. It aimed to provide an equitable system of distributing supplies and to defeat any concentration or hoarding. Plans tentatively decided on provide for increasing the price of all sugar except the Louisiana crop, for which a price of 17 cents already had been fixed, to 12 cents a pound wholesale.

Japan Leads in Birth Rate

DURING 1917 the population of Japan, including the colonial possessions, registered a net increase from births of 612,774. The total number of recorded births for that year is 1,843,023 and the deaths 1,230,279. The net increase by sexes is: Males, 315,643; females, 297,101. Official reports show an increased marriage rate, a lower death rate, and a decrease in divorces.

A comparison with the pre-war vital statistics issued by the respective European Governments shows that the 1917 birth rate in Japan was exceeded by only Rumania and Hungary in 1914.

During 1917 there were 545,478 recorded marriages between Japanese subjects, an increase over 1916 of 14,723. These

marriages were at the rate of 7.99 per 1,000 of population, a rate exceeded in 1914 in Rumania, 8.5, and England and Wales, 8.0. In other European countries in 1914, the last year for which statistics are available, the marriage rate per 1,000 stood: Germany, 7.7; Scotland, 7.4; Hungary, 7.2; Italy, 7.1; Denmark, 6.9; Austria and the Netherlands, 6.7; Spain and Norway, 6.5; Finland and Sweden, 5.8; Ireland, 5.4, and France, 5.1.

Divorce in Japan is a very simple process, involving mainly the decision of one or the other party to the marriage to cancel it, with the sanction of the family council, but despite this there was a decrease of 4,452 in the year's divorces.

The Coal Miners' Strike

Hundreds of Thousands Walk Out Despite Injunction, Threatening a Catastrophe to Industries

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 23, 1919]

THE greatest strike in the history of the coal industry of the United States began on Nov. 1, 1919, when a call for the walkout of 600,000 miners in the bituminous coal fields, issued by the leaders of the United Mine Workers of America, went partly into effect. The demands of the miners included a six-hour day, a five-day week, and a 60 per cent. increase in wages, the most drastic proposal ever made by workmen in the history of American trade unionism, involving, if complied with, an extra tax upon industrial and domestic America of more than one billion dollars annually.

These terms had been unconditionally rejected by the mine operators, who called on the miners to live up to their existing contracts. The miners replied that on the date set the workers of their organization would begin the projected strike. All propositions submitted by Secretary of Labor Wilson in an earnest effort to effect an agreement were rejected. Secretary Wilson then appealed to the President to intervene in a situation which threatened consequences of the gravest concern to the whole nation. From his sickbed President Wilson dictated a letter, in which he proposed: (1) That the representatives of the miners and operators resume negotiations in an effort to reach a peaceful settlement. (2) That, if the miners and operators failed to agree, the matters in dispute be referred to a board of arbitration. (3) That pending the decision of the board the strike be called off, and the operation of the mines be continued without interruption.

Secretary Wilson at once called representatives of the miners and operators together, and communicated to them the President's letter. The President's proposals were accepted by the operators, but were rejected by the miners after

failure to obtain guarantees that the suggested conferences would insure the fulfillment of the miners' demands. Secretary Wilson, finding himself unable to shake their decision, adjourned the meeting sine die.

THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

The President, however, after receiving information of the miners' unpromising attitude, on the following day (Oct. 25) issued a statement in which he denounced the proposed strike as not only unjustifiable, but unlawful, and requested the officers and members of the coal unions to recall the strike order, so that production might not be interrupted, and again to seek to arbitrate their differences. He denounced the strike as an attack upon the rights of society and the welfare of the country, and declared that the law would be enforced. The President's statement was as follows:

White House, Washington, Oct. 25, 1919.

On Sept. 23, 1919, the convention of the United Mine Workers of America at Cleveland, Ohio, adopted a proposal declaring that all contracts in the bituminous field shall be declared as having automatically expired Nov. 1, 1919, and making various demands, including a 60 per cent. increase in wages and the adoption of a six-hour workday and a five-day week, and providing that, in the event a satisfactory wage agreement should not be secured for the central competitive field before Nov. 1, 1919, the national officials should be authorized and instructed to call a general strike of all bituminous miners and mine workers throughout the United States, effective Nov. 1, 1919.

Pursuant to these instructions, the officers of the organization have issued a call to make the strike effective Nov. 1. This is one of the gravest steps ever proposed in this country, affecting the economic welfare and the domestic comfort and health of the people. It is proposed to abrogate an agreement as to wages which was made with the sanction of the United States Fuel Administration and which was to run during the continuance of the war, but not beyond April 1, 1920.

This strike is proposed at a time when the Government is making the most earnest effort to reduce the cost of living and has appealed with success to other classes of workers to postpone similar disputes until a reasonable opportunity has been afforded for dealing with the cost of living. It is recognized that the strike would practically shut off the country's supply of its principal fuel at a time when interference with that supply is calculated to create a disastrous fuel famine. All interests would be affected alike by a strike of this character, and its victims would be not the rich only, but the poor and the needy as well, those least able to provide in advance a fuel supply for domestic use. It would involve the shutting down of countless industries and the throwing out of employment of a large part of the workers of the country. It would involve stopping the operation of railroads, electric light and gas plants, street railway lines and other public utilities, and the shipping to and from this country, thus preventing our giving aid to the allied countries with supplies which they so seriously need.

The country is confronted with this prospect at a time when the war itself is still a fact, when the world is still in suspense as to negotiations for peace, when our troops are still being transported, and when their means of transport is in urgent need of fuel.

From whatever angle the subject may be viewed it is apparent that such a strike in such circumstances would be the most far-reaching plan ever presented in this country to limit the facilities of production and distribution of a necessity of life and thus indirectly to restrict the production and distribution of all the necessities of life. A strike under these circumstances is not only unjustifiable, it is unlawful.

The action proposed has apparently been taken without any vote upon the specific proposition by the individual members of the United Mine Workers of America throughout the United States, an almost unprecedented proceeding. I cannot believe that any right of any American worker needs for its protection the taking of this extraordinary step, and I am convinced that, when the time and manner are considered, it constitutes a fundamental attack, which is wrong both morally and legally, upon the rights of society and upon the welfare of our country. I feel convinced that individual members of the United Mine Workers would not vote, upon full consideration, in favor of such a strike under these conditions.

When a movement reaches the point where it appears to involve practically the entire productive capacity of the country with respect to one of the most vital necessities of daily domestic and indus-

trial life, and when the movement is asserted in the circumstances I have stated and at a time and in a manner calculated to involve the maximum of danger to the public welfare in this critical hour of our country's life, the public interest becomes the paramount consideration.

In these circumstances I solemnly request both the national and the local officers and also the individual members of the United Mine Workers of America to recall all orders looking to a strike on Nov. 1, and to take whatever steps may be necessary to prevent any stoppage of work.

It is time for plain speaking. These matters with which we now deal touch not only the welfare of a class, but vitally concern the well-being, the comfort, and the very life of all the people. I feel it my duty in the public interest to declare that any attempt to carry out the purposes of this strike and thus to paralyze the industry of the country, with the consequent suffering and distress of all our people, must be considered a grave moral and legal wrong against the Government and the people of the United States. I can do nothing less than to say that the law will be enforced, and means will be found to protect the interests of the nation in any emergency that may arise out of this unhappy business.

I express no opinion on the merits of the controversy. I have already suggested a plan by which a settlement may be reached, and I hold myself in readiness at the request of either or both sides to appoint at once a tribunal to investigate all the facts with a view to aiding in the earliest possible orderly settlement of the question at issue between the coal operators and the coal miners, to the end that the just rights, not only of those interested but also of the general public, may be fully protected.

MINERS DEFIANT

John F. Lewis, Acting President of the United Mine Workers of America, replying on Oct. 26 to the President's statement, declared that the status quo still obtained. Meanwhile the Federal Government discussed the taking of Governmental action under the Lever food control law, and resolutions were offered in both houses of Congress condemning the miners' attitude and declaring that any action which the Government might take to prevent the strike would be supported by Congress. On the following day President Lewis, just before his departure for Indianapolis to take active charge of the threatened strike, declared that the strike order was still

in effect, and that the 600,000 miners would walk out to a man unless the operators made concessions.

By telegraph the same night Lewis invited twenty-five district Presidents of unions in coal-producing States and members of the Miners' Scale Committee to meet with the International Board, to discuss the President's statement, which Lewis characterized as "astounding," "without precedent" and "without warrant of law." Had President Wilson not upheld the decision of Dr. H. A. Garfield, as United States Fuel Administrator, a year before, said Lewis, in refusing an advance of wages, the present crisis would never have occurred.

Judge Joseph Buffington, senior Judge of the United States Circuit Court, through which thousands of foreign-born miners had been naturalized in Pennsylvania, on Oct. 27 issued an appeal to the miners to uphold the President. This appeal was sent to all foreign-language newspapers in the United States, and distributed in all communities where foreign-born citizens resided. On the following day many miners in the Eastern Ohio bituminous fields announced that if the Government took over the operation of the soft-coal mines they were ready to continue work under adequate military protection.

THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE

Meanwhile Attorney General Palmer declared that the strike was a challenge to the law, that the nation's life was attacked, that the mines would be protected by the Government, and that the Department of Justice was preparing to take vigorous steps against all who conspired to restrict the supply or distribution of the nation's fuel supply. All the resources of the Government would be used, said Attorney General Palmer, to prevent the national disaster involved by the threatened strike.

The miners themselves on Oct. 29, after a meeting of the union officials, issued a statement in which they said that "a canvass of the entire situation showed that a strike of bituminous miners could not be avoided," and placed the blame for the strike upon the operators. The dissatisfaction of the miners for the

last two years with the pay they were receiving was set forth; they were determined to discontinue the operation of the mines unless a new agreement should be signed.

PREPARATIONS FOR STRIKE

The operators held a meeting in Cleveland on Oct. 30 to consider problems arising from the expected strike. No hope of averting it was entertained. The Southwest Coal Operators, however, agreed to a proposal made by Governor Allen to negotiate a new contract and wage scale for the Kansas district, independent of other districts, on condition that the men remain at work, while Governor Cornwall of West Virginia, after the receipt of definite warnings of threatened disorders, issued a proclamation saying that any miners engaging in an armed uprising and invasion of any parts of the State would be treated as insurrectionists. The situation in Indianapolis was so threatening that the citizens asked the Governor's permission to arm themselves for their own protection.

The Federal Government, meanwhile, took measures to insure the protection of all workers by the armed forces of the United States, and the re-establishment of the old maximum coal prices of the Fuel Administration was approved by the President. On the same date the Senate, after four hours' debate, and with but one dissenting vote—that of Senator Fall—voted to assure the President of the support of Congress in maintaining order during the "present industrial emergency." This Senate resolution of support was adopted by the House on Oct. 31 without a dissenting vote.

President Lewis sent a message to Secretary Wilson at this time in which he denounced President Wilson and the Cabinet as the allies of "sinister financial interests." This communication was sent as a telegram in response to a previous telegram sent by Secretary Wilson, which was read before the strike executive council of the union on the day before, but which Lewis declined to make public. The labor reply, which was approved by the Executive Council, de-

clared that the President's statement had "done more to prevent a satisfactory settlement than any other element which has entered into the situation." The reply said further:

The President of the United States is the servant, and not the master, of the Constitution. Yet his statement of Oct. 25 threatens the mine workers with a sanctified peonage, demands that they perform involuntary service, proclaims a refusal to work to be a crime when no such crime exists, nor can such a crime be defined under the Constitution.

JUDGE ANDERSON'S INJUNCTION

The next important development came on Oct. 31, when Judge Albert Anderson of the Federal District Court at Indianapolis issued a temporary injunction restraining John L. Lewis and other officials of the United Mine Workers of America from taking any further steps in directing the coal strike called for the following day. Attorney General Palmer at the same time declared that the United States, exercising its authority through the Department of Justice, was prepared to use every power of the Federal Government in compelling obedience to the mandate of the court.

The granting of this injunction came as a shock to the labor leaders, though the taking of such an action had been more or less anticipated. Soon after the news reached Washington, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, with other leaders, hurried to the Department of Justice to confer with Attorney General Palmer. The conference was long, and the leaders bitterly protested against the action taken by the Government. On their return to the American Federation of Labor Building, they issued a joint statement, in which they asserted that the injunction would result in the creation of "new and disturbing issues," and adding that these "may not be confined solely to the miners."

LABOR LEADERS' STATEMENT

The text of this statement is given herewith:

Throughout the period of the war and during the nation's time of stress the miners of America labored patiently, patriotically, and arduously in order that the principles of freedom and democracy

might triumph over the forces of arbitrary authority, dictatorship, and despotism.

When armed hostilities ceased last November the miners found themselves in the paradoxical position where their intensive labors were being used to further enrich the owners of coal mines and merchants dealing in coal by the immediate reduction of the mining of the coal. Of course the mine owners readily conceived than an overabundance of mined coal would seriously disturb the high prices of coal and endanger their large margin of profits.

On the other hand, the miners found that with the constantly rising cost of necessities of life and with their income reduced over 50 per cent. because of idleness they had reached the limit of human endurance.

Orderly and improved processes were invoked to negotiate a new understanding with the mine owners, and which would enable the miners to work at least five days during each week throughout the entire year and allow them a wage sufficient to enable them to live in decency and free from any of the pressing uncertainties of life.

In attempting to negotiate this new understanding and relation the miners found that their plea for continuous employment would destroy the mine owners' arrangement to curtail the mining of coal so as to continue exploiting the public with high and exorbitant prices.

The mine owners very clearly met the issue by appearing willing and anxious to negotiate, but only if the miners would first throw aside the only power at their command to gain a respectful hearing and fair consideration—the decision to strike whenever it was demonstrated fair dealings did not prevail.

We are now faced with a coal strike of vast magnitude. The Government now proposes to intervene because of a possible coal shortage. Apparently the Government is not concerned with the manipulation by the mine owners which has made for present coal shortage and undue unemployment of the miners for the past eleven months. Instead of dealing with those responsible for this grave menace to the public welfare it now proposes to punish those who by force of circumstances have been the victims of the coal barons' exploitations. The miners are now told the war is not over and that all war legislation is still in force, and if reports received here are correct the Government intends to apply existing war measures, not against the owners of the coal mines, but against the coal miners. The Government has taken steps to enforce war measures by an injunction and it has restrained the officials of the United Mine Workers from counseling,

aiding, or in any way assisting the members of this organization for relief against grievous conditions of life and employment.

It is almost inconceivable that a Government which is proud of its participation in a great war to liberate suppressed peoples should now undertake to suppress the legitimate aims, hopes, and aspirations of a group of its own people. It is still more strange that a nation which may justly be proud of its Abraham Lincoln should now reverse the application of the great truth he enunciated when he said that as between capital and labor, labor should receive first and foremost consideration.

The injunction against the United Mine Workers bodes for ill. An injunction of this nature will not prevent the strike, it will not fill the empty stomachs of the miners, it may restrain sane leadership, but will give added strength to unwise counsel and increase bitterness and friction.

This injunction can only result in creating new and more disturbing issues which may not be confined solely to the miners. These views were presented to Attorney General Palmer in a conference this afternoon, lasting nearly two hours, by President Gompers, Secretary Morrison, and Vice President Woll of the American Federation of Labor.

MINERS QUIT WORK

At midnight in the last day of October a large proportion of the bituminous coal miners quit work, despite the fact that their leaders had been silenced and prohibited from further activity in promoting the strike. Many of the workers went out at the end of their day's work. Shortly after being served with the injunction, President Lewis had issued the following comment:

I regard the issuance of this injunction as the most sweeping abrogation of the rights of citizens guaranteed under the Constitution and defined by statutory law that has ever been issued by any Federal court.

This instrument will not avert the strike by bituminous mine workers and will not settle the strike after it occurs. The injunction only complicates to a further degree the problems involved in an adjustment of the controversy.

Mr. Lewis had been busy all day sending telegrams to local unions and preparing to carry the strike into effect, but ceased his activities after receiving the injunction. The temporary restraining order had been issued on a petition

filed in behalf of the United States Government against Frank J. Hayes, President of the mine workers, and eighty-three other national and district officers by the Assistant Attorney General. The hearing of the case was set for Saturday, Nov. 8. The Federal authorities asked that at the final hearing the strike order be recalled. Meanwhile the operators declared that they would keep the Central Field mines open.

FIRST DAY OF STRIKE

On Nov. 1, the first day of the strike, the union leaders declared that some 394,600 miners had gone out. The reports showed also that the soft-coal workers in some cases were ignoring the injunction. Mines in Western and Central States, Ohio, and Maryland, had been paralyzed. The non-union miners, representing the product of 175,000,000 tons of coal, continued work, and the operators asserted that 66 per cent. of Pennsylvania's and all West Virginia's mines were in operation.

Meanwhile the Government's measures to insure the workers protection began to operate; additional troops were moved to West Virginia, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico. The union leaders remained quiet at their headquarters at Indianapolis, though it was stated that counsel for the unions were completing plans to resist the issuance of a permanent injunction. At this time the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen issued a statement of sympathy. The Attorney General instructed the Federal Attorneys to give notice immediately of any violation of the injunction. All strikers were being watched. Measures were taken also to prevent profiteering in coal, and the Railway Administration perfected plans for the transportation and distribution of the coal supplies already at hand.

On Nov. 3 the situation remained essentially the same, though Washington was more hopeful after a conference held by Secretary Wilson with members of the Government Division of Labor for Strike Conciliation. At this time there were signs of a break in the labor ranks, especially perceptible in West Virginia, where fifteen union mines in the north-

ern fields resumed operations. The labor union members were already looking to Washington in the expectation of a call to confer. A definite public pronouncement against the injunction was issued by Samuel Gompers on Nov. 4 in Washington. He said in part:

If the injunction were vacated, and the Department of Labor invited the operators and the representatives of the United Mine Workers to a further conference, I have an abiding faith that a mutually honorable adjustment can be negotiated and effected whereby the coal strike can be brought to an end.

FIGHTING THE INJUNCTION

This proposal was heartily indorsed by President Lewis, who stated that the miners would be willing to resume negotiations with the operators immediately if the injunction were vacated. Mr. Lewis declared that the machinery of joint bargaining was still intact, and could be brought quickly into operation. Meantime Attorney General Palmer declared that the Government would accept no compromise and would continue all efforts to make the temporary injunction permanent.

The officials of the United Mine Workers of America made their first active move on Nov. 6 by filing in the Federal Court at Indianapolis a motion to dissolve Judge Anderson's restraining order. This motion held that the Government had no right to interfere in the controversy between the miners and operators, and declared that it was without "equity and clean hands" in the prosecution of the suit. It further contended that the Fuel Administration was dissolved at the end of the war, and that it should not have been re-established. It also charged that the Government's action had brought about confusion and disorder, and that its real purpose in the suit was to extricate the Administration from the "unfortunate state of disorder in which it had involved itself."

At this time reports were coming in that coal production was gaining in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New Mexico, Alabama, Wyoming and Colorado. To conserve available coal supplies, all oceangoing steamships under foreign flags were refused bunker coal.

THE INJUNCTION UPHELD

After three separate conferences with the Attorney General on Nov. 7 Mr. Gompers submitted a proposal to settle the strike. The injunction case, however, was not deferred, and on Nov. 8 Judge Anderson ruled that the bituminous coal strike was a defiance of the Fuel Control act, almost equivalent to rebellion, refused to listen to the miners' representatives who sought to demonstrate the miners' right to strike, and issued an order to the United Mine Workers to recall the strike order before Nov. 11.

The counsel for the miners stated after the hearing that President Lewis would obey the mandate, but declined to speak for the other leaders. Gompers and other labor chiefs were visibly surprised and disconcerted by the failure of their case at Indianapolis, and implied that officials of the Federation of Labor might be called to conference preparatory to the making of an appeal to President Wilson. Later, however, they expressed defiance, and on Nov. 9 the Executive Committee of the Federation of Labor, at a meeting held in Washington, issued a statement denouncing the Government's injunction against the coal strike as "so autocratic as to stagger the human mind," pledging the support of the federation to the continuance of the strike, and calling on all organized labor in the country to aid the strikers, and to support "the men engaged in this momentous struggle."

In reply Attorney General Palmer, with the full approval of the President, issued a statement which reiterated the charge that the strike was a violation of the laws of the United States, and the Government's determination to enforce its own interpretation. The United States, this statement said, refused to "surrender to the dictation of any group, and it proposes to assert its power to protect itself and the people." Mr. Gompers made rebuttal in a speech delivered at a dinner given to the delegates of the International Labor Conference on Nov. 10, in which he declared that President Wilson did not fully understand the strike situation, and maintained the workers' right to obtain freedom and

justice, "which must prevail over any temporary administration."

AN ALL-NIGHT SESSION

The momentous question of whether the miners would comply with Judge Anderson's mandate to rescind the strike call was thrashed out in an exhaustive discussion of the United Mine Workers' Executive Committee, which met at Indianapolis on Nov. 11. This conference was in session all day and far into the night. Fierce debate characterized the session, with the radical element very much in evidence, and lasted all through the night. Many fell asleep in their chairs after seventeen hours of deliberation. No restriction was placed on the length or the number of speeches. It was a bitter fight to the end between the counsels of the reckless and the sane, between defiance and obedience to the order of the court, and the conservatives ultimately won the hard-fought battle. At 4:10 o'clock in the morning the decision to rescind the strike order was reached, and the exhausted members of the committee adjourned.

In accordance with this decision, the strike order was recalled. The labor leaders, however, denounced the injunction and announced their intention of appealing the case to the highest tribunal. The statement issued subsequently said in part:

When the officials of the United Mine Workers of America announced that they would comply with the order of the United States Court and obey its mandate they simply followed the union's historic policy of patriotic devotion to the Government and American ideals and institutions. The United Mine Workers will not fight the Government. It is their Government just as it is the Government of every other citizen. It is their Government just as it is the Government of the coal operators.

Immediately following the recall of the strike order, the Federal Government took prompt action to bring together the coal miners and operators for a settlement of their differences. After a meeting of the Cabinet, Secretary of Labor Wilson called both sides to the controversy to meet at Washington on Friday, Nov. 14. Meanwhile the recall of the strike order was issued. Seven mines

were reopened in West Virginia, but in many fields the miners awaited the receipt of the official notification before returning to the collieries, and the coal situation grew steadily worse as day by day went by and the operators and miners failed to reach an agreement.

JOINT CONFERENCE BEGINS

On Nov. 14 the joint conference of the miners and operators began in Washington. A conciliatory attitude was developed by the opening address of Secretary Wilson, who warned both the miners and the operators that they must drop their uncompromising attitude, and urged compromise for the sake of the public, which would have to bear the burden of any increase in coal prices. The demands made by the miners for a six-hour day and a five-day week, and for a 60 per cent. increase in wages, the Secretary told the miners plainly, were impossible. President Lewis spoke in reply. Both the operators and the miners admitted that the conference should not come to a close without an agreement.

At the session of Nov. 15 an agreement was reached that the immediate negotiations should be restricted to the central competitive district, covering the great coal fields of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania. This restriction, which was in accordance with a custom that had been followed for many years in strike negotiations, was accepted by the miners after refusal by the operators to discuss a nation-wide contract. The miners then presented a draft of their original demands, which Secretary Wilson had declared "impossible." At the close of the session the operators declared that a 60 per cent. increase in wages could not be granted, and promised to submit a draft of counterproposals. No action, however, was taken, and on Nov. 18 the miners declared that discussion was being held up by the secret meetings of the operators, who apparently could not agree among themselves.

DR. GARFIELD'S ACTION

At this point Dr. Garfield, clothed with all his wartime powers as Fuel

Administrator, and acting by direct authority from the President's Cabinet, called on Nov. 19 a joint meeting of the conflicting parties, on whom he served formal notice that mining operations on a large scale must be resumed, and that coal must be produced at a reasonable price. As ground for the urgency of agreement, the situation in the coal fields generally was pointed out. Dr. Garfield cited the drastic action of the State Governments of North Dakota and Kansas in taking over the coal pits to operate them under State authority. (Later a court decision handed back the North Dakota mines to the operators.) He also cited the reports from the Central Competitive Fields, embracing the States of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Western Pennsylvania, strongholds of the United Mine Workers of America, which showed all mines shut down and not enough coal coming from non-union plants in other States to meet the normal demand by several million tons.

The operators and miners met in a committee of sixteen; no definite proposals were offered by the former, but both sides were hopeful after the session. One point discussed was whether the operators' taxes should be included in the price to the public, which the Government had disputed. President Lewis charged the operators with receiving 125 per cent. more profit for coal in 1919 than in 1914, while the miners' wages showed an increase of only a little more than 37 per cent., as against an increase of 110 per cent. in the cost of living.

Discussion was resumed on Nov. 20, and ended in a deadlock. The operators made a proposal of an increase of 15 cents per ton to pick and machine miners, a 20 per cent. increase for day labor, and the same working hours that had previously obtained. They also proposed that the new contract should extend to March 31, 1922, thus obviating the danger of another strike in the Fall, the Mine Workers' Association to be responsible for the fulfillment of the contract, and a penalty clause for unauthorized strikes to be included in the contract. The representatives of the miners re-

jected these counterproposals unconditionally as "preposterous and ridiculous," while the operators declared that they represented the utmost concessions which could be made.

The committee recommended the creation of a National Industrial Board with powers of compulsory investigation, mediation, and recommendation. It recommended also an Americanization bill to be passed by Congress for the education of foreigners in the principles of our Government; also that workmen in industrial districts be provided with their own homes, that no one be naturalized who is unable to speak the English language, and that an effective law be passed to deal with anarchists and revolutionists.

NEARING A COMPROMISE

With the threat of Governmental intervention hanging over their heads, the operators and miners on Nov. 21 struggled for several hours to reach an agreement. After four hours of fruitless argument Secretary of Labor Wilson was called in at 6 o'clock in the evening, and a stormy session followed for two hours longer, with the result that the miners abandoned their demand for a thirty-hour week; no basis for settlement, however, was reached. On the following day the uncompromising attitude of the operators continued. Secretary Wilson's proposal of a 31 per cent. increase of wages was rejected, and the operators demanded that the Fuel Administration assume responsibility for the added burden on the public involved in the previous offer of a 15-cent increase and 20 per cent. to day labor before they again submitted it. The workers on their part accepted the Secretary's proposal, but held out for a seven-hour day.

At this juncture the operators turned to the Government for a solution, asking the President's Cabinet for instructions as to whether or not they must accept Secretary Wilson's proposal. On Nov. 23 Dr. Garfield, Director General of Railways Hines, and Attorney General Palmer conferred and an early decision was expected.

Other Phases of Labor Unrest

The Steel Strike Fails

THE strike in the iron and steel industries of the United States proved a failure. The leaders themselves admitted the fact on Nov. 23, 1919. When the call had been issued Sept. 22, 162,474 workmen out of 228,430 in the Pittsburgh district alone went out or were forced out; of the 162,474, over 60 per cent., or 109,455, were back at work Nov. 23, and the plants were running about 100 per cent. full on Nov. 25. In the Wheeling district, which held out longest, the strikers voted to return to work. It was estimated in the last week in November that the steel industry was working over 90 per cent., and could have been operating on a 100 per cent. basis but for the coal strike. The payroll loss to the strikers in the Pittsburgh district alone had been \$29,604,064. The Senate Committee which investigated the strike said in its report on Nov. 8:

The committee is of the opinion that the American Federation of Labor has made a serious mistake, and has lost much favorable public opinion which otherwise they would possess, by permitting the leadership of this strike movement to pass into the hands of some who heretofore have entertained most radical and dangerous doctrines. If labor is to retain the confidence of that large element of our population which affiliates neither with labor organizations nor capital, it must keep men who entertain and formulate un-American doctrines out of its ranks and join with the employers of labor in eliminating this element from the industrial life of our nation.

Unquestionably the United States Steel Corporation has had the support of a larger and of a wider circle in the country during the strike because of the character of some of the strike leadership. Labor organizations should not place the workman in the position of any sympathy with un-American doctrines or make them followers of any such leadership. Such practice will result in defeating the accomplishment of their demands.

The Senate committee severely criticised William Z. Foster, Secretary to the committee which managed the strike, for his radical sentiments, and held that he had hurt the cause he was trying to assist. The committee censured other

strike leaders, among them President Gompers of the Federation of Labor, for their failure to postpone the strike when called upon to do so by the President. It also censured Judge Gary for not heeding the request of the President to confer with Gompers and other union labor officials in an effort to prevent the walk-out.

Concerning hours of labor and collective bargaining, the committee found that the laborers in the steel mills had a just complaint relative to the long hours of service on the part of some of them and the right to have that complaint heard by the company, and that they had the right to have the representatives of their own choosing present grievances to the employers.

The eight-hour day [says the report] is involved in the solution of this question. These non-English-speaking aliens must be Americanized and must learn our language, so the question of a reasonable working day is involved in the question of Americanization. Men cannot work ten and twelve hours per day and attend classes at night school.

It is the general consensus of opinion of the best economic writers and thinkers that the establishment of eight-hour-day systems does not diminish production. Nor do we think the claim made that an eight-hour day is impossible because the workmen cannot be secured for three shifts is tenable. An eight-hour day with a living wage that will enable men to support their families and bring up their children according to the standards of American life ought to be a cardinal part of our industrial policy, and the sooner the principle is recognized the better it will be for the entire country.

The public also has an interest in the problem of an eight-hour day. Fatigue in humankind is a breeder of unrest and dissatisfaction.

LONGSHOREMEN'S STRIKE SETTLED

The strike of the longshoremen, which almost completely tied up New York Harbor and put on embargo practically on all exports, was ended Nov. 4 by a compromise, the men receding from their extravagant demands; an award of an increase of 22½ per cent. was given them on Nov. 22 by the National Adjustment

Committee of the United States Shipping Board, the rate of wages to run to Oct. 1, 1920; the men receive 80 cents an hour, \$1.20 for overtime; they had demanded \$1 an hour and \$2 for overtime. At one time there were 70,000 men out and 495 ships, aggregating 1,693,700 tons, were tied up in New York Harbor.

The strike in the printing trade in New York growing out of a controversy between the unions was settled Nov. 25 by the printers and pressmen returning to work under orders of their international officers at an increase of \$6 a week; they had demanded \$14 and refused to arbitrate a demand for a 44-hour week. The strike tied up fifty periodicals, some of which missed their No-

vember issues, and many of which were printed in other cities. *CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE* appeared in November by resorting to the rotogravure presses of *THE NEW YORK TIMES*; two-thirds of the December issue also is etched in rotogravure; the strike ended in time for the first sixty-four pages of this issue to be printed on ordinary rotary presses.

The plea of the Boston police who sought restoration to the positions from which they were removed for striking was denied by the Massachusetts Supreme Court Nov. 7; 600 new policemen had been installed by Nov. 10, and it was expected to have a new force entirely recruited soon thereafter.

Dealing With Anarchist Agitators

Evidence of Worldwide Conspiracy

ACCUMULATING evidence of Bolshevik and anarchist agitation throughout the United States stirred the Government to action in the Autumn of 1919. As early as August the President asked Congress to continue the passport law for a year after the formal proclamation of peace, in view of the receipt of information that many undesirable persons of anarchistic proclivities were seeking to enter the United States from abroad. Toward the end of October, Representative Albert Johnson proposed a bill in the House to fulfill the President's request, and gave new reasons why the passing of this measure was necessary.

Disclosures of radical activities in Gary, Ind., during the steel strike roused public concern; they showed a widespread agitation to overthrow the United States Government. An Americanization bill was reported in the Senate on Oct. 27, which proposed fines and imprisonment for exhibiting a red flag or advocating the Government's overthrow. Further plots were revealed in Cleveland and elsewhere, and fifteen arrests were made in connection with a bomb plot to be carried out next May. The success of Governor Coolidge of Massachusetts in

obtaining re-election on the issue of the Boston police strike was taken by the President and others as a good omen in showing the attitude of the general public.

The Lusk Investigating Committee, acting under the New York State Government, raided the Russian People's House in New York City on Nov. 9; taking thirty-five men and two women to Ellis Island for deportation; about 150 other men were subsequently released for lack of evidence. In all some seventy-three Red centres were raided at this time by a force of 700 policemen, and tons of seditious literature were seized. More than 200 persons were to be deported. Some sixty more were seized at Bridgeport. At the same time news came that Brazil was conducting a similar campaign, and on Oct. 31 had sent sixteen anarchists back to Europe.

Examination of the literature seized in New York showed an organized effort to overthrow the Government after the declaring of a general strike, to nationalize all industries, to blow up barracks, to shoot the police, to put an end to religion, and to set free all criminals. On Nov. 10 some 391 alien Reds were under arrest, and deportation measures had

been begun in a number of cities to rid the country of violent and dangerous agitators.

A great sensation was roused in the State of Washington on Nov. 11, when an armistice parade of American Legion soldiers at Centralia was fired upon and four of the marchers were killed, two others fatally wounded, and several seriously hurt. The shots were fired by I. W. W. members from their building on one of the main streets. Subsequently a mob surrounded the Centralia jail, succeeded in seizing one of the men arrested for the outrage, and hanged him just outside the city limits. Fifty-one radicals were arrested, their literature was seized, and the Mayor of Seattle issued a warning to all agitators to keep that city "out of their future itineraries." The affair aroused great indignation in Congress, where fifty-two bills against radical agitation were pending. A few days later, on Nov. 16, a pitched battle between the authorities and I. W. W. fugitives occurred.

Another city that entered the struggle against Red propaganda was San Francisco, where the headquarters of the Radical Labor Party were raided, wrecked, and burned by former service men. Raids were also conducted in Washington and Oregon cities, and strong military measures were taken in West Virginia in connection with the coal strike.

Meanwhile bills were offered in Congress transferring from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice the enforcement of all existing deportation laws. Disclosures by Government agents of Bolshevik activities in Mexico were made on Nov. 14. Considerable distribution of Red propaganda in the

United States via Mexico had been carried on by Bolsheviki whom the "ultra-modern" features of the Mexican Constitution had attracted. Attorney General Palmer on Nov. 15 asked the United States for a sedition act to apply against the Red agitators, revealing the work of the Union of Russians and the existence of 472 publications in various languages preaching the overthrow of the Government.

On Nov. 19 a New York Grand Jury began its investigation of the anarchist movement. Many subpoenas were issued, and Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the unrecognized "Ambassador" of the Russian Soviet Republic in the United States, was summoned as a witness in spite of his protests on the ground of diplomatic immunity. Disclosure of the raising of a sum of \$68,000 by the Reds in New York, and the condemning to death of three prominent officials of the department active in the suppression of seditious activities, was made on Nov. 22. At this time Byron S. Uhl, acting Commissioner of Immigration, reported that many alien anarchists sent to New York for deportation last Spring from the Northwest and Middle West had been released in this community, among them men implicated in a plot against the President; Commissioner Uhl criticised the Labor Department for the release of these men.

In Reading, Penn., on Nov. 23, a Debs amnesty meeting scheduled to be held in the Socialist-Labor Lyceum was called off by the Mayor after the gathering of a crowd of 5,000 men, mostly service men, who threatened violence if the meeting was held. An afternoon parade of the radicals had similarly been suppressed.



International Labor Conference

Steps Toward Industrial Peace

THE International Labor Conference provided for in the Treaty of Versailles opened its first session in Washington on Oct. 29, 1919. The first move of the conference was to take steps to obtain the virtual participation of the United States in its sessions, although Congress had decided against the appointment of delegates prior to ratification of the Peace Treaty. On motion of Baron Mayor des Planches, Italian Government delegate, United States employers' and workers' organizations were invited unanimously to send representatives to take part in the deliberations.

While no attempt was made to obtain the appointment of Government delegates, as such action would have been in direct conflict with the decision of Congress, the United States was represented in the conference through Secretary of Labor Wilson, who opened the first session, and continued as permanent Chairman during the major portion of its deliberations. Secretary Wilson said that he would accept the nomination in view of his interpretation that the organization of the conference cannot be completed until the League of Nations is created, and that the United States is charged by the Versailles Treaty with the organization of the conference.

Owing to the lack of time the question of the admission of German and Austrian delegates was not taken up, and probably will be the first item on the program in the next session. Delegates generally expressed agreement that the former enemy powers should be admitted without delay.

The report of the Organization Committee, submitted by Arthur Fontaine, Chairman, and provisionally adopted by the conference, outlined in detail the development of the international labor organization, and submitted the tentative program and standing orders for the conference sessions.

Interpreting the provision of the Peace Treaty providing that of the twelve members of the governing body

of the conference eight should be named by the countries of chief industrial importance, the committee named nine countries, with the understanding that Germany be the last country on the list, and that Spain be dropped. The other seven nations are the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Japan, and Switzerland.

Samuel Gompers was invited to sit as unofficial representative of America. The chief discussion centred on the eight-hour day, favored as a maximum by the conference, except in certain specified industries. Compulsory employment by Governments was also discussed. Mr. Gompers, in a speech, declared that labor in the United States was bent on shortening the forty-eight-hour week.

Recognition of the principle of an eight-hour day and a forty-eight-hour week was contained in a committee report completed on Nov. 22. In almost daily sessions since the conference convened, the committee, including delegates representing Governments, employers, and labor, had arrived at an agreement by a series of compromises. An international agreement with all countries except Japan, India, and other Oriental nations was indorsed. For continuous industries a fifty-six-hour week was conceded. The report also recommended the making up of time lost on Saturdays and holidays by a distribution of extra time throughout the week, even to the extent of permitting nine-hour days until the lost time was accounted for. Maritime labor was not included in the agreement.

On Nov. 23 the conference entered upon its final week of deliberation, the decision having been taken to adjourn on Nov. 29. Besides the elimination of organization matters, election of officers, admission of delegates, and other purely functional acts, the vital problems of the conference were thoroughly discussed and debated by a series of committees, which drew up and agreed upon certain principles, completed by Nov. 23, for submission to the conference during the last

week of discussion. The principles agreed upon were as follows:

(1) The adoption of the eight-hour day and forty-eight-hour week principle, with the exception that (a) where less than eight hours are worked on some days of the week the hours not worked may be redistributed on other days, but with no day to exceed nine hours, and (b) that in continuous processes the limit shall not exceed fifty-six hours a week. All overtime to be paid not less than time and a quarter. The labor employed in the devastated regions of France and Belgium is to be considered as employed under special conditions. This agreement cannot, of course, lower any higher standards already established by law or by collective agreement.

(2) The prohibition of work in industries between 10 P. M. and 5 A. M. for all women through the substitution of a modernized and enlarged convention for that adopted at Berne in 1906. The Eastern countries are prepared to adhere to the new convention.

(3) The prohibition of the employment in industry of children under 14 years of age, except that Japan has agreed and India has been asked to raise the limit in their respective countries from 9 to 12 and with 14 as the eventual standard.

(4) A special commission has dealt with the limitation of hours of work in Eastern and other special countries which were fully represented in the commission, and are recommending considerable reductions in the present hours of employment with definite limitations in each case.

(5) Special reports are to be received on unemployment, the employment of women before and after childbirth, and the employment of children at night.

The conference at this date issued an official statement in which it pointed out that its work was not purely a matter of discussion, since each of the forty countries represented had guaranteed to present the decisions of the conference to the competent legislative authority of each nation involved within one year. The widely representative nature of the conference was also emphasized; it included both highly organized industrial States and less developed States of South America, Africa, and Asia. All measures taken would protect the one group from the unfair competition of lower labor standards, and safeguard to States still in process of industrialization a more liberal system.

The organization of the conference into three groups—Governments, employers, and workers—this statement said,

had brought great benefit in equalizing discussion and eliminating the possibility of any nation adopting legislation either above or below the standard set by its neighbors. One of the most important achievements of the conference was the selection of the governing body of the International Office, designed to be the permanent labor organization associated with the League of Nations. Considerable difficulty had been experienced in selecting these members, but full agreement was expected before the conference adjourned. Already many problems had been referred to it by the conference for examination.

WORKING WOMEN'S CONGRESS

The International Working Women's Congress at Washington concluded its sessions on Nov. 6. Some fifty delegates had come from foreign countries, eleven nations besides the United States being represented.

Prohibition of night work for men and women in all industries except those which are in continuous operation by reason of public necessity was discussed, delegates from the United States, France, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Japan contending that this prohibition should affect men and women alike, while the British, Polish, and Italian delegations held that any international resolution to this effect should prohibit night work for women in all industries, and for men in all save continuous industries.

Discussion of a resolution providing for maternity benefits and protection was continued, the points in question being whether maternity indemnity should be granted to all women or only to women engaged in gainful occupations, and the manner in which the amount of this monetary allowance should be determined, whether it should be an adequate allowance for the mother and child, or whether the minimum wage of a country should be the basis of allotment.

The following resolution concerning the employment of women in "hazardous occupations" was adopted:

1. Prohibition of home work in such occupations.
2. No exception of small factories from

the regulations governing the industry.

3. Prohibition of the employment of women in trades which cannot be made healthy for women as potential mothers.

4. An international inquiry to be instituted in order to ascertain the scope of measures which have been adopted in different countries to control dangerous occupations and publication of the result, this with the object of making clearly known which countries fall short of the standards already established in the most advanced.

5. The appointment of a committee of women under the League of Nations, international in personnel, to co-ordinate the work of national research in the dangerous trades with a view to eliminating poisonous substances through the substitution of non-poisonous, and where this is impossible to devise new and efficient methods of protection.

LABOR CONGRESS IN CHICAGO

On Nov. 22 an important Labor Congress held its opening session in Chicago. Some 1,000 delegates were present, representing State labor unions, some affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, delegates from farmers' organizations, co-operative societies, non-partisan and Plumb-plan advocates, and other workers for advanced labor and social legislation. About forty women delegates attended. The opening address of welcome was made by John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of

Labor. A new labor party was formed, which adopted a program demanding free speech, free assemblage, and a free press. Max S. Hayes, in a keynote speech, advocated that all sources of production be thrown open to the people. The convention announced its intention not to nominate a national ticket at that time, but to issue a call for a convention to be held next Spring for that purpose.

NEW INDUSTRIAL BOARD

Undeterred by the failure of the Industrial Conference with its three separate groups, President Wilson on Nov. 20 named seventeen men for another conference on the relations of labor and capital. In his letter of invitation he said the "new representatives should have concern that our industries may be conducted with such regard for justice and fair dealing that the workman will feel himself induced to put forth his best efforts, that the employer will have an encouraging profit, and that the public will not suffer at the hands of either class."

No representatives of labor were included in the personnel, nor will there be any representatives of capital as such. Secretary of Labor Wilson heads the list, which includes three former Cabinet officers and two former Federal officials.

Visit of the Prince of Wales

Welcoming a Royal Guest

EDWARD, Prince of Wales, stepped upon the soil of the United States at Rouse's Point, N. Y., on Nov. 10, 1919. When he crossed the Canadian border he was officially greeted by Secretary of State Lansing, Major Gen. John Biddle, representing the army; Rear Admiral Albert T. Niblick, representing the navy; Major Gen. Charlton, representing the British Army; representatives of the British Embassy, and officers belonging to various staffs. He arrived at Washington the following day, where he was met by Vice President Marshall, General Pershing, the British Ambassa-

dor, General March, Secretary Daniels, and other prominent American officials. The Prince and his escort were conducted to the Perry Belmont residence, where he was quartered during his stay in Washington. The party was enthusiastically acclaimed as it proceeded through the streets of the city.

A dinner was given the Prince by the Vice President on the evening of the 11th. In proposing the health of the Prince at the dinner Vice President Marshall expressed regret that the President could not be present. After referring to the fact that one year had

elapsed since the armistice was signed, Mr. Marshall remarked that he wished to express gratitude that the Allies had stood together in the great war. He continued:

The old order ceased one year ago today. The new order then began. The conflict which started at Runnymede was ended by Haig and Foch and Pershing on the fields of France. The right of men to have a Government controlled by themselves, law-encrowned, is never more to be disputed in this world of ours if those who made the fight to put down military autocracy will make the fight to put down prejudice, suspicion, and doubt among the Allies.

I cannot forget that while we hesitated, while we doubted, while we wondered whether it was any of the part of our national mission to come to the defense of stricken Belgium and devastated France, England put her back to the wall and stood upon the far-flung battle-line of Europe, making freedom and Christian civilization possible even for the American Republic.

I shall not say that it was altogether altruistic. There may have been some element of self-defense in it. But may God give us all, when the time of self-defense comes, the same high altruistic ideals of the British Empire. More and more it seems to me that the fate of the future rests on the faith and confidence of the allied nations for each other.

Proposing a toast to the Prince, the Vice President said:

So, ladies and gentlemen, to the hope that the tie that binds may never be broken by doubt, suspicion, or treachery, that it may bind all of the allied peoples for all the years to come, I propose, as the faith of the American people, long life, health, and prosperity to his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales.

The response of the Prince was felicitous. He sympathetically referred to President Wilson and the late President Roosevelt, paid a graceful tribute to France, and alluded to his visit to Canada, reverting to the fact that no physical barriers or fortresses stood upon the boundaries between the United States and Canada. He closed by saying:

It seems to me that this example of nations living side by side in a spirit of political tolerance and human liberty is entirely incompatible with the militarism which threatened Europe in the great war, and is thus a living example of the great principles for which we gave our best in that terrible ordeal. * * * As the representative here of the British Em-

pire, and also—I hope I may say—as a friend and great admirer of the American people, I reflect with pride that our common victory was a victory for the ideal to which we, with our institutions, and you with yours have given practical shape upon this continent for a hundred years.

He was tendered a reception at the Library of Congress on the evening of the 12th, which was attended by official Washington. On the following day he was admitted to President Wilson's bed-chamber and spent some time in friendly conversation with him. The same day he visited the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon, where he had a wreath; in a corner of the same vault stood a wreath which Edward VII., the Prince's grandfather, had left there nearly sixty years before. The young man also planted a tree in the grounds.

He left Washington Nov. 14, after three days of busy sightseeing, receptions, and entertainments, for White Sulphur Springs, Va., where he rested for three days, having previously also visited Annapolis.

The Prince arrived in New York Nov. 18 and for three days was the guest of the city, every moment of his time being taken with receptions, sightseeing tours, dinners, and functions of various sorts. The reception tendered him was whole-hearted and sincere, and he won the heart of the people by his engaging manners, his friendly, boyish, outspoken demeanor, and his tactful, democratic bearing. The freedom of the city was conferred upon him by Mayor Hylan. He was taken to all points of interest in and about the city, and wherever he appeared upon the streets or in assemblies he was acclaimed with sincere demonstrations of regard.

He visited the grave of former President Roosevelt, where he deposited a wreath; another day he inspected the Cadets at West Point. He was tendered several notable dinners, at all of which he spoke with modesty, but with tact and judgment; he was a guest at a gala performance of the Metropolitan Opera, attended several theatrical performances, participated in dances in his honor, and visited the Stock Exchange, where he won the plaudits of the men of finance.

During his stay in the city the Prince's quarters were on the British battle cruiser *Renown*, which was anchored in the Hudson River off Eighty-sixth Street. Here he gave dinners to his hosts, received large delegations of high school students, and in other ways showed his appreciation of the warmth of his welcome. He left New York on

the *Renown* Nov. 22. Cablegrams of appreciation were sent by his father, King George, expressing keen pleasure over the welcome given the Prince; the British press also gave evidence of its extreme satisfaction over the success of the Prince's visit and the cordial manner in which the American people had taken him to their hearts.

The Prohibition Enforcement Law

Passed Over President's Veto

THE National Prohibition Enforcement bill, which was passed by Congress on Oct. 10, 1919, was vetoed by President Wilson on Oct. 27. The veto was based on the ground that the law, as passed, attempted to cover two different things—wartime prohibition, a temporary measure now practically ended, and the prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution, a permanent measure which goes into effect Jan. 16, 1920. The President made it clear that his objection was directed against the phase of the enforcement law applying to wartime prohibition. The bill, he said in his veto message, "has to do with the enforcement of an act which was passed by reason of the emergencies of the war, and whose objects have been satisfied by the demobilization of the army and navy."

Two hours after the veto message had reached the House of Representatives that body passed the bill over the President's disapproval by a vote of 176 to 55—twenty-one more than the necessary two-thirds. The Senate followed suit the next day by passing the bill over the veto by a vote of 65 to 20—eight more than the necessary two-thirds.

The law immediately went into effect, and orders were sent out the following day by the Internal Revenue Collector to enforce it rigidly. Saloons in most of the cities of the country were immediately closed, but at many points efforts were made to evade the law, followed immediately by raids by revenue officers and the arrest of the violators, all of whom were either fined or held to

court under heavy bonds. Large brewing and liquor interests in various centres took steps to test the validity of the act, and suits were filed in the Federal courts to restrain the Government from enforcing its provisions. The first decision was rendered by United States District Judge Arthur I. Brown at Providence, R. I., on Nov. 12, and a preliminary injunction against its enforcement was issued. The same day Federal Judge Evans, sitting at Louisville, Ky., announced that he would issue a similar injunction on Nov. 13. As soon as the decisions were made, saloons reopened in Louisville and in Providence. Three days later the United States Court of Appeals in Boston issued a stay to the injunction of Judge Brown, and the law was again enforced at Providence.

On Nov. 15 three Federal Judges—Hand, Knox, and Rose—handed down decisions in New York directly in conflict with Judges Brown and Evans, holding that the wartime prohibition was constitutional and that the act was a valid exercise of Congressional power. Two days later Federal Judge Carpenter at Chicago upheld the law, and the following day it was upheld by Judge Fitzhenry at Peoria, Ill. At St. Louis the court sustained a decision against the law, and the sale of 2.75 per cent. beer was resumed.

Meanwhile all efforts to fight the measure were concentrated in the legal steps taken before the United States Supreme Court to test the constitutionality of the entire prohibition law. The case was advanced by the court; the

arguments were begun Nov. 20 and lasted three days; the chief counsel for the liquor interests was former Secretary of State Elihu Root; the Anti-Saloon League co-operated with the Government in presenting the case. The Supreme Court adjourned Nov. 22 for a fortnight's recess, hence no decision was looked for until after Dec. 8. President Wilson let it be known that he would issue no proclamation lifting the ban on wartime prohibition in view of the failure of the Senate to ratify the Peace Treaty, hence the sole hope of the liquor interests of obtaining a period of freedom to resume business before constitutional prohibition went into effect on Jan. 16 rested with the decision of the Supreme Court.

The Ohio election on Nov. 4 resulted in a victory for the anti-prohibitionists by a majority of less than 500 in a total

vote of over 1,000,000, but the accuracy of the count was attacked by the prohibitionists; in the same election a referendum vote defeated the repeal of State prohibition by a large majority. In New Jersey a Democratic candidate for Governor, who stood on a pro-liquor platform, was elected; in Kentucky the prohibitionists carried the State by 10,717 and expressed themselves as satisfied with the results of the election generally.

The Government instituted measures to enforce the prohibition law rigidly. The country was divided into districts, and a Federal Prohibition Director was appointed to each, with numerous revenue agents under him.

There was a general observance of the law throughout the country from the start—with scattered exceptions in the larger cities—and nowhere were any disorders reported.

"Absent Without Leave"

By CRITTENDEN MARRIOTT

[LATE DIRECTOR OF ACTIVITIES, Y. M. C. A., BORDEAUX REGION, FRANCE]

ONE of the great though comparatively minor tragedies of the world war was that of the men who were lost; not lost in the sense that they were killed or captured or missing, but lost in the ordinary significance of the term. Late in 1918 it was stated semi-officially that 120,000 privates and 18,000 officers were "A. W. O. L." (absent without leave) in France. Every one, including the army authorities that made the statement, knew perfectly well that scarcely a tenth of these men were absent of their own will, and that the other nine-tenths were simply lost. In default, however, of any formal explanation of their absence, it was impossible to separate the sheep from the goats, and all had to be classed together.

It seems incredible, of course, that 120,000 men, let alone 18,000 officers, could possibly be wandering about France trying to find their "outfits" and failing to do so. Yet, not only these but thousands more had been lost, some

for weeks and some for months, who had at last reached their regimental home.

Take a true case: John Jones, private, landed at Brest in November, 1917, with his battalion. He was taken ill on his arrival and sent to a hospital. Three days later he was discharged as cured and ordered to rejoin his organization. Meanwhile, however, the organization had moved away under "sealed orders." Even the Colonel in command probably did not know its ultimate destination, and not more than half a dozen men in Brest knew even its proximate destination. These were war times, and all movements of troops were carefully concealed.

John Jones applied to army headquarters in Brest and received a ticket for St. Sulpice and two days' rations; he was told to get on a certain train. Obediently, he went to the railway station. He did not speak a word of French and he found no one to point him right, but ultimately

he got on a train for somewhere and finally he brought up at a place called St. Sulpice, only to find that his organization was not there, that no American troops were there, and that none had ever been there. Clearly, it was the wrong St. Sulpice.

What was he to do? He was a country boy barely 21 years old, in a foreign land, ignorant of the language. Naturally, he was panic-stricken and was wild to find his own countrymen, of any organization, wherever they might be, who would steer him to the right St. Sulpice.

The French were very kind to American soldiers; they discovered that he was lost, they fed him, and arranged for him to take the train to the nearest known American camp.

At the camp he told his story and asked to be sent on to St. Sulpice. The Adjutant had never heard of the place, but he got out his railway guide, and after a while he found the name. A clerk made out a ticket and the Adjutant called an orderly, "Take this man to Company B and tell the Sergeant to feed him and give him a place to sleep to-night and have him at the 8 o'clock train tomorrow morning," he ordered.

Jones took the train as directed, but the St. Sulpice it took him to turned out to be another wrong St. Sulpice. So did several other next choices. Finally some officer looked up the matter, and found that sixty-seven of the ninety-two "departments" in France contained a town called St. Sulpice. It was hopeless to investigate each of them in turn, (the mails and telegraphs were hopeless;) moreover, a month had passed and it was certain that Jones's outfit had moved on to somewhere else. So the officer sent him to Bourges, where the central records office of the A. E. F. was situated.

Bourges ought to have placed him right. No doubt Bourges tried. But its records were not up to date. Of course they were supposed to be, but, as a matter of fact, they were not. No records ever were up to date anywhere at any time in the war. In the very nature of things they could not be. So John Jones went wrong again and again and again.

He never did get right. I saw him

eleven months after he landed at Brest, and he was still ostensibly seeking his outfit. Actually he had become a tramp, utterly worthless and utterly hopeless. Consider! For eleven long months this boy of 21 had wandered, shunted from outfit to outfit, living "on the country," with never a cent of pay. When he found American troops he was fed—and sent on. Again and again he was picked up by M. P.s, (military police,) questioned—and sent somewhere. At first he tried to go as ordered, later he simply went. I took him to the nearest Provost Marshal, who, on his own responsibility, sent him as a "replacement" to the nearest company. Here he was given food and quarters with the other men, but no pay. What became of him ultimately I do not know; perhaps he made good, but the chances were all against him, for he was worn out, hopeless, and indifferent. He had been ruined by no fault of his own.

The point of this story is that it is typical. Literally thousands of men and officers had similar experiences, varying in details, but all tending to the same conclusion. Some were patients trying to get back from hospitals, some were messengers, some were truckmen, and some were men who had fallen out on a march. Some luckier or more intelligent than the rest found their outfits; others were picked up by some officer who was willing to cut red tape and were assigned to duty, but thousands were ruined as John Jones was ruined.

Ultimately conditions got so bad that the plan of returning hospital cases to their old outfits was abandoned, and they were sent to permanent replacement camps, whence they were forwarded in squads to any regiment that called for them. This tended to destroy regimental and divisional pride, and for a time was resented by the men, but the necessities of the case were too plain to be ignored. Men assigned to new outfits were put on the rolls, retained their honorable standing, and got (or were supposed to get) pay and allowances. Men wandering about the country or taken on irregularly by chance organizations got nothing—and they stood on the rolls of their

old organizations as absent without leave, as deserted, or as dead. Even today many are lost, and all will find almost endless red tape confronting them when they try to clear their names and re-

establish their standing. For, of course, it must not be forgotten that many were willfully absent—and that it is still difficult to separate the sheep from the goats.

Total Cost of the War 337 Billions

ACCORDING to a volume prepared by Ernest L. Bogert, Professor of Economics, under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for Internal Peace, all the wars of the nineteenth century from the Napoleonic down to the Balkan wars of 1912-13, show a loss of life of 4,449,300, while the known and presumed dead of the world war reached 9,998,771. The monetary value of the individuals lost to each country is estimated, the highest value on human life being given to the United States, where each individual's economic worth is placed at \$4,720, with England next at \$4,140; Germany third, at \$3,380; France and Belgium, each \$2,900; Austria-Hungary at \$2,720, and Russia, Italy, Serbia, Greece, and the other countries at \$2,020.

With a loss of more than 4,000,000, the estimate puts Russia in the lead in human economic loss, the total being more than \$8,000,000,000; Germany is next with \$6,750,000,000; France, \$4,800,000,000; England, \$3,500,000,000; Austria-Hungary, \$3,000,000,000; Italy, \$2,384,000,000; Serbia, \$1,500,000,000; Turkey, almost \$1,000,000,000; Rumania, \$800,000,000; Belgium, almost \$800,000,000; the United States slightly more than \$500,000,000; Bulgaria, a little more than \$200,000,000; Greece, \$75,000,000; Portugal, \$8,300,000, and Japan, \$600,000. On this basis the total in human life lost cost the world \$33,551,276,280, and the loss to the world in civilian population is placed at an equal figure.

The total property loss on land is put at \$29,960,000,000, one-third of which was suffered by France alone, its loss being given as \$10,000,000,000, with Belgium next at \$7,000,000,000, with the other countries following in this order: Italy, \$2,710,000,000; Serbia, Albania and Montenegro, \$2,000,000,000; the British

Empire and Germany, each \$1,750,000,000; Poland, \$1,500,000,000; Russia, \$1,250,000,000; Rumania, \$1,000,000,000, and East Prussia, Austria, and Ukraine together, the same amount.

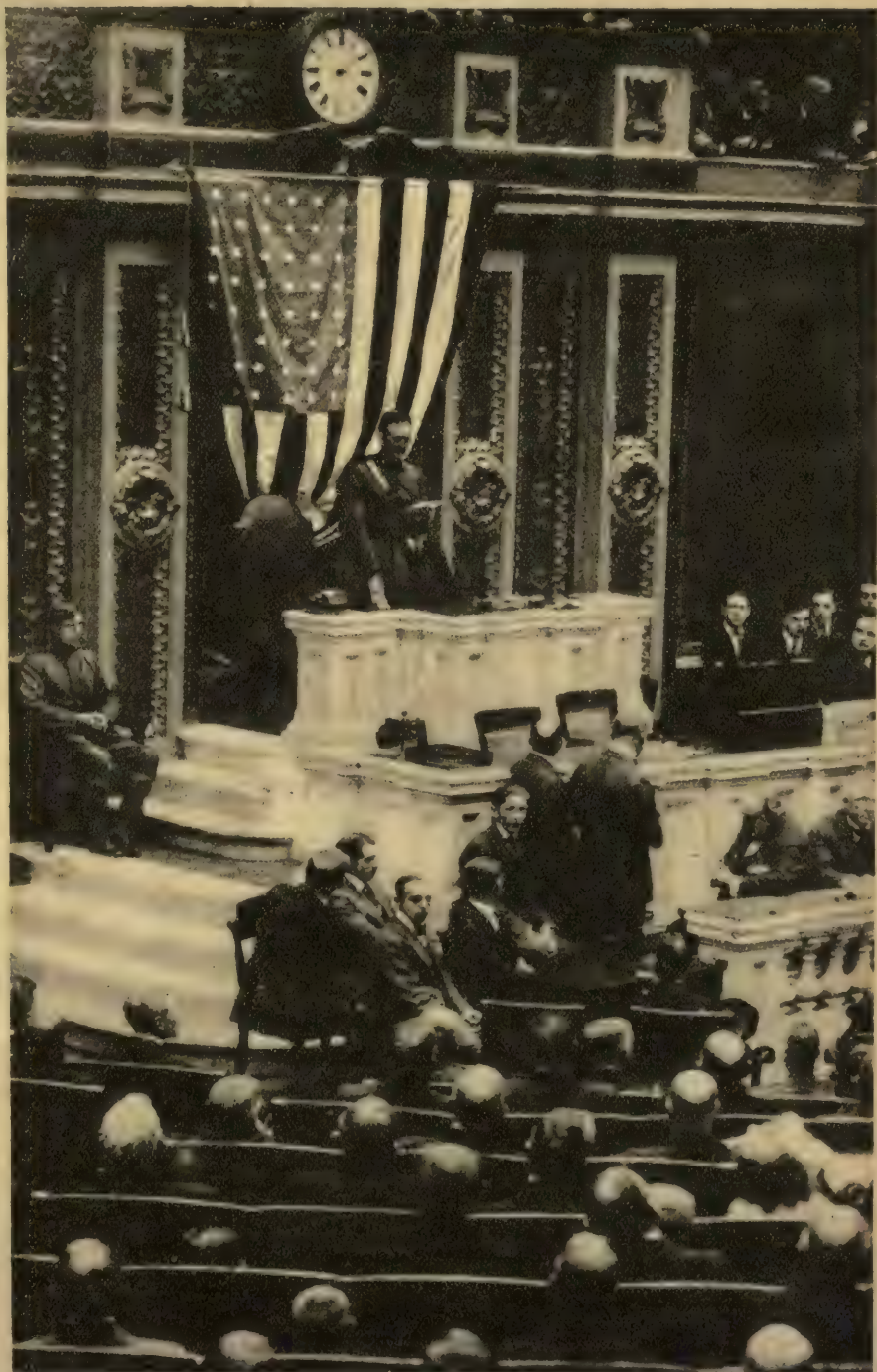
In the property losses on sea, that is, to shipping and cargo, the report estimates that "the construction cost of the tonnage loss can scarcely be estimated at less than \$200 a ton, and the monetary loss involved in the sinking of this 15,398,392 gross tons may, therefore, be placed at about \$3,000,000,000." To this is added loss of cargo, which is estimated at \$250 a ton, giving a cargo loss of \$3,800,000,000, and a total tonnage and cargo loss of \$6,800,000,000.

Among the indirect costs of the war, loss of production is placed at \$45,000,000,000. In arriving at this figure an average of 20,000,000 men are counted as having been withdrawn from production during the whole period of the war, and their average yearly productive capacity is placed at \$500. War relief is another indirect cost which totaled up to \$1,000,000,000; and the loss to the neutral nations is given as \$1,750,000,000.

With the total direct costs of the war amounting to \$186,336,637,097 and the indirect costs to \$151,612,542,560, the stupendous total of \$337,946,179,657 is reached. Finally the report says:

The figures presented in this summary are both incomprehensible and appalling, yet even these do not take into account the effect of the war on life, human vitality, economic wellbeing, ethics, morality, or other phases of human relationships and activities which have been disorganized and injured. It is evident from the present disturbances in Europe that the real costs of the war cannot be measured by the direct money outlays of the belligerents during the five years of its duration, but that the very breakdown of modern economic society might be the price exacted.

KING ALBERT ADDRESSING CONGRESS



The King of the Belgians, first reigning sovereign to visit America,
addressing the United States Senate, Oct. 28, 1919

(© Underwood & Underwood)

PRINCE CASIMIR LUBOMIRSKI



First Minister to the United States from the new Republic of Poland,
who arrived Oct. 28, 1919

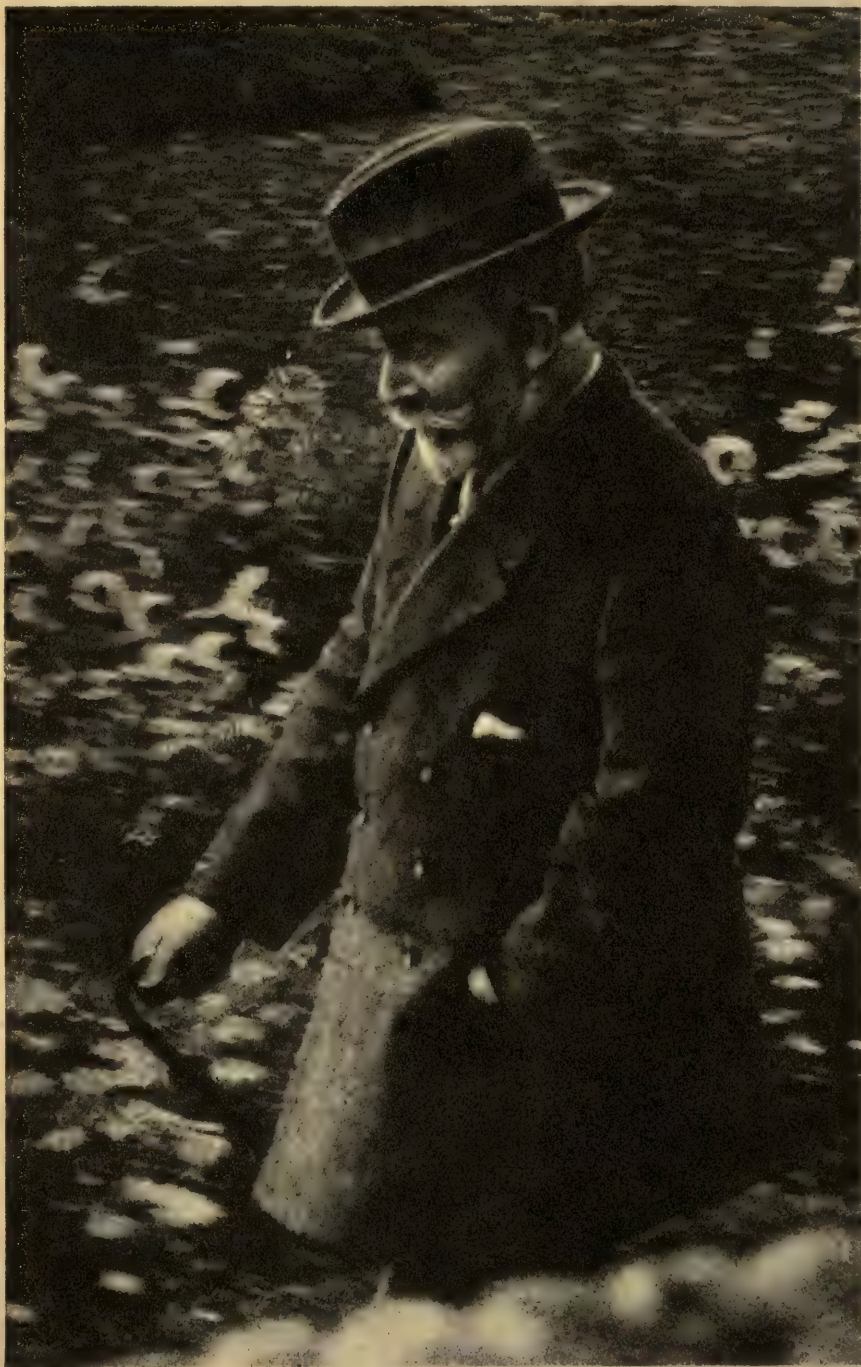
(© Jean de Strelecki, New York)

BARON ROMANO AVEZZANA



New Italian Ambassador to the United States, succeeding Count
Macchi di Cellere, who died Oct. 20, 1919
(Bain News Service)

FORMER KAISER'S LATEST PORTRAIT



Wilhelm II., bearded and older looking, as photographed from a hay wagon overlooking the garden wall at Amerongen

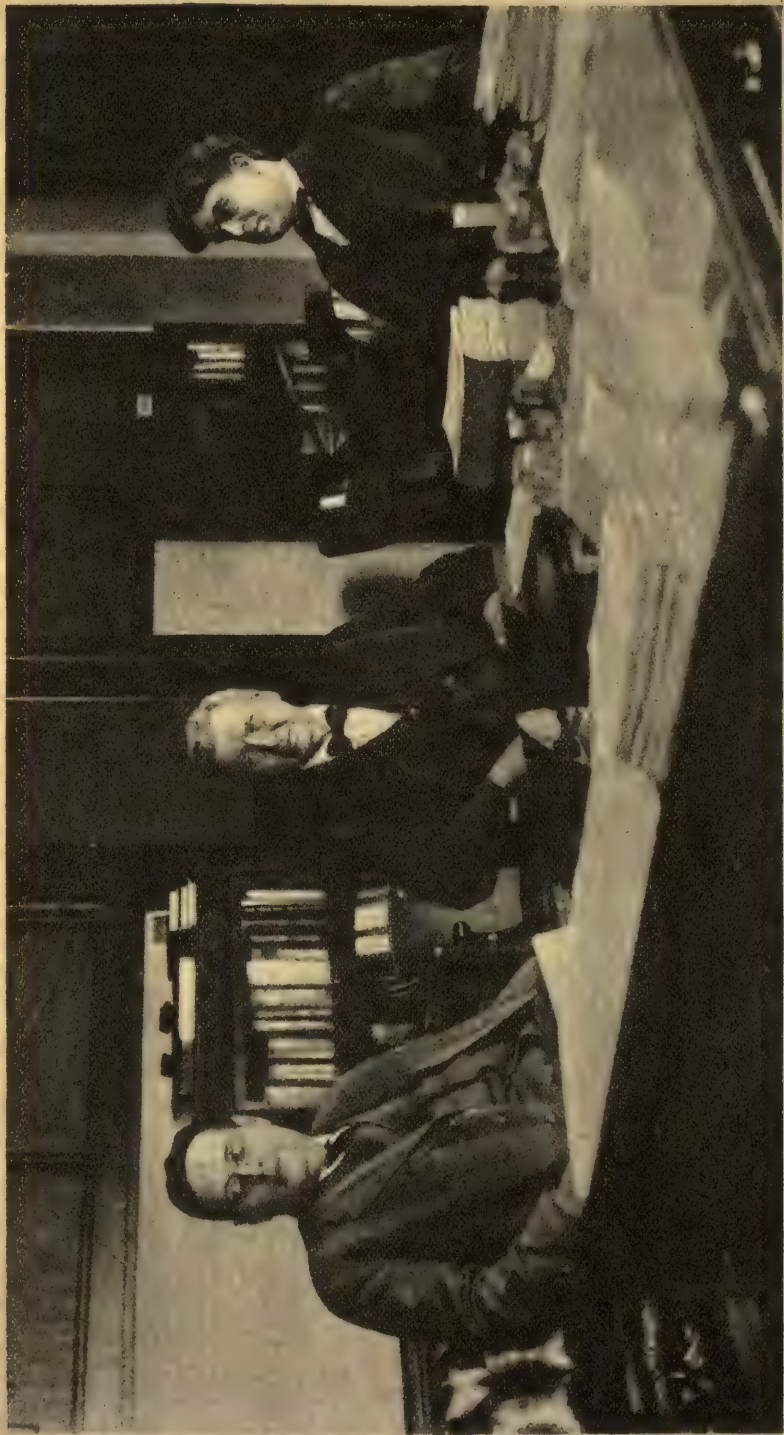
(© New York Times Wide World Photos)

FIELD MARSHAL MACKENSEN AS A PRISONER



The German commander (wearing war crosses) arriving as a prisoner at Saloniki, Sept. 10, 1919, escorted by French officers and gendarmes

(L'Illustration, Paris)



Left to right: T. T. Brewster, President of the Coal Operators' Association; William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor; John L. Lewis, Acting President of the United Mine Workers of America. The two opposing leaders had been called together in an attempt to avert the strike

(© International)

PUBLIC DEFENDERS IN COAL STRIKE



A. MITCHELL PALMER
Attorney General
(© Harris & Ewing)



FRANCIS P. GARVAN
Assistant Attorney General
(© Harris & Ewing)



JUDGE ALBERT ANDERSON
Who issued the injunction
(Bain News Service)

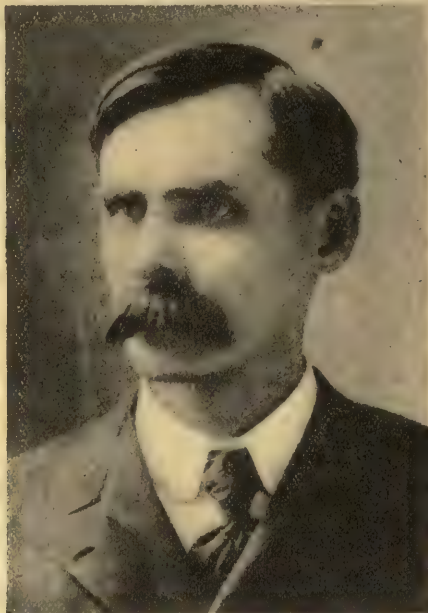


DR. HARRY A. GARFIELD
Fuel Administrator
(Photo Brown Bros.)

LEADERS IN PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT



DANIEL C. ROPER
Commissioner of Internal Revenue
(© Harris & Ewing)



CONGRESSMAN A.J. VOLSTEAD
Author of "dry" enforcement law
(© International)



CARTER T. GLASS
Secretary of the Treasury
(© Underwood & Underwood)



COLONEL DANIEL L. PORTER
Internal Revenue head, New York
(© International)

FIGURES IN PEACE CONFERENCE MISSIONS



MAJOR GEN. J. G. HARBORD
Sent to investigate conditions in
Armenia
(© Harris & Ewing)



REAR ADMIRAL M. L. BRISTOL
Who warned Turks to cease
massacres
(© Clinedinst)



HENRY MORGENTHAU
Head of commission sent to Poland
(© Underwood & Underwood)



BRIG. GEN. EDGAR JADWIN
With Morgenthau Mission
(© Clinedinst)

GROUP OF KOLCHAK'S PRISONERS



Bolshevist prisoners gathered in by Admiral Kolchak's forces during the fighting near Ufa

(© Underwood & Underwood)



VICE ADMIRAL KOLCHAK

Anti-Bolshevist leader and head of Omsk Government

(© Press Illustrating Service)



GENERAL DENIKIN

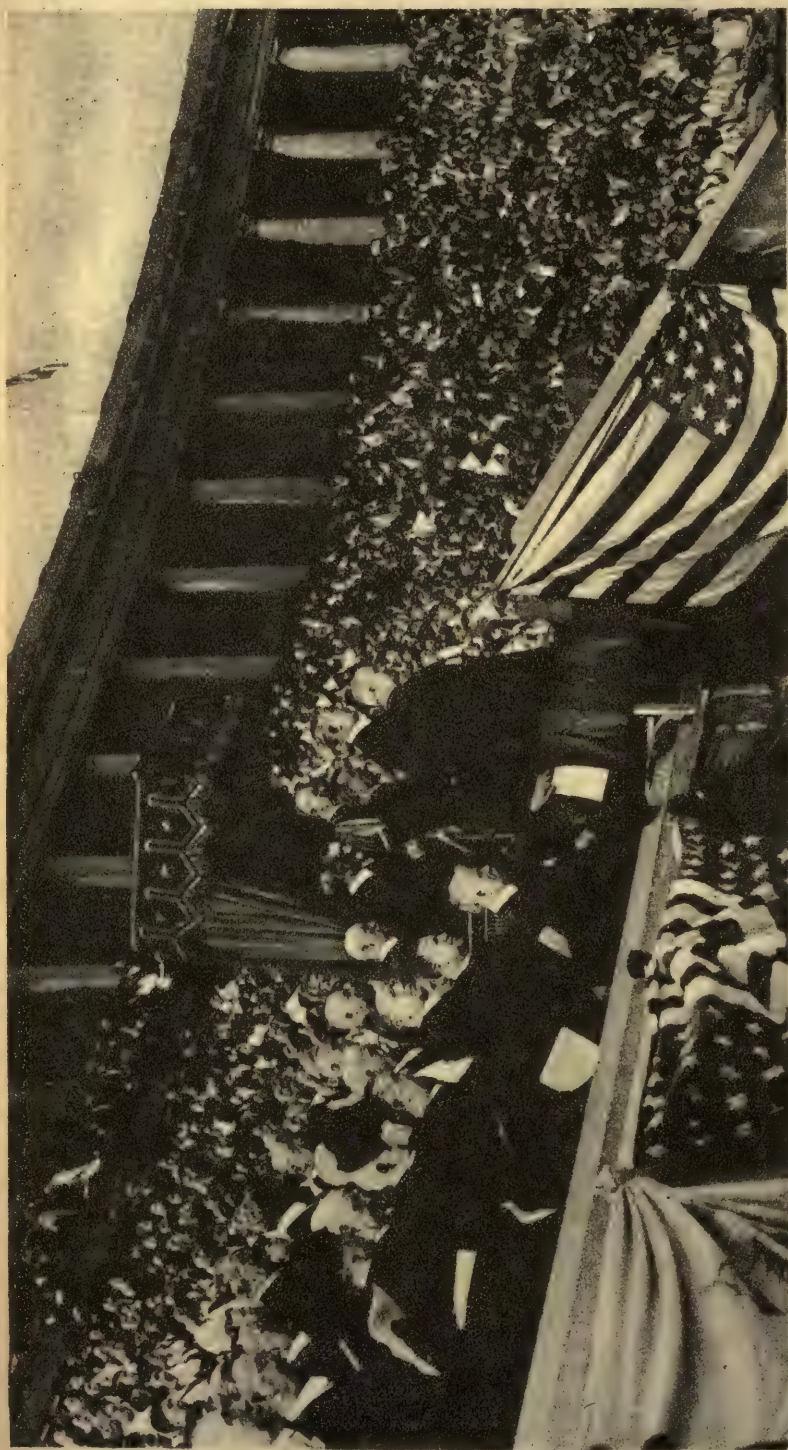
Leader of patriot forces in South Russia, threatening Moscow

GENERAL NICOLAI YUDENITCH



Commander of the Russian anti-Bolshevist Army, who, with Kolchak and Denikin, attempted to close in upon the Red strongholds

(© Press Illustrating Service)



The Belgian primate is seen standing under the canopy at the City College Stadium while the children sing "The Star-Spangled Banner." Near him are A. S. Prall, President of the Board of Education;

Archbishop Hayes, the Rev. Frank M. North, and others

(Times Wide World Photos)

COMMEMORATING THE LANDING OF FIRST AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE



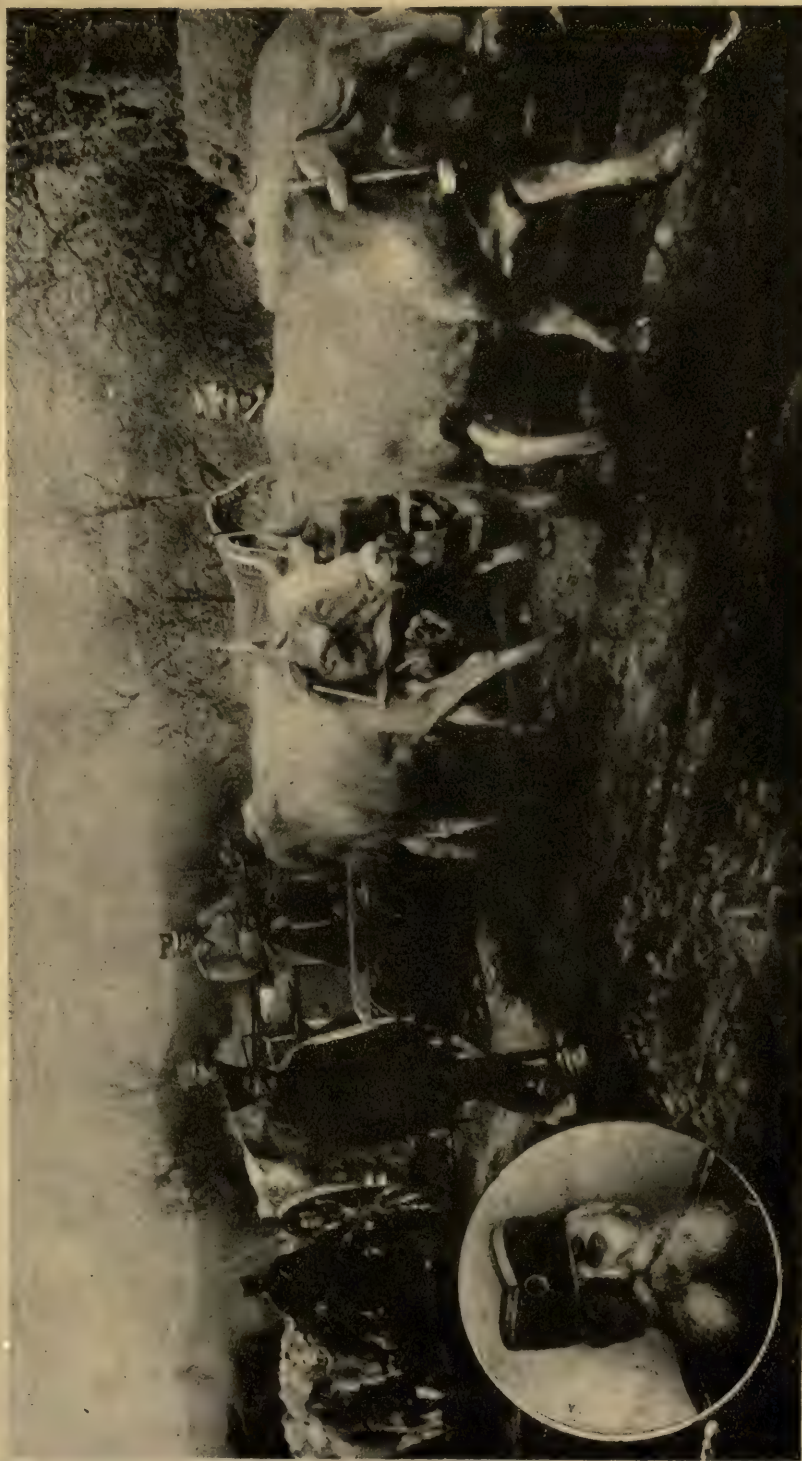
President Poincaré (in front of post, facing toward it) laying the cornerstone of a monument at Pointe de Grave, near Bordeaux, where the first American troops landed to fight for France. American soldiers, as guests, are in the background standing at attention

(© Underwood & Underwood)



The Italian poet-soldier, whose seizure of Fiume with an Italian military force placed his own Government in a serious predicament, is here seen reviewing a squad of his troops

(© International)



This historic scene, marking the lowest ebb of Serbia's fortunes, gains new interest with King Peter's return to Belgrade after four years of exile. The small portrait shows him as he is today, with a beard, a sign of mourning

(C Underwood & Underwood)

RESUMING BUSINESS AMID THE RUINS OF

RHEIMS

Housewives
of the
martyred
French city
making
their morning
purchases at
the City
Market
opened under
canvas
amid
scenes
of desolation
(© International)



Origin of the World War

Official Minutes of the Austro-Hungarian Council That Decided to Force War on Serbia

THE publication in Vienna of a so-called Austrian Red Book, based on materials found in the archives of the old Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office and written by a publicist named Dr. Roderich Gooss, with the approval of the present Austrian Government, created a sensation in Central Europe during the latter part of September, 1919. The book, entitled "The Vienna Cabinet and the Origin of the World War," showed that at a Ministerial Council held in Vienna on July 7, 1914, the political leaders of Austria-Hungary had deliberately decided to force war upon Serbia by means of an ultimatum in regard to the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand at Serajevo. After a thorough discussion the Ministers determined to shape the demands upon Serbia in such a way that they would cause a war, in which Serbian territory could be seized, yet the terms were not to be so drastic as to make the purpose apparent to the world.

The most important document in the Red Book is the official report of the meeting just referred to. This record, containing a summary of each Minister's remarks, shows that Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, had been assured from Berlin that Kaiser Wilhelm and Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg stood ready to support Germany's ally, no matter what the demands upon Serbia might be. In other words, it furnishes official evidence that Austria-Hungary first obtained Germany's consent and backing before provoking war. The minutes also reveal the fact that Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, was the only member present who seemed to fear the European war which would almost certainly result from the attempt to make Serbia a dependency of Austria.

Following is the full text of the minutes of that historic meeting, as re-

printed from the Red Book by the Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung and translated from the German for CURRENT HISTORY:

Report of the Ministerial Council held in Vienna on July 7, 1914, over joint affairs, under the Presidency of Count Berchtold, Minister of the Imperial Royal House and of Foreign Affairs.

Present: Count Stuerghk, Imperial-Royal Premier; Count Tisza, Royal Hungarian Premier; Dr. von Bilinski, Imperial and Royal Joint Minister of Finance; Ordnance General von Krobotin, Imperial and Royal Minister of War; General Baron von Conrad, Imperial and Royal Chief of the General Staff, and Rear Admiral von Kailer, representing the Imperial and Royal Naval Command. Recording Secretary, Legation Councilor Count Hoyos. Subject: Bosnian affairs, the diplomatic action against Serbia.

The Chairman opened the session by remarking that the Ministerial Council had been called for the purpose of discussing the measures to be taken to remedy the evil internal conditions that had become apparent in Bosnia and Herzegovina in connection with the catastrophe of Serajevo. In his opinion there were various internal measures, the application of which to Bosnia seemed to him to be in order against the critical situation, but, first of all, clarity should be reached on the question whether the time had not come to make Serbia harmless once for all through an expression of force.

Such a decisive blow could not be struck without diplomatic preparations, so he had got in touch with the German Government. The discussions in Berlin had led to a very satisfactory result, as Kaiser Wilhelm, as well as Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, had most emphatically assured us of the unconditional support of Germany in case of a warlike complication with Serbia. Now we must still reckon with Italy and Rumania, and here he was in accord with the Berlin Cabinet in the opinion that it would be better to act and then await any possible demands for compensation.

It was plain to him that a passage at arms with Serbia could lead to a war with Russia. But at present Russia was following a policy that, taking a farsighted view, was aiming at a combination of the Balkan States, including Rumania, for the purpose of using them against the monarchy when the time seemed opportune. He was of the opinion that we must take into account the fact that our situation, as opposed by such a policy, was bound to become worse, es-

pecially as passive toleration would be sure to be construed by our South Slavs and Rumanians as a sign of weakness and would lend force to the drawing power of the two border States.

The logical conclusion to be drawn from all this would be to get ahead of our opponents and, through a timely settlement with Serbia, put a stop to the process of development already in full swing, something that might not be possible later.

COUNT TISZA'S ATTITUDE

The Royal Hungarian Premier agreed that the situation had changed during the last few days because of the facts established by the investigation, and because of the attitude of the Serbian press, and he emphasized the fact that he, too, considered the possibility of warlike action against Serbia closer at hand than he had believed immediately after the Serajevo attentat. He would never agree, however, to a surprise attack upon Serbia without preliminary diplomatic action, as seemed to be the intention, and as, unfortunately, had been discussed in Berlin through Count Hoyos, because it was his view that in such a case we would occupy a very bad position in the eyes of Europe and would very probably have to reckon with the hostility of all the Balkan States, except Bulgaria, which at present was greatly weakened and could not support us to the proper extent.

We ought first to formulate unconditional demands upon Serbia and only present an ultimatum if Serbia did not yield to them. These demands must be hard, indeed, but not impossible of fulfillment. If Serbia accepted them we would be able to show a striking diplomatic success and our prestige in the Balkans would rise. But if our demands were not accepted he, too, would be for military action, but he must emphasize beforehand that with such action we must aim at the diminution of Serbia's power but not at her complete destruction, because on the one hand Russia would never allow that without a life-and-death struggle, and on the other because he, as Premier of Hungary, would never be able to agree to the annexation of a part of Serbia by the [Austrian] monarchy.

It was not Germany's affair to determine if we should now strike Serbia or not. He personally was of the opinion that it was not unconditionally necessary at the present moment to make war. At present we must take into account the fact that there was a very strong agitation against us in Rumania; that, in view of the excited state of public opinion, we would have to reckon with a Rumanian attack, and that at all events we would have to keep a good-sized force in Transylvania in order to intimidate the Rumanians. Now that Germany has happily cleared the way for the adhesion of Bulgaria to the Triple Alliance, there is opened to us a very promising field for suc-

cessful diplomatic action in the Balkans by uniting Bulgaria and Turkey and attaching them to the Triple Alliance, thus creating a counterbalance against Serbia and Rumania, and then being able to force Rumania to return to the Triple Alliance. Upon the European field it must be taken into consideration that the relation of strength between France and Germany would steadily become worse for the former, because of its low birth rate, and that in the future Germany would constantly have more troops available against Russia.

These were all considerations that must be weighed in the case of such an important decision as was to be arrived at today, and therefore he must again point out that he would not unconditionally decide for war, in spite of the crisis in Bosnia, which, furthermore, could be remedied by an energetic reform in administration; he believed, rather, that a proper diplomatic victory—one which would include a severe humbling of Serbia—would be better adapted to improve our position and to make possible a profitable Balkan policy.

BERCHTOLD FOR ACTION

The Chairman [Berchtold] remarked in answer to this that the history of recent years had shown that diplomatic victories over Serbia had, it was true, temporarily raised the prestige of the monarchy, but that the tension actually existing in our relations with Serbia had merely become greater. Neither our success in the annexation crisis nor the one connected with the creation of Albania, nor the subsequent yielding of Serbia in consequence of our ultimatum in the Fall of the preceding year, had changed anything in the actual conditions. A radical solution of the problem created by the Greater Serbia propaganda systematically carried on from Belgrade, the disintegrating effects of which upon us are noticed as far as Agram and Zara, was only possible through an energetic intervention.

Regarding the danger of a hostile attitude by Rumania mentioned by the Royal Hungarian Premier, the Chairman remarked that at present this was less to be feared than in the future, when the joint interests of Rumania and Serbia would constantly increase. Of course King Carol had occasionally expressed doubts as to his ability to fulfill his duty as an ally toward the monarchy by active military service in case it became necessary. On the other hand it was hardly to be assumed that he would allow himself to be induced to take military action against the monarchy or be unable to withstand any public sentiment for such action. For the rest there must be considered Rumania's fear of Bulgaria, which would be bound to somewhat restrain the former's freedom of movement even under the present circumstances.

So far as the Hungarian Premier's remarks regarding the comparative strength of France

and Germany were concerned, he [Berchtold] believed it necessary to point out that the diminishing increase in population of France was offset by the disproportionately 'higher increase in the population of Russia, so that the assertion that Germany would in the future have more troops available against France hardly appeared to hold good.

PREMIER STUERGGH FOR WAR

The Imperial Royal Premier [Stuerghk] remarked that today's council of Ministers had really been called for the purpose of discussing the internal measures to be used in Bosnia and Herzegovina that would be calculated on the one side to make the present investigation, begun on account of the attentat, a success, and on the other to counteract the Greater Serbian movement in Bosnia. Now these questions must give place to the main question of whether we ought to settle the internal crisis in Bosnia by an expression of force against Serbia.

This main question had now become timely after two months, first of all because the commander of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the basis of his observations and his acquaintance with Bosnian conditions, proceeded on the hypothesis that no internal measures could be successful unless we decided to strike a powerful blow at Serbia on the outside. On the base of these observations of General Potiorek we must consider the question as to whether the schismatic activity proceeding from Serbia could be stopped, and whether we could even retain the two provinces if we did not proceed against the kingdom.

During the last few days the entire situation had taken on a different aspect, and there had now been created a psychological situation, which, in his opinion, was unconditionally forcing us into a war with Serbia. He agreed, indeed, with the Royal Hungarian Premier that we, and not the German Government, must decide if a war was necessary or not; but he must still remark that it was bound to exercise a very great influence upon our decision when, as we had heard, we had been assured of unconditional loyalty by the ally which we must regard as the most faithful supporter of our policy in the Triple Alliance and, furthermore, had been urged to act at once, after we had made inquiries there. Count Tisza certainly ought to attach importance to this circumstance and remember that we, through a policy of hesitation and weakness, ran the risk of no longer being so sure of this unconditional support of the German Empire at a later period. This was the second matter of weight to be considered in reaching our decision, along with the interest in restoring orderly conditions in Bosnia.

How the conflict was to be begun was a matter of detail, and if the Hungarian Government was of the opinion that a surprise attack *suris crier gare*, as Count Tisza had said, was not practical, then another way

must be found; nevertheless, he urgently desired that, whatever might happen, quick action be taken and our national economic life be spared a long period of unrest. All these things were details alongside of the principal question as to whether it was to come unconditionally to warlike action or not, and there the interest in the prestige and the existence of the monarchy, whose South Slavic provinces he would consider lost if nothing happened, was decisive above all else.

Therefore, today it should be decided in principle that it should and will come to action. He, too, shared the opinion of the Chairman that the situation would not be bettered at all by a diplomatic victory. If, consequently, the road of preliminary diplomatic action were to be taken because of international reasons, this must be done with the firm intention that this action dare only end in a war.

DECISIVE STRUGGLE NECESSARY

The Joint Finance Minister [Billinski] observed that Count Stuerghk had referred to the fact that the commander of the provinces wanted war. General Potiorek for two years had occupied the standpoint that we would have to undergo a trial of strength with Serbia in order to retain Bosnia and Herzegovina. We ought not to forget that the provincial commander, being on the spot, was the best judge of matters. Mr. Billinski also entertained the conviction that the decisive struggle was unavoidable sooner or later. He had never doubted that Germany would stand by us in a grave case, and already in November, 1912, he had received the most positive assurances from Mr. von Tschirschky [German Ambassador at Vienna] along that line. The recent events in Bosnia had produced a very dangerous sentiment among the Serbian population, particularly because the Serbian pogrom in Serajevo had made all the Serbs very excited and embittered, and consequently one could no longer decide who among the Serbs was still loyal and who was for Greater Serbia. In the country itself this condition could never be remedied; the only way to accomplish that was by a definite decision as to whether the Greater Serbia idea had a future or not.

Although the Royal Hungarian Premier would now be content with a diplomatic victory, he [Billinski] could not be so from the standpoint of the Bosnian interests. The ultimatum that we sent to Serbia last Fall had aggravated the sentiment in Bosnia and merely increased the feeling of hatred for us. It was a current topic among all the people there that King Peter would come and free the people. The Serb only understands force; a diplomatic victory would make no impression in Bosnia, and would be more likely to do harm than good.

The Royal Hungarian Premier asserted that he, indeed, had the highest opinion of the present provincial commander as a military

man; but so far as the civil administration was concerned it could not be denied that it had completely failed, and that it must be reformed unconditionally. He [Tisza] did not want to go into details about this now, especially as it was not the proper time to undertake great changes; he must point out, however, that the most indescribable condition must prevail among the police in order to have made it possible for six or seven characters known to the police to place themselves on the day of the attentat along the route of the murdered heir apparent, armed with bombs and revolvers, without a single one of them being noticed by the police and removed. He could not understand why the conditions in Bosnia could not be essentially bettered through a thorough reform.

KROBATIN FOR ATTACK

The Imperial and Royal Minister of War [Krobatin] was of the opinion that a diplomatic success was of no value. Such a success would only be interpreted as weakness. From a military standpoint he must emphasize the fact that it would be more advantageous to carry on war at once than at a later time, as in the future the comparative conditions of strength would be disproportionately shifted to our disadvantage. So far as the forms of beginning the war were concerned, he must stress the fact that the two great wars of the last few years, the Russo-Japanese and the Balkan wars, had been begun without preliminary declarations of war. It was his opinion that at first only the mobilization provided for against Serbia should be carried out, and that general mobilization should be delayed until it could be seen if Russia was going to move.

We had already let pass two opportunities to settle the Serbian question, and each time postponed the decision. If we were to do the same thing now and fail to react to this recent provocation it would be regarded in all the South Slav provinces as a sign of weakness, and we should be strengthening the agitation against us.

From a military standpoint it would be desirable if the mobilization were put into effect at once and with as much secrecy as possible, and an ultimatum were only sent to Serbia after mobilization had been accomplished. This would be an advantageous action in connection with the Russian military forces, also, as just now the ranks of the Russian frontier corps were not at full strength because of the harvest furloughs.

At this point there ensued a lengthy discussion over the objects of a warlike action against Serbia, in connection with which the view of the Royal Hungarian Premier that Serbia must, indeed, be reduced in size, but not entirely destroyed, was accepted. The Imperial Royal Premier insisted that it would be a good idea also to remove the Kara-georgevich dynasty and give the crown to a

European Prince, as well as to bring about a certain relation of dependency by the diminished kingdom upon the monarchy in a military way.

EUROPEAN WAR FORESEEN

The Royal Hungarian Premier [Tisza] was still of the opinion that a successful Balkan policy for the monarchy could be effected through the adhesion of Bulgaria to the Triple Alliance, and he pointed out the fearful calamities of a European war under the present conditions. It must not be overlooked that all sorts of future eventualities were imaginable—such as the sidetracking of Russia through Asiatic complications, a war of revenge upon Serbia by a revived Bulgaria, &c.—which might make our position in regard to the Greater Serbia problem materially more favorable than was the case at present.

In this connection the Chairman [Berchtold] remarked that, of course, one could imagine various future eventualities that would make the situation favorable for us. He, however, feared that there was no time for such a development. One must reckon with the fact that from a hostile side a decisive struggle against the monarchy was being prepared and that Rumania was assisting French and Russian diplomacy. It dared not be assumed that the policy with Bulgaria could offer us a complete substitute for the loss of Rumania. But, in his opinion, Rumania was not to be won again so long as the Greater Serbia agitation existed, for this also entailed the Greater Rumania agitation, and Rumania could only proceed against this latter if it were to feel itself isolated in the Balkans by the destruction of Serbia and were to understand that it could only find support in the Triple Alliance.

Besides, one must not overlook the fact that not the first step had yet been taken toward the adhesion of Bulgaria to the Triple Alliance. We only knew that the present Bulgarian Government had expressed this wish some months ago and at that time had also been about to enter into an alliance with Turkey. Thus far the latter had not occurred, and Turkey since then had fallen rather more under French and Russian influence. Of course, the attitude of the Radoslavoff Ministry afforded no reason to doubt that it was still resolved to lend a willing ear to positive proposals that might be made by us in Sofia along the line indicated. But at present this position could not yet be regarded as a firm foundation for our Balkan policy, especially as the present Bulgarian Government rested upon a very shaky base, and, as the adhesion to the Triple Alliance might be disavowed by public opinion, always to a certain degree under Russian influence, and the Radoslavoff Ministry be turned out. It must also be remembered that Germany had only previously approved the proposed deal with Bulgaria on condition that it was not to be aimed against Rumania. It

would not be easy entirely to fulfill this condition and uncertain situations might develop from it in the future.

RESULTS OF THE SESSION

Thereupon, the question of war was discussed thoroughly in a rather lengthy debate. At the conclusion of these discussions it could be stated:

1. That all those present desired the quickest possible decision of the controversy with Serbia, either in a warlike or a peaceful sense.

2. That the Council of Ministers was ready to accept the view of the Royal Hungarian Premier, according to which mobilization is to be effected only after concrete demands have been presented to Serbia and after these have been rejected and an ultimatum served.

On the other hand, all those present, with the exception of the Royal Hungarian Premier, were of the opinion that a purely diplomatic victory, even if it ended with a striking humiliation of Serbia, would be worthless, and that, consequently, *such far-reaching demands must be presented to Serbia as to make their rejection foreseen*, so that the way to a radical solution through a military attack would be prepared.

Count Tisza observed that he was anxious to meet the views of all those present, and consequently he would also make a concession by admitting that the demands to be sent to Serbia should be very hard, but nevertheless *not of such a kind as to expose our intention of making unacceptable demands*. Otherwise we would have an impossible legal ground for a declaration of war. The text of the note must be studied very closely, and in any case he would like to see the note before it was sent. He must also emphasize the fact that he, for his part, would be obliged to draw the proper conclusions if his views were not considered. At this point the session was broken off until the afternoon.

THE AFTERNOON SESSION

When the meeting of the Ministerial Council was reopened the Chief of the General Staff and the representative of the naval command were also present. At the request of the Chairman the Minister of War addressed the following questions to the Chief of the General Staff:

1. Whether it were possible first to mobilize against Serbia, and only subsequently against Russia also, if it became necessary.

2. Whether large bodies of troops could be retained in Transylvania for the purpose of intimidating Rumania.

3. Where would the struggle against Russia be begun?

In response to these questions the Chief of the General Staff gave secret explanations and consequently asked that these answers be not included in the record. On the basis of these answers there developed a long debate over the prevailing conditions of strength

and the probable course of a European war: this, because of its secret character, was not adapted for putting down in this report.

At the conclusion of this debate the Royal Hungarian Premier repeated his view regarding the question of war and directed another appeal to those present to examine their decision very carefully. Thereupon were discussed the points which could be embodied in the note as demands upon Serbia. In regard to these points no definite decision was made in the Ministerial Council; they were merely taken up in order to arrive at an idea of what demands could be made.

Then the Chief of the General Staff and the representative of the naval command left the Ministerial Council, which occupied itself with the internal situation in Bosnia and the measures to be taken there. In this connection the joint Finance Minister declared that he had become convinced through conferences during the last few days with party leaders that a dissolution of the Landtag would not be advisable, because it would be linked with political losses. At present there could be no sessions held because of the universal agitation of tempers, and therefore he was for adjourning the Landtag and only calling it together for a short session in September. He hoped that it then would be possible to have the budget and the Kmeten [?] bill passed. This depended first of all upon the retention by Dimovich of the party leadership of the pro-Government Serbs—which he hoped would be the case—thus making possible the maintenance of the present Government majority. With the closing of the Landtag the salaries and the right of immunity came to an end, so that the wishes of the provincial commander and of the Minister of War in this regard would be met even if he did not dissolve the Landtag. Mr. von Bilinski then discussed a number of other measures that he considered timely, among them the dissolution of the Great Serbia Association.

The Royal Hungarian Premier did not want to propose any great changes at present. He again directed attention to the condition of the police at Serajevo and declared that the disintegration of the administrative machine in Bosnia was the direct result of the preponderant position occupied for years by the provincial commander, who, as a military man, could not possibly possess the experience in administrative affairs necessary for a good administration.

The joint Finance Minister defended the provincial commander as an administrator, but admitted that it would be desirable to have the civil administration entirely separated from the military administration and have a civil Governor appointed alongside of the army inspector, as was the case in Dalmatia.

Then upon the proposal of the Imperial and Royal Minister of War there were immediately discussed special measures which were to be applied to Bosnia.

In this discussion it became clear that it

was the consensus of all present that some of the proposals of General Krobatin were to be accepted, while others went too far, but that in general it was not possible to lay down a definite program for internal administration before the main question—as to whether war was to be waged upon Serbia—had been decided.

The Chairman [Berchtold] pointed out that even though there existed a difference of opinion between Count Tisza and all the others present, they had got closer together; in all probability the proposals of the Royal Hungarian Premier would also lead to the military settlement with Serbia thought necessary by himself and the other members of the conference.

Count Berchtold informed the Minister that he intended to go to Ischl on the 8th inst. to present a report to his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty. Count Tisza asked the Chairman also to present a most respectful report that he was to make of his view of the situation. After a communiqué for the press had been prepared, the Chairman ended the session. * * *

BERCHTOLD.

Secretary, A. HOYOS.

I have taken note of the contents of this note, Aug. 16, 1914.

FRANZ JOSEF.

The text of the communiqué to the press referred to is given as follows by the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*:

The joint Ministerial Council today was called for the purpose of occupying itself with the ordering of measures which are to be applied to the internal administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the same time the Ministerial Council took this opportunity to discuss in advance in a general way the joint budget for next year, for which purpose the Chief of the General Staff and the representative of the naval command were called in to explain some technical questions.

An authentic account—evidently official—of the equally secret council of July 19, 1914, was printed in another Vienna, paper, the *Morgen*. At that session the resolutions providing for the sending of practically impossible demands to Serbia were passed unanimously. The record is as follows:

Count Berchtold opened the deliberations by announcing that a diplomatic note would be sent to Serbia on the following Thursday, July 23. The Minister of Foreign Affairs hoped that this step would remain unknown until after President Poincaré's departure from St. Petersburg, and that in any case the "considerations of courtesy" would be complied with, since the moment of his departure would have been waited for. For diplomatic reasons he insisted that there

should be no delay in the action to be undertaken against Serbia, because in Berlin they were becoming intoxicated, and Rome was beginning to discover the intentions of Vienna. The council, therefore, accepted the date proposed. General Conrad de Hotzendorff, the Chief of Staff, immediately ordered the decreeing of a state of siege in all regions of the monarchy inhabited by Jugoslavs. Chevalier de Krobatin, Minister of War, then presented his report on mobilization. Everything was ready; the order would be submitted to the Emperor for his signature on July 22. Count Stuerghk, Austrian Premier, raised the question of the attitude to be taken in case of an Italian expedition to Vallona. Count Stuerghk declared such an event improbable, but added that if it should happen Austria-Hungary would take part in it as a matter of form, and would thus extricate itself from embarrassment.

Count Tisza, Hungarian Premier, laid down the condition that there should be no plan of conquest involved in the action against Serbia; the action should be confined to rectifications of frontiers made necessary by strategical considerations. Count Berchtold replied that he could accept this idea only with some reservation, for if, as he conceded, it would be well for Austria-Hungary not to take any territory from Serbia, portions as large as possible should be given to Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. In any case Serbia should be "sufficiently reduced to be no longer dangerous."

Count Stuerghk added that if occupation of Serbian territory was excluded, one could at least take guarantees, such as the overthrow of the dynasty or a military convention. The War Minister, having finally declared himself ready to accept the provision that Austria-Hungary should limit itself to rectifications of strategical frontiers and permanent occupation of a bridgehead on the other side of the Save, the council decided unanimously that "from the beginning of the war they should declare to the foreign powers that the monarchy was not waging a war of conquest." Count Berchtold summed up the debate in the remark that the most complete harmony had happily (*erfreulicherweise*) been attained on all points by the members of the council.

The Vienna correspondent of the *Paris Temps*, in transmitting this record to his paper, compared Count Berchtold's "happily" with Emile Ollivier's remark that he went into the Franco-Prussian war with a "light heart." Ollivier's "light heart" led to Sedan, and Count Berchtold's "*erfreulicherweise*" led to the annihilation of the ancient monarchy of the Hapsburgs.

AMONG THE NATIONS

Survey of Important Events and Developments in Various Nations. Alphabetically Arranged

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 18, 1919]

THE BALKANS

AN important indication of commercial revival in the Balkans was announced by the *Progrès* of Athens and confirmed by the papers of Belgrade: The Serbian Government, acting in co-operation with the Greek, will at once begin work on a canal extending from the Danube to Saloniki, thus intercepting much of the traffic from Central Europe, via the Orient Railway to Constantinople, destined for the Eastern Mediterranean. The canal is to begin at the village of Kevevara, at the confluence of the Danube and the Morava. It will follow the course of the Morava in Serbia, then will join the valley of the Vardar near Kaprulu, following this river until in the vicinity of Saloniki. The total length of the canal will be 373 miles. The difference in elevation between Kevevara and the highest point of the canal is about 300 meters. Between this point and Saloniki the difference in elevation is practically the same. It will be necessary to construct sixty-five locks.

The Supreme Council at Paris on Oct. 24 took a leaf from the waiting Hungarian Peace Treaty and made a long step toward settling the Balkan boundaries, not mentioned in the Austrian and Bulgarian treaties, by making a partition of large regions of Hungary between Rumania and the monarchy of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Jugoslavia). According to this protocol Rumania is to receive Transylvania, containing an area of 120,000 square kilometers (about half the size of New England), rich in minerals and containing the Cities of Oradimare and Arad on the Maros, but not the full control of the Arad-Satmar railway, as she desired. The Banat is to be divided between Rumania and Serbia, the

frontier being minutely defined in a note communicated to each Government, signed by Dutasta, according to which Serbia will get most of the Comitats of Torontal, with the towns of Nagy-Kiskinda, Becskerek, Versec, and Pancsova, with two-thirds of the waterways of the Banat, and Rumania will get the Comitats of Temes and Krasso-Szöreny and the towns of Temesvar and Lugos, and the famous mines and steel works of Resicabanga.

Rumania had asked for both banks of the Maros as far as the Theiss and the City of Bekes-Csaba, and that the Hungarian frontier should be set back fourteen miles west of the railway between Arad and Satmar. The Banat, till lately part of Hungary, is bounded southwest and north by the Rivers Danube, Theiss, and Maros, and on the east by Transylvania. It is one of the most fertile districts in Europe, producing grain, wine, silk, &c., and having an abundance of mostly undeveloped mineral wealth in the shape of salt, gold, silver, iron, lead, copper and coal, and vast forests with valuable fur-bearing animals. Its population is about 3,000,000.

In the capitals of the Balkan States the publication of the terms of the Bulgarian treaty of peace brought all territorial propaganda based on nationalistic grounds to a superlative stage of vehemence. There were no new features, however, except in Athens, where an attack was made upon the alleged growing predilection of the Paris Conference to preserve the political and something of the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire.

BULGARIA — The new Ministry formed for the express purpose of signing the Peace Treaty, mentioned in last month's *CURRENT HISTORY*, was completed



A LEAF FROM THE WAITING HUNGARIAN TREATY OF PEACE, SHOWING THE MAGYAR TERRITORY ALLOTTED TO RUMANIA AND JUGOSLAVIA BY THE SUPREME COUNCIL, ON OCT. 24, 1919

as follows, with the portfolios of Justice and Public Works to be given to Democrats and that of Finance to a Progressive:

Premier and Minister for War—M. STAMBOULINSKI.

Public Instruction—M. KAALOFF.

Railways—M. TORLAKOFF.

Interior—M. DIMITROFF.

Agriculture—M. DASKALOFF.

Foreign Affairs—M. MAGGIAROFF.

Commerce—M. BUROFF.

The last two named Ministers are Moderate Socialists. The four preceding them are Agrarians. A dispatch from Sofia stated that M. Theodoroff, although not belonging to the Stamboulini Cabinet, would remain President of the Bulgarian delegation at the Peace Conference.

RUMANIA—The eighteen-day Ministerial crisis in Rumania ended with the establishment of a new Cabinet, the principal portfolios being held as follows, together with MM. Inculetz and Ciugureanu of Bessarabia; M. Nistor, Bukovina, and the Voivode of Vajada, M. Goldis,

and M. St. Pop, Transylvania, without portfolios:

Prime Minister and ad interim Foreign Affairs—General VAITOIANU.

Public Instruction—General LUPESCU.

Agriculture—General POPOVICI.

Industry and Trade—General J. POPESCU.

Public Works—General ST. MIHAIL.

War—General RASCANU.

Justice—M. MICLESCU.

During the crisis, M. Take Jonescu and General Averescu, the leaders of the Opposition, declared their readiness to undertake the responsibility of office and guaranteed to solve both the foreign difficulty in agreement with the Paris Conference and the question of the liberty of the elections. M. Bratiano opposing this course, the King declined to accept it. Then M. Maniu, the head of the Rumanian Government in Transylvania, offered his services. This offer was acceptable to Jonescu and Averescu, but not to Bratiano. Then the latter proposed a slate with six Generals on the active list, presided over by a personal

friend who will keep the seat of Foreign Minister warm for him. This was accepted.

The new Government refused to suppress the censorship and the state of siege, so that the ensuing elections, the campaign for which was in full blast on Nov. 15, will still be amenable to the courts-martial in regard to press offenses and speeches. The elections will be a mere formality. The opposition as a body, therefore, declared that they would take no part in them. The seats contested numbered 240. For these there were as many Bratiano Liberal candidates. Other contestants numbered 867.

On Nov. 1 Rumania formally announced to the Peace Conference the annexation of Bessarabia, the status of which was described last month. On Nov. 14, the last Rumanian troops left Budapest.

THRACE—In accordance with the terms of the Bulgarian peace treaty, Bulgar troops began to evacuate Western Thrace on Oct. 20, and units of the 9th Greek Division occupied the district of Xanthi (Turkish Eskiye), seventy miles northwest of Dedeagatch. From Saloniki came reports of fresh atrocities on the part of the Bulgars on their departure.

The Mussulmans, who occupy that part of Western Thrace left by the peace treaty to Bulgaria, sent a strong protest to the Peace Conference against such decision. They were led by Ismail Hakki Bey, Deputy for Gumuldjina in the Bulgarian Parliament, and claimed a majority of the population in the Rhodope districts of Davidere, Egridere, Sulyanyeri, Pashmakli, and Kirtejali. Ismail closed a long statement covering the protest as follows:

As for the Greeks, we Mussulmans of Thrace feel that we can live with them and in perfect good fellowship, despite the difference of religion. We have more in common with the Greeks than with any hybrid international régime that may be erected in Western or Eastern Thrace, and I am confident that after the upheaval due to the gigantic world struggle has passed Mussulmans and Greeks will settle down everywhere together to a life of peace and co-operation in honest work and of material prosperity.

On Oct. 29 the Greek Delegation at,

Paris gave out for publication an elaborate summary of its reply to the recent Memorandum submitted by the Bulgarian Delegation regarding the policy of Bulgaria and her claims to Thrace. The purport of the first point was a denial with documentary evidence of the Bulgar claim that the country's anti-Allied policy was a matter of ex-King Ferdinand and the Radoslavoff Cabinet and not of the Bulgar people themselves. The Greek document then takes up the question of Thrace as follows:

In the Bulgarian memorandum on Eastern Thrace the authors, in their attempt to prove the predominance of the Bulgarian elements of the population have deemed it sufficient to quote only authorities whose Pan-Slavist tendencies are well known. The Greek reply opposes to these authorities the opinions of such ethnologists of world-wide fame as Eliade Reclus and others, and also the evidence of Bulgarian statesmen themselves, who have on various occasions admitted that the Bulgarian element in Thrace was in a minority. The Greek reply gives the figures of the populations of Thrace as following: (1) According to the Turkish census of 1894: 304,537 Greeks, 265,360 Moslems, 72,758 Bulgarians; (2) according to the census of 1912, organized by the Oecumenical Patriarchate: 393,515 Greeks, 344,011 Moslems, 67,593 Bulgarians. The Bulgarians, in short, represent in Thrace only a small minority, whereas the Greeks are from five to six times more numerous. And if we add to those parts of Thrace, the fate of which has still to be decided, the population of the district of Constantinople, the disproportion between the Greek and the Bulgarian elements will be greater still, the Greeks being ten times superior in number to the Bulgarians. This superiority of the Greeks over the Bulgarians, already proved both by Turkish and Greek statistics, is still more eloquently confirmed in the fact that the Greek-Bulgarian electoral agreement of 1912 provided for the return for Thrace of seven Greek deputies and only one Bulgarian.

After having failed to prove the historical and ethnological claims of Bulgaria to Thrace, the Bulgarian Peace Delegation falls back on economic arguments, stating that (1) Bulgaria must have Thrace in order to retain an outlet to the Aegean Sea; (2) Thrace must remain Bulgarian as it is the Bulgarian population which cultivates the soil and represents the most stable element and the principal factor of production. As regards the outlet to the Aegean Sea, the Bulgarians declare that if they are deprived of it they will be forced to use as

waterways the Black Sea and the Danube, with the result that Bulgarian trade will be dependent on powers which are masters of the mouth of the above-named river and of the Dardanelles. The weakness of this argument is obvious. Compared with the conditions in which are placed several European States which have no territorial outlet to any sea, Bulgaria, with two such excellent ports as Varna and Burgas, is placed in quite a privileged position. And as the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus will be under international control, her trade is in no danger of being dependent on any other State. Besides, Greece has not only offered Bulgaria the use of one of her ports on the Aegean, but also has consented that this outlet for Bulgarian trade shall be placed under the control and the guarantee of the League of Nations.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Conditions in Czechoslovakia during October and November showed clearly a stabilizing tendency. The 3,000,000, more or less irreconcilable Germans of German Bohemia, whose protests over the allotment of their territory to the new republic had been vociferously unceasing, showed a desire for a *rapprochement* with President Thomas Masaryk and his Government. Bolshevism was killed by the liberal and far-sighted policy of the President, whose personal popularity was tremendous after his approval of a measure that made the 8-hour day a national law. One Muna, a Czech Bolshevik, who sought to emulate Lenin and overthrow the Government, had been promptly arrested and imprisoned, and Smeral, leader of the radical wing of the Social Democrats, had fled to Switzerland. Economically the country was rapidly reverting to normal. The port of Hamburg, the use of which, under the terms of the Peace Treaty, was given to the Czechoslovaks, had already cleared two American ships with cargoes of American goods. Raw materials were being brought in from neighboring countries to start the factories. The most important industries of Czechoslovakia, textiles and glass manufactures, were rapidly being re-established. The harvests were good, and sugar was plentiful owing to a surplus of sugar beets. All of the coal used on the Austrian railways was being supplied by Czechoslovakia.

Politically, a policy of universal conciliation toward neighboring nations was outlined by Dr. Edward Benes, the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, in a speech delivered before the National Assembly in the first week of October.

BELGIUM, HOLLAND, LUXEMBURG

As a result of the elections held in Belgium on Nov. 16, the Cabinet, which took office under the Premiership of M. Delacroix just a year ago, resigned two days later, but was asked by King Albert to remain in office until the line-up of the new Chamber should be definitely known. According to advices received Nov. 19 no party in the new Chamber will have an absolute majority. It will consist of seventy-three members of the Catholic party, seventy Socialists, thirty-four Liberals, and five to ten members elected from the smaller political groups. The Chamber elected in 1913 was made up as follows:

Catholics	101
Liberals	35
Social Democrats	39
Christian Socialists.....	2

The Socialist gains of thirty-one and the Catholic losses of twenty-four were said to be due principally to the recent abolition of plural voting.

The receipts of the Belgian Treasury for the first seven months of 1919 totaled 421,000,000 francs, exceeding the Government's estimate by over ten million. Trains circulated all over the kingdom, eighty per cent. of the 1,100 kilometers destroyed by Germany having been repaired or diverted, or the German constructions utilized. Although Belgium suffered a destruction of rolling stock of 50 per cent., the freight tonnage in October reached 60 per cent. of the pre-war amount.

Some indications of the re-establishment of business relations between Holland and Germany were given last month—a rush on the part of the Dutchmen to get ahead of the Allies. Since then it was announced in The Hague that a group of Dutch bankers, headed by the Netherlands Handels-Maatschappij, had granted a credit of over \$23,000,000 for the purchase of raw materials

for German industry, especially cotton. Fifty per cent. of this raw material will be re-exported in the form of goods to pay off the credit, and the other 50 per cent. will be used for German domestic needs or uncontrolled export abroad.

All this was emphasized by M. Van Aalst, the well-known Dutch banker and President of the new Netherlands Overseas Trust, in an interview on Oct. 23, who added:

I hope that after a few months America will come to the conclusion that its urgent help not only to the allied powers with credits but also to Central Europe is to her own interests. The main idea is to give credit for raw material, which spells industry and stimulation of export trade, with which debts to other countries can be paid. The rehabilitation of Germany is in the interest of the world, and it is safe to state that most international bankers and financiers have now arrived at this conclusion.

The official figures of the Luxembourg plebiscitum, which took place on Sept. 28, were published as follows:

Voters on the register.....127,775
Actual voters 90,984

DYNASTIC QUESTION

For the Grand Duchess Charlotte.. 66,811
For another Grand Duchess..... 1,286
For another dynasty 889
For a republic 16,885
Blank and spoiled papers..... 5,113

ECONOMIC QUESTION

For an economic union with France 60,135
For an economic union with Belgium 22,242
Blank and spoiled papers..... 8,607

General elections took place in Luxembourg on Oct. 26, under the new law including the *scrutin de liste* with proportional representation, both sexes over the age of 21 voting for candidates of 25 years or over, with the following results:

Clericals 24
Socialists 11
Radicals 7
Independents 2
Pro-Belgians 4
Total 48

The new Chamber thus consists of 48 seats as against 53 in the old. In the old the Right—the Catholic and Agrarian Party—had 23 and put 48 candidates in the field; the Radicals, formerly the Liberals, had 8 seats and put for-

ward 28; the Socialists, with 12, had 41 candidates, and the People's Party, with 6 seats in the old, had 19 candidates for the new. There were other small groups, and three women candidates, two of them Socialists.

FRANCE

Up to Nov. 19 the French Deputorial election, held Nov. 16, showed the following distribution of parties in comparison with the old Chamber, elected May 10, 1914:

1919.
Republican Left 123
Radicals 57
Radical Socialists 78
Republican Socialists 26
Unified Socialists 65
Dissident Socialists 6
Progressives 126
L'Action Libérale Group..... 73
Conservatives 32

1914.
Organized Radicals 136
Democratic Left 102
Organized Socialists 102
Alliance Democratique 100
Progressivists and Federated Repub-
licans 54
Action Libérale 34
Independent Socialists 30
Right 26
Independent 18
Total..... 602

The incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine raised the number of seats from 602 to 626. Another academic feature of the election was the return to the *scrutin de liste*, or blanket ballot, with partial proportional representation. The contest on general lines was waged between the forces of democratic government and those of extreme socialism, or Bolshevism, the former led by Premier Clemenceau with the *Bloc National*, the backbone of which was the Organized Radicals or so-called Radical Socialists and the various Conservative and Republican factions, with the strength, for the time, of the old Right made up of Royalists and Clericals, who collectively took the name of *Action Française*. Opposed to these were the various Extremist groups led by Socialists ranging from personal enemies of Clemenceau, like Henry Franklin-Bouillon and Pierre Renaudel, to Jean Longuet, the Bolshevist.

Nearly all the Opposition leaders were defeated and nearly all the Government leaders were elected, with the result that it was estimated that the latter would control more than 500 of the 626 members of the next Chamber.

The curtain was rung down, Oct. 19, on the French war Parliament, which had sat since the Summer of 1914. The Chamber gave itself over to a patriotic demonstration. One of the last acts of the Senate was to pass the Amnesty bill, but without the clause passed by the Chamber extending amnesty to certain categories of military convicts.

According to figures presented by M. Klotz, Minister of Finance, on Oct. 21, France must borrow \$400,000,000 a year in order to balance the budget. In the Chamber, however, four days before, he had presented statistics to prove that France, on account of her industries and borrowing power, was still a creditor nation, and added:

We owe abroad 30 milliards of francs, about half of which is due to the United States, but France has a very important credit balance. France was before the war and is still the greatest creditor in the world. France had before the war placed 48 milliards abroad, and she advanced during the war thirteen and a half milliards to different nations.

On Nov. 10, the linotypers and typographers of the Paris papers went on a strike, stopping the publication of all save the Socialist papers. The next day the proprietors joined forces and brought out a new paper called *La Presse de Paris*, which was said to have had an immense effect on cutting down the Socialist vote. The first issue of *La Presse de Paris* sold to the extent of 5,000,000 copies.

ITALY

The elections to the Twenty-fifth Parliament since the foundation of the Kingdom of Italy took place on Nov. 16. So far as reported up to Nov. 19, the new Chamber, compared with the old, which had been in office since 1913, had the following distribution:

Ministerialists	1919.	145
Socialists		126
Catholics		90

Constitutional Opposition	36
Nationalists	23
Republicans	16

1913.

Constitutionalists	318
Radicals	70
Republicans	16
Socialists	77
Syndicalists	3
Catholics	24

Total508

For the first time the Catholics voted as an organized political party, the Italian Popular Party. Other organized parties were the Socialists and the Republicans. Other designated groups were divided on the sole question of being for or against the Nitti Government. Other features of the election included the use, as in France, of the blanket ballot, and the division of Italy into fifty-four constituencies, each returning members varying from five at Sassari to twenty at Milan, with the Roman province raised from five to fifteen. The Socialists gained in all the larger northern cities, due to the apathy of the bourgeoisie, it was said. The chief gains of the Catholics were in the southern rural districts.

The strength of the Nitti Government in the new Chamber would, it was said, depend upon his ability to gain the support on international questions of the Socialists and Catholics, to which might be added the strength of the Nationalists should he advocate the annexation of Fiume. On Oct. 31 Premier Nitti addressed a letter to his constituents in which he said:

It is deplorable that our allies do not realize that the question of Fiume has no economic value for Italy, but a moral value, being a question of national dignity and sentiment. Opposition from friendly nations will mean the creation of an intolerable internal situation for Italy, and also an uneasy international situation, the effects of which might be most injurious.

In making a report on the food situation in Italy, H. C. MacLean, U. S. Trade Commissioner at Rome, stated:

The minimum requirements of the non-producing proportion of the population are 40,000,000 quintals, of which, as has already been stated, it is hoped to obtain 20,000,000 quintals from local sources, and to import 20,000,000 from abroad.

He declared that lack of tonnage continued to be a serious obstacle to the early recovery of Italy's industrial and commercial activity. On the other hand, he wrote that the Italian coal situation was improving.

LATIN AMERICA

A group of fifty German families arrived at Buenos Aires on Oct. 30, and were assigned to land in the Argentine territory of Misiones. Four hundred more were expected. The concessions consist of 25, 50, or 100 hectares, according to the size of the family.

The convention of the Socialist Party of Argentina adopted a resolution on Nov. 12, protesting against the allied blockade of Bolshevik Russia.

Domingo Salaberry, Argentine Minister of Finance, negotiated a loan with the Bank of Spain at Madrid. The sum under consideration was 500,000,000 pesetas, or about \$100,000,000.

On Oct. 19 the Brazilian Chamber defeated a proposal to reduce obligatory military service from two to one year. The vote was 75 to 49.

A vast scheme for the irrigation of semi-arid territory in Brazil was considered by the Congress. It was reported that since 1877 more than a million inhabitants of Northeastern Brazil had perished from famine and its consequences. A study of the rainfall in the State of Ceara, the least favored, showed an annual precipitation of 80,000,000,000 cubic meters, 16,000,000,000 of which could be collected and be made to irrigate about a million hectares or 2,400,000 acres. The project called for an annual outlay of 40,000 contos (\$11,000,000) up to 200,000 contos (\$55,000,000), and included reservoirs, dams and canals.

On Oct. 20 it was announced from the City of Mexico that steps had been taken to irrigate 200,000 hectares of land in the Fuerte River valley, State of Sinaloa, where German immigrants were expected to buy tracts on the twenty-year-payment plan. According to the official publication of the Mexican Department of Industry, Commerce and Colonization, the scheme which provided

for an annual inflow of 45,000 Germans, had its origin last March. A bulletin issued in November showed the concessions made to Germans close to Carranza during the year to have been as follows: J. Meakany, 494,209 acres; M. Coltz, 370,650; E. Müller, 247,100; von Magnus, 591,685; to four others, 1,073,635 acres.

NEW ZEALAND

The High Commissioner for New Zealand at London received a dispatch from his Government on Oct. 25 giving the slate of the reconstructed New Zealand Cabinet as follows:

Prime Minister—Mr. W. F. MASSEY.
 Defense and Finance—Sir JAMES ALLEN.
 Native Affairs and Customs—Mr. W. H. HERRIES.
 Public Works—Sir WILLIAM FRASER.
 Attorney General and Education—Sir F. H. D. BELL.
 Lands—Mr. D. H. GUTHRIE.
 Internal Affairs—Mr. J. B. HINE.
 Agriculture — Mr. WILLIAM NOS-WORTHY.
 Justice and Postmaster General—Mr. J. G. COATES.
 Member of the Executive Council Representing the Native Race—Dr. M. POMARE.

PERSIA

Ayn-Lam-Ber, acting for the National Party of Persia, said to have been first organized by the American W. Morgan Shuster when he was Treasurer General at Teheran in 1911-12, sent out an appeal against the Anglo-Persian treaty on the ground that it is the first step toward annexation and contrary to the terms of the Persian Constitution. The document also declared that in the light of the following facts the treaty had not the approval of the Persian people:

1. After our revolution of 1906 the Anglo-Russian diplomacy aimed several times at our rights. She never got from us willingly what she wanted. Every time she had to make use of ultimatums and even play at invading the country. Meanwhile the supremacy of right over force had not yet been proclaimed as a dogma. Persia could not rely on any guarantee protecting the life of the weaker. Nevertheless, she firmly stood up for her independence.

Is it comprehensible that now—at the dawn of an era of justice, after all the assurances given by the Entente about the

free disposition of nations, after the expounding of the Wilsonian principles, at the very moment when small nations recover their long-lost independence—Persia hands over of her own free will her army, her police, her finances, and her economic resources to a foreign power? And all this in exchange for a loan of two million pounds sterling at 7%, to be paid monthly.

2. The head of the present Government, appointed to his post during the dissolution of Parliament, was forced on the Shah by Great Britain. In spite of possible official disproof which may be issued against this the truth of it can easily be proved.

3. The negotiations that brought about the present agreement have lasted nine months! Such length of time is significant. It was not the result of the British Imperialists' hesitating before the tempting morsel, but due to the Persian Government's fear of a revolution. The latter wanted time enough to gather sufficient strength to force the fateful act upon the people.

4. These coercive forces, organized, supervised, and paid by the British, are now fulfilling their office. They rage against the people in revolt. They arrest patriots. They forbid manifestations. They deport former Ministers.

Today it is the goal; tomorrow—the gallows!

These facts which, if wanted, could be verified by impartial investigation, show that the agreement of Aug. 9, the work of the Cabinet appointed by Britain under threat of British bayonets, is very far indeed from being approved by the Persian people.

SCANDINAVIA

According to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, within ten days after the treaty has been put in operation, the people in the zones of Schleswig are to decide their Danish or German nationality by a plebiscite. The manner in which this will be done will be found in the text under the accompanying map.

It was said to be certain that the voters in the First Zone would vote solid for Denmark. The important port of Flensburg comes within the Second Zone, and, though this town was entirely Danish at the time of the war of 1866, the German Government, in pursuance of the same policy which it adopted in Prussian Poland and Alsace, sought to Germanize Schleswig as much as possible, with the result that there is a considerable German population now in the town. The International Commission,

however, of which Sir Charles Marling, British Minister at Copenhagen, is Chairman, is not compelled to stand by the result of the plebiscite.

It will be remembered that the Peace



Schleswig-Holstein as far south as the Kiel Canal. In the first zone the inhabitants vote en bloc for or against reunion with Denmark at the latest twenty-one days after the German military and civil authorities have evacuated. In the second zone voting is by municipalities not later than five weeks after the voting in the first zone. According to official Danish wishes, no plebiscite will be taken in Zone III.

Conference originally decided to have plebiscites in three zones, but no plebiscite will be taken in the Third Zone in deference to the wish expressed by the Danish Government.

Norman Hapgood, United States Minister to Denmark, sent some excerpts from two proposed Danish industrial laws, one of which placed all industries under public control by means of a business council composed of sixteen members, four of whom are to be appointed by the Rigsdag eleven by the Minister of the Interior, and one, the Chairman, by the Government, and the other gave employees participation in all business enterprises employing five or more adult workmen. An extract from the first reads:

All concerns which are believed to be operating on too large a profit, or whose

activities are suspected of being otherwise against the interests of the community, the Business Council may place under its own direct supervision. Such firms will be required to submit their annual accounts to the Council, and to give the Council any other information which may be required to enable it to ascertain the exact status of the industry, including the conditions relative to production and sale of the commodity being marketed. But no firm may be required to divulge secret processes of a technical nature. Refusal to give any other relevant information upon demand of the Council is made a police offense, and is punishable by a fine of 50 to 1,000 crowns (\$13.40 to \$268) per day. In enforcing its decisions the Business Council may appropriate the services of State and municipal authorities.

The second law covers specifically "industries and crafts," but professional concerns may be included by the consent of the Business Council:

It is proposed by this law that the details of participation shall be a matter of agreement between the Danish Employers' Association and the Federation of Trade Unions of Denmark; but that such agreement shall assure the employees the right of participation in the control of the observance of work agreements and of decisions relative to workmen's safety legislation; in the matter of the employment and discharge of workmen and of their nearest foremen; and in the preparation of the annual income report of the enterprise. * * *

Violations of the covenants of this law are punishable by a fine of 10 to 2,000 crowns (\$2.68 to \$536). All enterprises employing five or more adult workmen and coming under the classification of industries and crafts are subject to the provisions of the law, whether represented in the Danish Employers' Association or not.

SPAIN

A labor crisis and a political crisis occurred in Spain. Owing to the strictness of the censorship the outside world learned little about either. According to the censored dispatches the Congress of Spanish Employers, sitting at Barcelona, declared a lockout on Oct. 26, to take effect throughout Spain on Nov. 4, affecting over one million workers, and closing all the principal industries, trades and professions, even schools and public works. The lockout went into effect. It was stated on Nov. 13 that the opposing organizations had come to

terms, but two days later the rupture was renewed by strikes succeeding the general lockout.

Meanwhile, a political crisis arose through the vain efforts of the Minister of the Interior to meet the situation, which, if prolonged, threatened the life of the country, the Government, and even of the dynasty itself. The Minister of the Interior, Señor Burgos, tried to resign, but the King induced him to remain. On Nov. 11 there was the report that a new Conservative Government would be formed with Señor Dato as Premier; two days later it was announced that the Liberals had rallied to the side of Melquiades Alvarez, the Reformist and anti-German leader, who, with the help of Count Romanones, then in London, would form a stalwart, progressive Government. In a statement to the London press Count Romanones subsequently threw light on the entire situation. He said:

The main task of the Spanish Government is the same as that of all other Governments, not only in Europe but in the world—to combat Syndicalism, not only Syndicalism among the industrial workers, but Syndicalism among State officials. In this task it will have the support of all parties which are opposed to the forces of disruption.

Mail advices from Madrid showed that the action of the Congress of Spanish Employers was aimed at the mighty Confederacion General del Trabajo, which Frank A. Vanderlip had described before the Economy Club in New York on May 26, as a perfect laboratory of Bolshevism, "an organization that was the most mysterious, the most terrifying of any organization that I ever encountered. * * * It is secret to the extent that the members themselves do not know who guides it. It calls general strikes merely for gymnastic exercises. It rules by assassination."

The effective, comprehensive organization of the Confederacion General del Trabajo—the General Federation of Labor—with its headquarters at Barcelona, is a relic of German Kultur receiving its vital force from the late German Ambassador, Prince von Ratibor, and his able lieutenant in propaganda, Dr. von Stohrer. It is non-political, and

its membership embraces nearly all forms of employment capable of being organized in the interests of an entirely industrial régime. Opposing employers, whether individuals, corporations, or officials, are "removed."

Following its decision for a lockout the Congress of Spanish Employers issued a note to the Minister of the Interior explaining its drastic action as follows:

Our decision is due to the pernicious influence of a certain part—albeit a small one—of the proletariat, which renders all useful work impossible. The employers attribute the present state of affairs to the action of a certain group of miners which has as its object the destruction of the social edifice in Spain, which renders all useful work impossible. The employers therefore appeal to the working classes to rally around them, repudiating those who are trying to ruin national industry.

Meanwhile, we do not see any better or more radical way to put an end to this pernicious influence than by declaring a lockout, by which the working classes, who are the first victims of the Syndicalist endeavors, may be made aware of the errors into which they have been induced.

SWITZERLAND

The official result of the Swiss elections to the National Council, or House of Representatives, held Oct. 26, was announced as follows:

Radical Democrats	63
Catholic Conservatives	42
Socialists	39
Peasants	27
Liberal Democrats	9
East Swiss Democrats	4
Grutleians	3
Progressive Bourgeois	1
Evangelist	1

Total 180

TURKEY

Major Gen. James G. Harbord and the members of his mission to Turkey reached Paris, where they began to prepare their formal report, which will have a measurable influence in determining the status, not only of Armenia, but the Turkish Empire—at least as far as the United States is concerned.

Conflicting views as to the status of Kemal Pasha and the Nationalist Army come from two sources—one describing them as patriots not opposed to any rational decree of the Peace Conference,

and the other designating them as opposed to any political or territorial change in the empire. The same conflicting statements were made in regard to the new Cabinet organized by General Ali Riza Pasha on Oct. 4, after the Sultan had received an ultimatum from Kemal Pasha to dismiss the pro-Conference Damad Ferid Pasha Government.

UNITED KINGDOM

The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced in the House of Commons on Oct. 27 that the railway strike, which began Sept. 27 and ended Oct. 6, had cost the Treasury nearly \$50,000,000, one item of which, amounting to nearly \$160,000, was for publicity. The cost to the National Union of Railwaymen had already been estimated at over \$10,000,000.

On the same day a White Paper was issued, showing an estimated deficit of over \$2,000,000,000, with large items of assets postponed for payment, including nearly \$100,000,000 repayments for the maintenance of Australian troops, and \$345,000,000 repayment by Germany for the cost of the Army of Occupation. Other war assets due amount to about \$13,130,000,000, but to be deducted from this sum is the American liability of \$4,210,000,000. It was estimated that the expenditures for 1919-20 would be about \$2,365,000,000 and the revenue about \$4,030,000,000.

On Oct. 27 the Cabinet was also reduced in number and reconstructed as follows, the exchange of portfolios of Earl Curzon and A. J. Balfour being the chief items of interest, with the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, still as First Lord of the Treasury:

Lord Privy Seal—Mr. BONAR LAW.
 Lord President of Council—Mr. A. J. BALFOUR.
 Chancellor of Exchequer—Mr. A. CHAMBERLAIN.
 Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—Mr. G. N. BARNES, or Viscount FRENCH.
 Chief Secretary—Mr. MACPHERSON.
 Lord Chancellor—Lord BIRKENHEAD.
 Secretary of State for Home Department—Mr. SHORTT.
 Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—EARL CURZON.
 Secretary of State for Colonies—Viscount MILNER.

Secretary of State for War and Air—
Mr. CHURCHILL.

Secretary of State for India—Mr. MON-
TAGU.

First Lord of Admiralty—Mr. LONG.

Secretary for Scotland—Mr. MUNRO.

President of Board of Trade—Sir AUCK-
LAND GEDDES.

Minister of Health—Dr. ADDISON.

President of Board of Agriculture and
Fisheries—Lord LEE of Fareham.

President of Board of Education—Mr.
FISHER.

Minister of Labor—Sir R. S. HORNE.

Minister of Transport—Sir ERIC
GEDDES.

Viscountess Astor having accepted the invitation of the Unionist Association at Plymouth to stand for the seat in the House of Commons vacated by her husband (son of the late William Waldorf Astor of New York) upon his accession to the Peerage, the bye-election took place on Nov. 15 and it was reported that Viscountess Astor had been seated by a plurality of 5,000 votes.

Great excitement, particularly in the French press, was caused on Nov. 8, when the Prime Minister, speaking at the Lord Mayor's banquet, on which occasion the policy of the Government is usually outlined, referred to the vain attempt to obtain peace in Russia last spring, and added: "I hope the time is not distant when the powers will be able to renew that attempt with better prospects of success." This was qualified two days later by Mr. Bonar Law, the Government leader, who assured the House of Commons that the Government had no intention of opening negotiations with Bolshevik Russia until the House had had an opportunity to discuss the subject.

THE VATICAN

Although women of Italy did not take part in the election for the Twenty-fifth Parliament on Nov. 16, the Catholic Party—Partito Popolare Italiano, or Italian Popular Party—began an educational campaign by sending the leaders of several Catholic women's organizations to the polls for observation and by circulars. This organization was begun by Filippo Meda, ex-Minister of Finance, and a leader of the Catholic aristocracy, which until the removal of the Papal inhibition took no part in the national elections.

The Vatican organ, *Osservatore Romano*, disclaimed any intention of the Vatican to control the Popular Party and stated that it was a free Catholic organization.

These two new political features—woman suffrage and the organization of Catholic women by the Popular Party—brought to an important stage of development the problem of woman in relation to the Church. Some conservative authorities even went so far as to say that she could not vote unless certain religious restrictions had been removed. On the other hand, Pope Benedict XV. received numerous petitions for the removal of these restrictions. The most elaborate document of this nature, from both the point of view of history and of law, was entitled "*Per la Riabilitazione della Donna*," (For the Rehabilitation of Woman,) bearing the imprint of Pastorio of Vicenza.

In the same category was a petition from the priests of the district of Prague, urging that the Pope abolish the law prescribing celibacy for the priesthood as far as it concerned Czechoslovakia. The Papal Archbishop Ikordac excommunicated fifty-one priests there who had taken wives while continuing to exercise the duties of their office.

On Oct. 22 the Pope in answering an address presented to him by the women's union declared:

On the domestic hearth woman is queen. Changed times have given woman functions and rights which she did not possess in former ages, and have enlarged the field of her activities, but no alteration in man's opinion, no novelty of things or events can separate woman, conscious of her high mission, from the family, which is her natural centre.

On Nov. 3 the first Consistory since 1916, when the Archbishops of Rennes, Rouen and Lyons were made Cardinals, was announced for December. It was understood that the Polish Archbishops of Warsaw and Gnesen would receive the *beretto*.

For the first time since Italy entered the war the Pope on Nov. 8 officially received in private audience a representative of the Central Powers. He was Baron Johann von Gebsettel, Secretary of the Bavarian Legation.

Germany Again at Work

First Industrial Nation to Stop Labor Disturbances—War Guilt Investigation

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 18, 1919]

THE outstanding feature of German life in the Autumn of 1919 was the remarkable revival of industry. The German people went to work again in earnest. The renewed signs of prosperity were commented upon at length by several foreign observers, who gave facts and figures in proof of their assertions. The Government, it is true, enforced a complete cessation of passenger traffic on all the railways of the nation for ten days—Nov. 5 to 15—primarily to save coal, though the embargo was also regarded as a masterstroke of Minister of Defense Noske to reduce the risk of a Communist uprising on the first anniversary of the German revolution. The National Assembly Committee for the Investigation of War Responsibility convened in Berlin and dragged a tedious course along from day to day. Hugo Haase, the Independent Socialist leader, died of wounds inflicted by an assassin.

President Ebert's repeated warnings that only by work would it be possible for Germany to restore her shattered commercial and social fabrics began to bear fruit by the middle of September. From all parts of the country dispatches indicated a return to the national sense of order and united effort after the months of political turmoil that followed the signing of the armistice. What was especially noteworthy, in view of the conflict between capital and labor in other countries, was the workingmen's clear perception of the fundamental difficulties of the problem. They began to see that "higher wages alone would not improve living conditions owing to the increased cost of living." Further, the eight-hour day was impossible for European economy, as twenty or thirty million European workmen in their best working years were now producing nothing, owing to the war, and the strain

of the war had decreased the production of others. The only road leading back to normal prosperity was that of increased production through longer working hours.

LONGER WORKING HOURS

The first sign of this realization was manifested by the Württemberg Railway employes in voluntarily deciding to work ten hours more each week to lessen the coal crisis. Coincidentally, it was remarked that the piecework system was again being adopted, and a reaction was setting in against radicalism, whereby the strike fever, spreading over Europe and America, was abating in Germany. From all districts reports presently came to hand of a general speeding up of work, especially in those industries possessing raw materials and not hampered by lack of fuel.

Thus, the beginning of October witnessed the glass industry rapidly overhauling peace time production, with porcelain, optical, musical, and toy manufactures following closely. While the dye industry was reviving more slowly, top speed had been attained in the Solingen steel industries. According to the Frankfurter Zeitung these works were flooded with orders for cutlery of all descriptions, including surgical instruments, from the United States among other foreign countries. Herein the advantage to the foreign buyer was plain. Although prices at Solingen had been raised 300 to 400 per cent., the cost of Solingen steel wares on foreign orders, owing to the depreciation of the mark, was only 8 per cent. above pre-war prices.

The cure of work, and more work, was rapidly overcoming the disease of near-chaos in Germany. The Federal Labor Ministry stated that within six months the number of unemployed in

Germany had been reduced from 1,500,000 to about 500,000. After talking with officials and labor leaders a correspondent thus summed up the reasons for the favorable change:

First, employees have already gained a considerable increase in wages and other privileges all around. Second, they are tired of strikes, seeing their gains in wages swallowed by enforced idleness. One great incentive for strikes formerly was the chance of an extra holiday, but since the eight-hour day was introduced the workmen have so much leisure they actually begin to hate it. Third, the re-awakening of trade with foreign countries, which has already assumed a much larger proportion than is realized outside Germany!

Set against this hopeful view of the industrial situation in Germany there remained the two chief difficulties of shortage of raw materials and coal. The raw material problem was said to have been solved in at least one instance by the characteristically prompt enterprise of a New York merchant. He brought over his own cotton yarn, valued in Germany at 25,000,000 marks, and at once set to work thousands of men and women who made it into stockings and other tricotage.

THE RAILWAY EMBARGO

To relieve the coal stress as applied to the congestion of railroad freight, the Government ordered a suspension of all passenger trains for ten days commencing Nov. 5. In the face of much adverse criticism the Government justified its action by asserting that the lack of locomotives, together with the fact that many railroad centres were threatened with exhaustion of their coal supply, compelled immediate attention to the distribution of food and coal. A New York Times correspondent, on arriving in Berlin just as the order was going into effect, said that one almost welcomed the official ban on travel, since railroad journeys in Germany had become purgatorial. The few trains running during the last month or two had become dangerously packed. He found the food situation in the capital slightly worse than six weeks before, telephoning an almost impossible achievement, hotels so overcrowded that

guests were sleeping in the bathrooms, and the mail service in confusion.

In Berlin the companies controlling the airplane services were beset by persons with urgent business in other parts of the country, but benzine was scarce and few airplanes were available. Most of them were commandeered by the Government for forwarding mails. The passenger Zeppelin Bodensee left for Friedrichshafen with two tons of mail and no passengers. No motor buses were running, and not a taxi could be hired to go beyond the city limits. A few privileged individuals who presented sufficient pleas were permitted to depart on freight trains. The stoppage of passenger traffic produced some curious results. Many concerts were abandoned, since the artists could not reach the city. In the courts accused persons could easily obtain bail without sureties because the chances of flight were infinitesimal. Profiteers were hard hit because they could not bring in their high-priced goods; but prices soared, while the value of the mark fell lower than ever before.

First results of the railroad embargo gave the satisfactory figures of 106,000 freight cars placed at the disposal of the Ruhr coal fields of West Prussia, an increase of fully 20 per cent. over the previous week; and 7,000 cars daily, an increase of 25 per cent., delivered to the Upper Silesian coal fields, more than sufficient to handle the output of those mines. Berlin advices reported, however, a tightening of the food belt within a few days to the extent of 50 per cent. of the potato supply, and a cutting down of the milk ration from a half to a quarter of a liter.

FIXING BLAME FOR WAR

An initial report of the National Assembly's sub-committee for the investigation of war responsibility was cabled on Oct. 21. The first meeting was described as possessing the solemn atmosphere of a judicial court, though there were no accused as yet before its bar, and though its power even to compel the attendance of witnesses was in doubt. Among those present for examination,

however, were several notable figures of the imperial régime, including the former Ambassador to the United States, Count von Bernstorff; ex-Chancellor Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, Dr. Helfferich, and Dr. Zimmermann.

At the second session, Oct. 22, von Bernstorff carried his testimony forward through the peace negotiations with President Wilson to the declaration of unrestricted U-boat warfare in 1917. The witness was reported as exercising greater caution in his answers, sometimes considering more than a minute before responding to questions, and often consulting State papers. Much wrangling took place over the question why definite German peace conditions were never named to President Wilson. While Bernstorff's answers did not clear up this matter, there remained the apparent fact that without such positive knowledge the President was willing to mediate. Von Bernstorff caused a sensation when he professed to have been greatly shocked by his discovery, after the revolution, of a letter from the Kaiser addressed to Herr Zimmermann among papers in the Foreign Office and dated Jan. 16, 1917. This letter read: "His Majesty instructs me to thank you for your communication. His Majesty does not care a bit about President Wilson's offer. If a breach with America cannot be prevented, it cannot be helped. Events are developing."

MILITARY FAILURE FORESEEN

The session of Nov. 5 brought out the surprising disclosure from official archives that the army authorities went on record in 1916 as declaring that land warfare could not win for Germany; that it must be won diplomatically and politically. Dr. Zimmermann represented American Ambassador Gerard as having stated in reply to a question as to what the result of unrestricted U-boat warfare would be in the United States: "I don't know what they want in Washington. You may be right in the action you are taking." The Ambassador, according to Zimmermann, promised to use his influence to keep America neutral, and was again quoted by the witness as

having said: "I shall do my best to avoid further friction."

With reference to the number of U-boats constructed by Germany, the former Minister of Marine, Vice Admiral Eduard von Capelle, stated that "810 submarines were built before and during the war. Of these 45 were constructed before the war, 186 were built during the administration of Admiral von Tirpitz, and 579 were built by me in the two and a half years I was in office."

HINDENBURG AND ROYALISTS

When Field Marshal von Hindenburg arrived in Berlin to testify before the investigating commission he suddenly became the centre of embarrassing attentions on the part of the Pan-Germans. When he tried to enter the Reichstag building on Nov. 14 his automobile was surrounded by students, who blocked his way, crying that he must not degrade himself by appearing before the committee, and mingling shouts for the Kaiser with the singing of "Deutschland über Alles." The former Commander in Chief was finally compelled to order his chauffeur to return home; however, he appeared before the committee four days later.

Hindenburg's presence in Berlin caused a marked upflaring of Junker and reactionary sentiment, which took the form of demonstrations before his door and elsewhere. Through the press he issued a request on the 15th that the public refrain from further manifestations in his honor, as he did not desire to be the cause of any disorder. The Government, while posting sentries of honor before Helfferich's house, where the Field Marshal was staying, took the precaution on Nov. 16 of stringing barbed wire barricades across Wilhelmstrasse and other important thoroughfares to prevent further reactionary demonstrations. It was remarked that while this step had been taken frequently against the Spartacans, it was the first occasion when it had seemed necessary against the monarchists.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg appeared before the committee on Nov. 18

and made important statements in reply to six questions which had been submitted to him in writing. "I know with absolute certainty," he said, "that neither the people, the Kaiser, nor the Government desired war, for the Government knew better than others Germany's tremendously difficult position in a war against the Entente." He added that if there had been united co-operation between the army and the homeland Germany would have won. Internal agitation, he said, had broken the will to victory. He and Ludendorff had been in entire accord throughout the war. Both had favored unrestricted U-boat warfare. "When 1917 came," he continued, "we could no longer permit our gallant soldiers to be bombarded with American ammunition and their wives and children to be starved by the blockade. The U-boat war was the only means to oppose those conditions."

The second of the six questions submitted to Hindenburg asked whether the army leaders knew of the warnings of Under Secretaries Haniel and Albert regarding the probable effects of submarine warfare upon America, and, if so, why they had no longer considered those warnings sound. Herr Haniel's report was read. It had informed the German Government that America, despite its English and French ties, would go to war with Germany if the submarine methods were continued, whereas, if the U-boat activities ceased, it would compel the British blockade to be lifted. Any relaxation of Germany's promises made in 1916 meant war with Germany.

Under Secretary Heinrich F. Albert, formerly Commercial Attaché in the German Embassy at Washington, had made this still more emphatic statement on Nov. 6, 1916:

If Germany can beat England, then war with America will make no difference. But thus far our boats have been unable to sink the large British armed merchantmen. The blockade of England would have to last a long time and be supported loyally, and if Japan can be induced by England to keep its fleet at home America has the possibility of sending its ships to European waters.

America can raise at least several army corps, and strengthening of the Entente forces would result. It would be most

important in economic questions and would energetically support its allies, with no telling what huge loans, under the influence of the enthusiasm in America. Witness the Americans who came to France and created the Lafayette Flying Squadron. That dangerous branch of warfare would be surely vastly strengthened.

America's transportation without doubt would be efficient and capable of increase, and if America feels safe from Japan she will throw all her ammunition to France, not to forget the wonderful American automobile industry, the giant Ford factories, and other machines which would help in winning the war.

Neutrals would side with America. The psychological effect would be felt at once. It would be a national misfortune, and, at the end, Germany would be sure to be defeated.

General Ludendorff's testimony, which followed, included an attack upon von Bernstorff for not having furnished correct information from Washington. Count von Bernstorff said this was renewed proof that the German Embassy at Washington had been unpopular with the naval and military leaders, who would not believe its representations regarding America.

ATTACKS ON NOSKE

During the latter part of September, Minister of Defense Noske was the object of attacks both from within and from without his own party. Ex-Premier Philipp Scheidemann returned from his vacation to denounce Colonel Reinhard as a national danger and Noske as a tool of the military reactionaries. Noske issued a defense of his position in maintaining order, and warned the Allies that if compelled to fulfill that part of the Peace Treaty which enforced a reduction of the German Army to 100,000 he would not have a single intact battalion to confront the most threatening period of reconstruction. That the incident left Noske as securely seated in the saddle as before was indicated by the severe measures he was able to adopt in preventing the general strike set for Nov. 5 in support of the metal workers' walkout. The Berlin headquarters of the Independent Socialists were occupied, a meeting of street railway employes was dissolved, the Executive Council of Workmen's

Delegates dispersed, and the thoroughfares of the city paraded by formidable military patrols.

According to reports reaching the American authorities at Coblenz, the passenger embargo held a master stroke concealed within the ostensible reason of necessary coal distribution. Minister of Defense Noske, it was declared, was determined to eliminate as far as possible the threatened danger of a repetition of the events of the year before, when the revolutionists used trains out of Kiel and other places to travel quickly to places where outbreaks were planned.

DEATH OF HUGO HAASE

Hugo Haase, President of the Independent Socialist Party, died on Nov. 7, at the age of 56, from the effects of shot wounds received from an Austrian, Johann Voss, while entering the Reichstag Building on Oct. 8. Haase was prosecuting Voss on a charge of extortion, and, it was alleged, the assault was committed from personal motives, though a political cause was sought. Haase was about to attack the Government severely, charging it with fostering sinister actions against the radicals through "murder bureaux."

Hugo Haase was one of the most notable figures of the German revolution, and personally a man of high integrity. He served several terms in the Imperial Reichstag, and was President of the German Social Democratic Party. He opposed the war, but served for a time at the front. When the Imperial Government fell in November, 1918,

Haase entered the first Coalition Cabinet, but shortly retired after disagreement with his colleagues. Thereafter he waged a strenuous political fight against the Ebert Government.

While preparations went forward to house the ex-Kaiser in his recently purchased mansion at Doorn, Holland, it was said he had secured several villas in the neighborhood for the large personnel with which he intended to surround himself. The first authentic photographs of the former Emperor and Empress since taking up their residence at Amerongen were obtained in October by a photographer concealed in a hay wagon; one of them, showing the Kaiser's changed appearance, is reproduced in the portrait section of this magazine.

With reference to questions asked in the British Parliament as to what measures had been taken by the Dutch Government to prevent the ex-Kaiser and ex-Crown Prince from leaving Holland, it was stated officially at The Hague on Oct. 29 that no measures had been taken to that end, as these two personages were considered entirely free to leave when they chose to do so. Any measures taken in guarding them, it was added, were only with a view to their personal safety and were paid for by them.

The former Crown Prince continued to reside on Wieringen Island. Frequent visits of important personages between Germany, Amerongen and Wieringen were noted and held to portend renewed activity among the German monarchist parties.

The Most Famous German Prisoner

Field Marshal von Mackensen's Release

THE Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference decided on Nov.

10, 1919, that Field Marshal von Mackensen, one of Germany's most famous Commanders on the Eastern front and the only one of his rank to become a prisoner of the Allies, should be permitted, in view of his advanced years and poor health, to return to Ger-

many from Saloniki, where he had been interned since Oct. 8.

This decision recalled one of the interesting and dramatic episodes of the war. When hostilities ceased in November, 1918, von Mackensen was in command of the German troops in Rumania. Menaced on his line of retreat by French and Serbian divisions on the Danube,

he decided to abandon Rumania and to march back into Germany at the head of his soldiers. With difficulty he made his way through the passes of the Carpathians, through which he had made a triumphal passage a few months before, and came down in good order toward the Hungarian plain. Meanwhile, however, the French General Henrys had signed at Belgrade with Count Karolyi, then Hungarian Premier, an armistice agreement which stipulated that the German Army in Rumania, together with its leader, should be disarmed and interned in Hungary.

Checked in his retreat, von Mackensen sought to attain by strategy what he could not gain by force. First of all, he declared that he could not be responsible if his soldiers, who, being "very undisciplined," (as a matter of fact they were highly disciplined,) refused to obey his orders. When asked to give his word of honor that he would not try to escape, his answers were ambiguous. His army, numbering some 80,000 men, rapidly melted away; the soldiers, profiting by the difficulties in the way of disarming and interning so large a force, departed bag and baggage on their own trains.

Then came news that von Mackensen himself, who was residing at the Château de Foth, the property of Count Karolyi, near Budapest, was preparing for flight. Colonel Vix, who commanded the French Mission at Budapest, on hearing these tidings toward the end of December, at once asked permission from Belgrade to detain him, as the armistice had stipulated, and asked for troops to effect his arrest. From Belgrade General Henrys ordered four squadrons of spahis in the Temesvar to proceed at once to Foth. Soon afterward special trains bore the spahis, under the command of Colonel Guesperau, to their destination. Meanwhile the surveillance of the château, which had been intrusted to Lieutenant Genevrier, was drawn closer; but von Mackensen's baggage had already been sent ahead, while his own departure was fixed at 5 o'clock in the morning. There was not a moment to be lost.

Lieutenant Genevrier left Budapest by automobile Dec. 30 at 10 o'clock in the evening. Arriving at 11, he posted his

agents in the shrubbery around the castle and cut all the telephone wires that connected von Mackensen with his headquarters in Budapest. According to the schedule communicated to him, the spahis were due to reach Budapest at midnight. Through poor railway service they did not arrive until 4 or 5 in the morning. In an hour the two divisions that had reached the Hungarian capital marched to Foth. Meanwhile the long delay had upset all the calculations of Genevrier, who with intense expectation watched all night for the spahis to appear. Hiding under a balcony, Genevrier heard one of von Mackensen's officers attempt to ring up Budapest three times, curse the telephone girl when he received no answer, and strike the telephone—whose wires had been cut—with his fist.

Genevrier's situation became embarrassing and delicate. Fearing that von Mackensen's Hungarian guard might detect his presence and give the alarm to the prisoner, who would at once take flight by motor car, he conceived the bold plan of seeking out that guard himself, allaying their suspicions, and holding them in converse until the arrival of the expected troops. This project met with complete success. Representing himself as a French officer charged with a mission at Vacs, a small town not far from Foth, he explained in very decent German that his automobile had broken down, and asked the guard to send some men to aid his chauffeur—who was in the secret—to find the imaginary trouble. Meanwhile he kept the Hungarian officer diverted and amused by his conversation until about a quarter after 8.

Hearing at last the sound of hoofbeats, for which his strained ears had so long been listening, he rose, smiled to his host, and said: "Lieutenant, I thank you for your hospitality. I am off now. My mission has been fulfilled." "Where are you going?" asked the Hungarian officer. Lieutenant Genevrier opened the door and showed the Hungarian officer the spahis already posted in the park. He then left the astounded officer and went to Colonel Guesperau to report to him that von Mackensen was still in the château.

Guesperau at once demanded to see

the German Field Marshal. Furious, von Mackensen refused to see him. Guespereau insisted. Von Mackensen sent word that he was a prisoner of the Hungarian Government, and that he recognized no other authority. Guespereau still insisted, and refused an offer to speak with one of von Mackensen's officers. "I have orders to see Marshal von Mackensen," he replied inflexibly, "and I will see him, with or without his will." At last von Mackensen gave way. Seated at his table in an apartment on the first floor, he growled surlily when Guespereau appeared on the threshold: "Bonjour, Monsieur!" Guespereau answered him, then immediately withdrew and posted his spahis in an iron ring around the château; a French officer was placed in the room adjoining that of von Mackensen to watch his every movement.

A few days later, on Jan. 6, 1919, a special train bore the German Field Marshal to the château of Count Chotek, (brother of the wife of the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, assassinated at Serajevo in 1914,) in the surroundings of Temesvar. According to the terms of the armistice the Marshal could be interned only on Hungarian territory. Until early in October von Mackensen remained at this place. He was then transferred to Sa'oniki, where he and his officers were installed in a large and comfortable house opposite the French aviation field and overlooking the Aegean Sea. None of the allied officers or troops saluted him when he walked along the streets. Finally, on Nov. 10, the Supreme Council at Paris released him, a disillusioned and broken man of 70, who had ended a brilliant military career ingloriously. [See illustration, Page 443.]

Terrible Privations in Central Europe

By H. N. BRAILSFORD

[CORRESPONDENT OF THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN]

This brief account of one British observer's impressions was written in October, 1919, and covers four months of the Summer and Autumn. The further privations of the Winter were still to come.

THE most convincing accounts of the distress in Central Europe have come from travelers who went out deliberately to report upon it. I, on the other hand, in a sojourn of nearly four months, saw only so much of the misery as forced itself on my notice. After spending two days of my first week in visiting the poorer quarters of Vienna, I confess that I consciously fled from any further evidence of the efficacy of our blockade. The political and intellectual consequences of war and famine were for me absorbingly interesting, and in sheer cowardice I turned away my eyes from the unbearable physical misery which I should have witnessed if I had continued those first visits to soup kitchens, working-class schools, and hospitals.

One might flee from these sights, but none the less they lay in wait daily, almost hourly, for any traveler with eyes

and ears. What impressed me most was not the misery of those who had gone under, but the signs of poverty and decayed vitality among people who normally are comfortable. I frequented in Vienna a pleasant but rather cheap and homely restaurant near several big Government offices. Many of its habitués were Foreign Office clerks. After two or three visits the atmosphere began to depress me. I was almost the only guest who sat alone; the others were all in groups of two or three. And yet the room was nearly silent, and no one stayed very long. One day I was so impressed that I had the curiosity to watch narrowly for an hour. I was literally the only guest who took more than one dish, and during that hour I neither heard a ripple of laughter in a big full room nor saw a smile. This was among middle-class people, mostly young, in

what used to be the gayest city of the Continent. I read next day a documented article in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* on "The Misery of the Intellectual Proletariat." The plain fact was that these officials were all of them half-starved, and literally so poor that they could not afford to buy a bare sufficiency of food.

A similar impression came to me one day in Lodz. I was taken to see a model school, with a kindergarten, subsidized by the wife of a multi-millionaire mill-owner. The children were those of foremen, engineers, and managers. My guide took me to it as one of the few happy and creditable sights in that starving and workless town. The children, who were washed in the school, were spotlessly clean (only the well-to-do can be clean where soap is almost unobtainable), and many of them were pretty. They sang for me, but I noticed that after the first few bars most of them fell silent. It was an action song. Healthy children make vigorous movements, and usually overdo them. These children, with the wan, pinched faces, and the voices that died away to a whisper, faintly agitated their hands in the symbol or reminiscence of a movement. Hunger and fatigue had taught them to economize energy.

Every one knows by now that the working classes in Vienna are three-quarters starved, and would have starved completely but for the admirable organization of soup kitchens by that most humane and kindly city. There was much more food in Warsaw and Lodz when I was there, but also there was much less efficient relief. The glimpse that I had in two days of two industrial towns in Saxony suggested that they were only a little less poverty-stricken than Vienna. What few seem to realize, however, is that the rural districts are also in acute distress. In the Polish countryside, for example, there was a sufficiency of bread and potatoes, but even when the peasants owned a cow or a pig their children never tasted milk or bacon. The reason was obvious when I discovered that the average money wage of an adult laborer for a whole year would just have sufficed, at the prices then ruling, to buy two coarse shirts or one pair of rough

boots. The children in these villages, even in cold weather, were only half clothed, and the bedding in most of the cottages consisted largely of sacking.

Vienna was a nightmare. It was pitiable to see the swarms of half-naked children who waited outside the city for the trains coming from Hungary (at that time Hungary had food), and ran beside them along the line for hundreds of yards, crying "Bitte, ein Stück Brod." Nor shall I ever forget the sight of women during a Communist riot, gathering actually under rifle-fire, the coal from an overturned cart, while others cut a policeman's horse, that had been shot, into butcher's meat in the middle of the Ring.

But Vienna was not the worst. The eastern border zone of Poland, which the Cossacks burned and devastated as they retreated in 1915, was in the grip of literal famine.

Almost every shop in Pinsk was closed when I was there in March; there was nothing to sell. I went into the one co-operative store which remained open out of five, to discover what stock it had. It was selling salt, and absolutely nothing else. For days the orphanage and the almshouse had been without bread or fuel. When I pointed to the distant woods and asked why no one fetched fuel from them, the answer came that the horses had all been eaten up, and the two or three still left were too weak to walk. Most of the poorer families were living on potatoes, carrots, or chestnuts. Typhus was raging in the town, and still more severely in the villages. It was no uncommon thing for the poor to fall dead in the street from mere exhaustion as they staggered round to beg; I saw two such cases myself in one morning.

The villages were in worse case than the towns, and peasants, in groups of ten or twenty, would journey a hundred miles and back to buy flour. That is no guess estimate. I met such a party myself. The worst part of the case was that only a limited use could be made of the dilapidated railway to pour in supplies, for all its rolling stock was needed for the insensate war against the Bolsheviks.

Desperate Conditions in Austria

Personnel of the New Cabinet

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 18, 1919]

THE makeup of the reorganized Austrian Cabinet, the acceptance of which by the National Assembly was noted in a Vienna cablegram of Oct. 17, was given as follows by the Neue Freie Presse:

Chancellor and Foreign Minister—Dr. KARL RENNER.

Vice Chancellor—JODOK FINK.

Secretary of the Interior—MATTHIAS ELDERSCH.

Minister of Justice—Dr. RUDOLF RAMEK.

Secretary of Military Affairs—Dr. JULIUS DEUTSCH.

Minister of Finance—Dr. RICHARD REISCH.

Secretary of Agriculture—JOSEF STOCKLER.

Secretary of Commerce—JOHANN ZERDIK.

Secretary of Transportation—LUDWIG PAUL.

Secretary for Social Administration—FERDINAND HANUSCH.

Secretary of Food Supplies—Dr. JOHANN LOEWENFELD-RUSS.

Secretary for Constitutional and Administrative Reforms—Prof. Dr. MICHAEL MAYR.

Under Secretary of Education—OTTO GLOCKEL.

Under Secretary for Cults—WILHELM MIKLAS.

Under Secretary for Justice—Dr. ARNOLD EISLER.

Under Secretary for Military Affairs—Dr. ERWIN WAISS.

Under Secretary for Social Administration—JOSEF RESCH.

Under Secretary of Commerce—Dr. WILHELM ELLENBOGEN.

Under Secretary for Health—Dr. JULIUS TANDLER.

By the end of October all reports from Austria pronounced the situation well-nigh desperate. It threatened the existence of the Government. The former Austrian Empire, now confined within the narrow boundaries of one of its shorn provinces, was dependent for food and coal upon none too friendly neighboring countries, and drifted helplessly toward bankruptcy. The war appeared to have shattered Austria beyond repair.

"Vienna is a changed city," wrote a correspondent from that capital. "The

outer shell remains as beautiful as ever, the Stefansturm still raises its proud head as heretofore, the palaces still gleam in the sunshine, the Danube is still blue; but the old gayety is gone, the Ringstrasse lacks its old-time animation, the children seem to have forgotten how to laugh and play, and poverty and want haunt the streets. Demobilized soldiers in rags tramp the thoroughfares, pictures of misery, begging as they go." The correspondent added that there remained practically no coal, and quoted food prices as having reached staggering figures. With Bolshevism fostered by the distress and unrest among the masses, those still hoping for a rehabilitation of the country could see no other means but a union with Germany, a step banned by Versailles.

Meantime, the Government proceeded from one temporary or dubious expedient to another in attempts to pacify the discontented. On Sept. 13 an order was issued expelling 130,000 war refugees, mostly Galician Jews. These unfortunate people were unable to return to their devastated homes. On the same date the Government refused to accede to Hungary's demand for the extradition of Bela Kun, the former Communist dictator of Budapest. A message of the 29th stated that the famous Skoda arms and munition works had been nationalized, and a new council of six Czechs and three Frenchmen had been named to conduct the factory.

The fiscal year which ended Oct. 1 disclosed that the Government had spent 8,441,000,000 kronen, while its total income was 3,444,000,000. The deficit was met by printing paper money, so that the krone sold for 1 cent American money, though normally worth 20 cents. Driven by the prospect of widespread starvation in the capital during the coming Winter, the City Council passed

a resolution on Oct. 17 appealing to America for assistance. Further urgent appeals were dispatched by Dr. Adolph Lorenz, the famous surgeon, and Mrs. Albert Halstead, wife of the American Commissioner. Mrs. Halstead wrote on Nov. 14 that 2,500,000 persons were in sore straits, and that death from cold faced the children unless warm clothing was provided. On Oct. 25 the announcement was made that Dr. Giest, organizer of the American work for children's relief in Vienna, had been appointed food dictator for the Winter months. Over a million inhabitants of Vienna would thus come under his care. By Nov. 12 conditions had become so much worse that deaths of new-born infants and their mothers, from too low a temperature even in the hospitals, had become distressing.

The Government was rumored to be contemplating the desperate experiment of a dissolution of the Austrian Republic, whereupon each constituent province would proclaim its union with Germany. It was said the People's Guards, as the new Austrian Army was termed, would support the upheaval, since the various

allied commissions, except those engaged in purely charitable work, had done nothing but draft reports and waste public funds, which irritated the Viennese in the face of onswEEPing bankruptcy and beggary. At celebrations of the anniversary of the founding of the Austrian Republic at Vienna on Oct. 14 gloomy speeches predicting a collapse were delivered. The Burgomaster of Gratz declared "German-Austrian workmen will never abate their demand for union with Germany." Two merchants of Vienna, J. Henry Kuhn and John L. Geggenhofer, who had arrived in New York with passports numbered one and two, confirmed, on Nov. 16, the serious conditions in Austria as due mainly to lack of coal, food, and raw materials. Mr. Kuhn said the Hungarians had spent millions of crowns in vain propaganda to "bolshevise" the Austrian farmers and workmen. He added that since the regions of Austria's former food supply were now cut off, and her farmers could produce only enough for three months' consumption, the majority of his countrymen would like Austria to become an American province.

Poland's War With the Bolsheviks

Protests Against Treaty Articles

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 15, 1919]

IN a long statement before the Polish Diet on Nov. 13 M. Paderewski, discussing the war against the Bolsheviks, said that Poland's sacrifices had been heavy, but that the effort was indispensable for the security of the present and future generations. It was impossible, he declared, to make peace with the Bolsheviks. He was loudly acclaimed when he thanked the countries which had assured Poland's independence—France, England, Italy, the United States and Japan—and paid tribute to the patriotic spirit of the Poles in America for the aid which they had sent the new republic.

Important manifestations occurred shortly before Oct. 8 at Lemberg in

favor of the absolute reunion of all Eastern Galicia to Poland, and against the establishment of any Provisional Government of any kind. The division of Galicia into east and west, it was declared by prominent Poles at this time, was purely artificial, devised by the Austrian Government to foster antagonism between the Poles and the Ruthenians. Ruined financially and economically, Eastern Galicia could not exist independently, and must be annexed to a neighboring State. But annexation to any other State but Poland, it was alleged, would mean the strengthening of German influence and the weakening of Poland, which was Germany's main aim.

Municipal elections in Upper Silesia on Nov. 12 were watched with keen interest because of their bearing on the coming plebiscite. The returns indicated that the Poles had obtained 75 per cent. of the votes cast. The Pan-German organ of Upper Silesia, the *Kastowitz Zeitung*, declared: "Upper Silesia is lost to us." Polish organs held that a plebiscite was now unnecessary. On Nov. 13, however, the Supreme Council, after discussing these elections, drew up a note advising Germany to disregard them and to carry out the original plan of a plebiscite.

The main provisions of the arrangement concluded between Germany and Poland for the exchange of prisoners taken in connection with the insurrection in Galicia were as follows:

All prisoners taken by the Germans as a result of the revolt in Upper Silesia are to be released, and all sentences passed on such persons to be annulled. The Poles are to set free all German prisoners of war. Further, nobody is to be punished for military, political, or national action within the territories assigned to Poland or in those districts in which a plebiscite is to be held, when such action took place before the present agreement became binding. Persons released under this agreement are to be at liberty to return to the place where they formerly lived, and will not there be subject to any restrictions. The appointment of a joint commission to superintend the carrying into effect of the agreement is also provided for.

In an open letter addressed to the allied nations by leading citizens in Poland, a detailed statement of wrongs done Poland under the peace settlement and by hostile foreign opinion, especially in regard to the charges of Jewish massacres, was made for the world's judgment. This letter, which reflects Polish public opinion and is a review of Poland's whole case, protests against the loss of Danzig, the taking of a plebiscite in purely Polish districts, or in districts like Upper Silesia, where the majority element was Polish; the internationalization of the Vistula, which irrigates almost half of the territory of the Polish State; the atrocities of Galician Ukrainians against Polish nationals, and the widely advertised charge that Poland has tolerated Jewish massacres. The thirty-

four Jewish people killed at Lemberg, the letter states, were, according to verified reports, caught shooting at the Polish troops. Other stories of Jewish pogroms in Poland were invented by the Germans and other enemies of Poland. The statement concludes with an expression of deep gratitude to the allied nations for all that they have done for Poland, and an appeal to their good faith in repudiating false information circulated by Poland's worst enemies—Jews, Ukrainians, Germans, Bolsheviki, and others.

Prince Casimir Lubomirski, first diplomatic envoy from the new republic to the United States, arrived in New York on Oct. 10 with his family and legation staff. Discussing affairs in Poland, he said:

Food conditions are better in Poland, but we need wheat and raw materials, especially cotton and wool, so that the idle men can be put to work. It is also of vital importance that the Entente Allies send a strong neutral force into the countries where the people are to vote on which nation they shall be joined to, so that the vote shall be fairly conducted without pressure from the German element.

In Upper Silesia 75 per cent. of the people are unskilled and uneducated Polish workmen who are powerless to assert their rights because the land owners, mine owners, Magistrates, school teachers, and owners of all factories and industries are Germans. If a man were known to vote against them he and his family would be turned out of their home. Each day of delay in the ratification of the Peace Treaty by America is a day lost to the interests of Poland in these territories, and a day's gain by Germany.

When I left Poland the Constitution was being drawn up. When it is completed a *Freemant* will be elected and a government formed on a stable basis. I do not understand why any one should believe that the Jewish population, which forms about 11 per cent. of the total, will not have equal rights and liberties with the Polish people.

The Allies should establish a strong line through neutral territory from the Baltic to the Black Sea to keep out the Bolsheviki. We have about six millions of Poles in that country between the Rivers Dniester and Dvina, and have an army there to fight the Bolsheviki and assist the Allies. My sister hid in swamps and forests fourteen months after being driven from her home by the Bolsheviki, and her three sons were captured and have not been heard of since.

Germans in the Baltic States

How von der Goltz and Bermondts Gained a Foothold in Russia, and How They Were Driven Back

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 20, 1919]

THE attack upon Riga by the pro-German Russian commander, Colonel Avalov-Bermondts, on Oct. 8, and the establishment by him of a dictatorship at Mitau on behalf of a "General Russian Government," gave rise to a mass of comment in the foreign press concerning the origins of the movement initiated by him in Latvia and the manner in which the roots of the German military power, of which Avalov-Bermondts's force is said to be but a ramification, were implanted in the Baltic territory.

From the confused mass of comment and explanation certain things are clear. The formation of General von der Goltz's "Iron Division," which participated with Avalov-Bermondts in the assault on Riga, was practically the creation of a German official named Winnig, a Social Democratic Army Commissioner representing the Berlin Revolutionary Government, who was sent to the Baltic soon after the armistice to reorganize the German Eighth Army, which was already breaking up in confusion. The commander of this army, von Kalthen, was persuaded by Winnig to form a complete division of 6,000 men to fight the Bolsheviks. For this venture, however, only 600 volunteered. Appeals made by Winnig to the Prussian War Minister for reinforcements in the Baltic proved vain. Winnig then induced the Lettish Government, by working on its fears of the Bolshevik peril, to issue a charter conferring Lettish citizenship and full political rights on every German soldier who agreed to fight for a month on the Letts' behalf against the Bolsheviks. This charter occupies a very important position in the present developments in the Baltic. [For the text of this charter, see the November CURRENT HISTORY, Page 304.]

Five days after this document was signed, on Feb. 3, 1919, the Bolsheviks

occupied Riga. Armed with his charter, Winnig returned to Berlin and opened recruiting offices there while the German revolution was in full blast. His agents—though Winnig now asserts without his authority—told all prospective recruits that not only would they receive from the Lettish Government full rights of citizenship, as provided in the charter, but also inalienable grants of land for homestead construction, of which the charter made no mention. The rebellious soldiers in the army under von der Goltz subsequently based their refusal to evacuate Courland on these promises, which were not fulfilled.

ARMY UNDER VON DER GOLTZ

Winnig's volunteers soon mounted up into the hundreds, and were sent off in large batches to Courland, where they were put under command of General von der Goltz, who had just come from Finland. At the end of January he found himself at the head of a small but ever-growing army, which was receiving, as it has received ever since, all the supplies it needed direct from Germany. Winnig was promoted to the post of "Imperial Army Commissioner for the East" and left the further development of the Baltic Province forces to others. He subsequently became Governor of East Prussia, in succession to the former Food Dictator, von Botocki.

After Winnig's departure, this Baltic army grew rapidly in size, and was splendidly armed and equipped. It was openly stated in Vorwärts, one of the pro-Government organs of Berlin, that the maintenance of von der Goltz's army was costing the Government 800,000 marks a day. After the armistice the allied Governments themselves asked von der Goltz to remain with his troops in the occupied territory for the sake of stabilizing the conditions there. Subse-

quently, after reports of their high-handed and arbitrary actions in connection with the Letts, whom they attacked, reached the Entente's ears, Germany was summoned to withdraw these troops. Ostensibly Germany endeavored to do this, but von der Goltz professed powerlessness to enforce evacuation, on the score of the promises of land grants previously made, and remained for many weeks with his forces in the occupied territory, despite the demands of the Entente and of his own Government. Many of the German soldiers, especially Bavarians, joined the pro-German Russian formations of Colonel Avalov-Bermond, thus escaping from German jurisdiction. Meanwhile both the pay of von der Goltz's soldiers and full food supplies for his combined forces continued to arrive from Germany until the Entente menace of a renewal of the blockade brought Berlin to a realization of the seriousness of the situation created by the rebellious German Baltic troops.

GERMANY'S APPEAL

Following the receipt of the first ultimatum, sent by the Paris Supreme Council on Sept. 28 (the text of which was printed on Page 304 of *CURRENT HISTORY* for November), the German Government made public on Oct. 3, through the Wolff Telegraph Bureau, the following appeal to the troops of General von der Goltz:

Soldiers! You have read the last note of the Entente in respect to the evacuation of the Baltic States. The Entente threatens us with the resumption of the blockade, with the stoppage of credits, and with the refusal of the supply of raw materials. The Entente military authorities insist on a further advance into German territory, including the occupation of Frankfurt.

The Government appeals for the last time to the conscience and patriotism of the German soldiers in the Baltic States. The Government has never denied that the German soldiers have been recruited under conditions which were not kept. We have not failed to explain to the Entente that for this reason unrest and indignation prevail among the German soldiers in the Baltic Provinces. But now a great deal is at stake. The nation will starve and national property will be lost if the German troops do not evacuate the Baltic States during this month. Those who do not want to be guilty of contributing to the ruin of their own nation

must bow before the stern necessity of the situation, and obey the order of the Government to evacuate the Baltic States.

The Government, in the interests of Germany, must not leave any doubt that it has used all the means at its disposal to enforce the evacuation. But it hopes that this appeal will suffice to convince the German soldiers that this is a case in which the interest of the whole nation is involved. Our opponents have raised the blockade, and it is for you to secure that this weapon of warfare which wrought more deadly havoc among our ranks than any other shall not be used again. Obey the order for evacuation.

The National Chancellor: BAUER.

The National Government: BELL, Dr.

DAVID, ERZBERGER, GIESBERTS,

Dr. MAYER, MUELLER, NOSKE,

SCHLICK, SCHMIDT.

Berlin, Oct. 3, 1919.

REPLY TO ENTENTE NOTE

The next day the following note was handed to General Nudant, the head of the Interallied Mission in Berlin, for transmission to the Supreme Council:

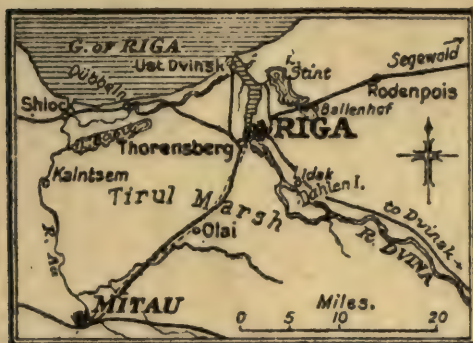
In answer to the note of Sept. 28, the German Government attaches the greatest importance to demonstrating the fact that it has been continually making the most energetic efforts to withdraw the troops from the Baltic district and Lithuania.

For that purpose it ordered, among other things, on Sept. 25, that such detachments of troops as might not obey the order to withdraw would be deprived of their pay, as well as of any claim to supplies in the future. And in order to prevent any possible sending of reinforcements the German frontier bordering on Courland was closed, and an order was given to fire upon the troops who might try to cross that line. Any dispatch of munitions was also strictly forbidden. General Count von der Goltz has been recalled from the east. In his place, until the complete execution of the return of the troops, General von Eberhardt has taken over the command of all the troops east of the German border. Finally, the German Government issued an appeal to the troops reminding them of their duty and impressively pointing out to them what incalculable dangers and sufferings they are bringing upon the heads of their fellow-nationals if they continue their disobedience.

All these measures should have protected the German Government, even in the judgment of the allied and associated Governments, from the unjustified reproach of employing the insubordination of the German troops as a pretext for letting its obligations as to the evacuation of the former Russian territory go

unfulfilled. The allied and associated Governments are sufficiently informed regarding the condition created in Germany by the Peace Treaty to be bound to admit that the German Government has no further military means of compulsion at its command.

So far as the entry of German troops into Russian formations is concerned, the German Government is decidedly opposed



REGION BETWEEN MITAU AND RIGA.
WHERE GERMANS ARE ATTEMPTING
TO RETAIN HOLD ON BALTIC STATES

to such action. And it has repeatedly made its opinion known to those concerned in no uncertain terms. It has never granted permission for such entries. The German Government has the firm desire to do all in its power to fulfill the obligation of evacuation. On the other hand, it is obliged to make a very sharp protest against the fact that the note of Marshal Foch contains threats regarding measures of compulsion calculated to cut off Germany's imports of foodstuffs through a renewal of the blockade. The allied and associated Governments can hardly have forgotten that it was the hunger blockade that was responsible, not only for the death of hundreds of thousands of women, children, and ill persons, but also, through the weakening of the ability to work because of chronic undernourishment, for no small part of the manifestations of disintegration under which Germany suffers so greatly at present. The German Government voices, rather, the confident expectation that the allied and associated Governments will recognize its good-will and therefore will refrain from using inhuman war measures against the German civilian population, which surely is not responsible for the conduct of the troops in the east.

But in order to give an opportunity to the allied and associated Governments to convince themselves of the extreme earnestness of its conduct the German Gov-

ernment asks them to enter into a consultation with it on the necessary measures. For this purpose it proposes the immediate formation of a commission made up of German representatives on the one side and representatives of the allied and associated Governments on the other. It is the opinion of the German Government that this commission, after an examination of the situation, should have the task of working out measures and seeing to it that they are put into effect. The German Government begs that a commission about this matter be sent to it at once.

BISCHOFF'S PROCLAMATION

How little effect the German Government's appeal to its soldiers in the Baltic region had upon General von der Goltz's subordinates was indicated in the following proclamation by Major Bischoff, commander of the "Iron Division," made public in Mitau on Oct. 5:

Soldiers of the Iron Division!

The Entente has threatened the German Government with a renewal of the blockade of Germany if you do not evacuate Latvia. The Government calls to you, "Lay down your arms," as in November, 1918. Just as you were then deceived, so you are again being deceived.

In April you raised your voices before me against the shameful and annihilating peace. But it is only now that you see for the first time that the peace is intended to destroy the German people, not only economically and politically, but also physically. This peace treaty has a thousand paragraphs, and not one of them is capable of being carried out! Not a single one! Just as it today seizes upon Paragraph 202, tomorrow the Entente will seize upon another as a pretext to throttle the German people. Therefore, this threat of the Entente must not be allowed to frighten us, either. Compliance by us would not help our homeland, anyway. In a few days the same game would be begun again. Everything said by the Entente is a lie. The only time it does not lie is when it openly declares that it is striving to extirpate the German people with every means, even the most immoral.

In April the American Military Mission here in Mitau made it clear to me that the Iron Division ought to take Riga. At that time peace was established, even though not yet ratified. I ask the whole world, so far as it in general still possesses a spark of morality not suffocated by lies, whether, then, the Entente still has a right to use Paragraph 202 of the Peace Treaty against us. Nevertheless, it does so. So we wish to deprive it of the formal right to apply force to our Government and our home on our account.

We want to put the land that we, and we alone, conquered, under the Russian flag. We want to help the Russians liberate their home from the scourge of humanity. You know that I am German and that I shall remain German to the last drop of my blood, so you will believe me when I say that you can follow me in this course without hesitation, and that I wish to work for Germany here, too, while helping our friends.

Side by side with the corps of Count Keller we wish to defend our rights, and, if it must be so, to win them again by fighting. If the Entente hinders us in doing this, too, it is merely looking for an excuse to strike the German people. So stand fast, soldiers of the Iron Division! And if the Englishman incites Letts and Estonians against us, then we will show that we are worthy of our name.

BISCHOFF,

Commander of the Iron Division.

On learning of this proclamation, Gustav Noske, German Minister of Defense, told the National Assembly on Oct. 7 that Major Bischoff would be court-martialed for having defied the Government.

ALLIED ULTIMATUM

As there was no indication that the German forces in the Baltic region had taken the Government's appeal seriously, and as, in the meantime, the German-Russian troops of Colonel Avalov-Bermond, including the Iron Division, began an assault upon Riga, the Supreme Council, after a week's deliberation, dispatched the following note to Berlin:

The allied and associated Governments have noted the intention formally expressed by the German Government in its note of Oct. 3 to undertake and to continue in the most energetic manner the withdrawal of its troops from the Baltic and Lithuanian regions. They also appreciate the nature of the measures taken to this effect by the German Government. When, however, the German Government affirms that the measures taken by it must absolve it from the accusation of having neglected to fulfill its obligations in honor bound, as fixed by the armistice clauses, it must be pointed out that, notwithstanding the repeated requests and remonstrances of the allied and associated Governments, the orders of the German Government were so long deferred that the said Government now declares that it is practically impossible for it to cause them to be carried out.

It is difficult not to believe that this delay was deliberately arranged to give the

results which the German Government now affects to deplore. It would appear to be really impossible to explain in any other manner its refusal to recall General von der Goltz, who was its official agent in the matter of creating the present situation—a situation characterized by overt resistance to the legitimate behests of the allied and associated Governments. Why was the recall of the General refused, although asked for three times? Having been called to Berlin not more than a day or two ago, why was he purposely sent back to his theatre of operations if not to complete (thanks to the authority of his official command) that organization which now allows the German Government to plead that the troops which have hitherto been paid, clothed, and transported by that Government, have now freed themselves from its authority?

Has General von der Goltz acted contrary to his instructions? If so, why was not his insubordination punished either by formal dismissal or by some other means? Unless the German Government furnishes more satisfactory explanations regarding this question than it has hitherto done, the allied and associated Governments will be unable to admit that the German Government has, in accordance with its affirmation, done all in its power to withdraw the German troops from the Baltic States. It has, moreover, transpired, from the latest news received from Latvia, that the situation has suddenly changed for the worse owing to the offensive undertaken by the Germans on Oct. 8, when they violated the German-Lettish zone, bombarded the Lettish positions with armored trains, airplanes, and asphyxiating (gas) shells, threatened the town of Riga, and brought about the formation in Courland of a German-Russian Government opposed to the established local Government.

In view of this state of affairs, the allied and associated Governments uphold the principle of the German Government's entire responsibility regarding the carrying out of the evacuation and intend to maintain, in their entirety, all the coercive measures announced by their telegram of Sept. 27, so long as the evacuation shall not have been finally undertaken and carried through with all desirable speed.

With the object, however, of assisting the execution of this operation and of assisting the German Government, the allied and associated Governments agree to send out allied representatives whose mission shall be: (a) To take cognizance of the measures decided on by the German Government for the purpose of regulating the conditions of evacuation, as also to suggest to it such measures as they may consider to be necessary. (b)

To exercise on the spot and with entire liberty of action an effective control over the execution of such measures. A general officer appointed by the allied and associated Governments will preside over the allied commission.

The suspension of the measures referred to in the telegram of Sept. 27 cannot be considered before such a general officer shall have informed the Supreme Council of the allied and associated Governments that the evacuation operations are proceeding normally. The German Government is requested to make its reply known as soon as possible. It is informed that the allied and associated Governments hold it responsible for any act of hostility against their representatives in the Baltic Provinces on the part of German troops.

GERMANY'S REPLY

The German Government's reply to this uncompromising communication was received by the representative of Marshal Foch on Oct. 16. It read as follows:

The allied and associated Governments for the first time on June 18 requested the German Government to evacuate the Baltic Provinces and Lithuania, while in May they had demanded, and, in spite of the German protest, insisted that the German troops should not be withdrawn from these regions.

The German Government has since done all in its power to carry out the withdrawal of the troops and to overcome the opposition of the troops who have been promised Lettish citizenship by the Lettish Government.

The German Government has withheld pay, food, and other supplies from the subordinate troops, and, further, has taken all necessary measures to prevent any munitions or reinforcements crossing the German frontier to the troops.

The German Government has not declined to recall Count von der Goltz, but only pointed out that this was a matter which concerned German internal affairs. As a matter of fact, Count von der Goltz was recalled, and it was only after a mutiny had broken out in the Iron Division soon after his departure that he decided to return to Mitau on his own responsibility. His return temporarily was tolerated by the German Government only because von der Goltz appeared to have sufficient authority with the mutinous troops to make them obey the Government's withdrawal order. He actually succeeded in inducing some of the troops to obey the order. But as his further endeavors were a failure, he was definitely recalled and ordered to come to Berlin.

Meanwhile General von Eberhardt took over the command as his successor.

The German Government has not recognized any new Government in the Baltic regions nor has it had any relations with such. It has strictly forbidden German soldiers to enlist in Russian formations, and broke up all connection with those who did so. There is not a single soldier among the Russian troops in the Baltic Provinces over whom the German Government has any power of command. In General Avalov-Bermond's recent offensive no troops under German command participated.

General Avalov-Bermond's political and military designs are not in any way approved by the German Government.

Germany has no warlike designs whatever either against the Lettish or Russian peoples.

The German Government takes note that the allied and associated Governments intend to send an interallied mission to the Baltic States, and requests that this mission may be dispatched as soon as possible, and that it may make a brief stay at Berlin for an interview with the German authorities there.

The mission will, on its own judgment, surely come to the conviction that the reproaches made against the German Government are not justified.

BERMOND'T THANKS GERMANS

Meanwhile Colonel Avalov-Bermond't, after establishing himself firmly in Mitau, announced his intention of restoring order in the parts of Western Russia freed of Bolshevism in the name of Great Russia. On Oct. 7 he transmitted to the German representative at Mitau the following note, embodying high tribute to the services of the German troops against the Bolsheviks:

To the National German Government:

Supported by the Central Council for West Russia, organized Oct. 7, I have, in the name of Great Russia, taken over the task of restoring legal authority and discipline in the parts of West Russia freed of Bolshevism.

As the representative of the executive power of the Russian State, I do not wish to overlook this opportunity to express Russia's thanks to the National German Government for the memorable services performed by the German troops in saving the Russian border provinces from Bolshevism. Following the withdrawal of the German troops I shall take over the protection of the territory occupied by my troops. I shall give special attention to insuring the transportation from here of the German troops.

I have every confidence that, in the

work of crushing Bolshevism and its widespread disintegrating influence in the Russian State, I shall find in all nations the comprehension necessary to wipe out this menace to the world and to insure peace and development in freedom to all states.

AVALOV-BERMONDT, Colonel.

Senator PAHLEN, President of the Central Council for West Russia.

LETTS DRIVE BACK INVADERS

Bermond's projects, however, built on the possession of a military base, were embarrassed by the Letts' obstinate resistance at Riga, their refusal to accept an armistice, and the receipt of a wireless ultimatum from the British naval commander at Libau to evacuate Thorenberg, the village west of Riga where he had established himself. In reply he said that, after successfully safeguarding a strategic base for an offensive against the Bolsheviks, he had offered the Letts an armistice on Oct. 10, and requested support for its acceptance to avoid further bloodshed. Premier Ullman, however, head of the Lettish Government, complained on Oct. 22 that German troops in regular regimental formation were being allowed to cross the frontier and participate in hostilities against the Lettish Army. Major Bischoff, he assert-

ed categorically, was in charge of the offensive against Riga.

At this time the Letts were resisting the German attacks successfully. Up to Oct. 27 the Germans had not succeeded in crossing the Dvina, and held only two out of the ten districts of Courland. An attack on the northern defenses of Riga was repulsed on Nov. 8, and the Letts, advancing under cover of a bombardment, drove the troops of Bermond from the immediate suburbs of Riga. In an offensive which continued four days the Lettish troops pushed back these forces several miles along the entire line, freeing Riga completely from the menace of the invading forces.

Shortly afterward (Nov. 15) it was reported by the Lokal-Anzeiger's Königsberg (East Prussia) correspondent that Avalov-Bermond's troops were retiring on Mitau, and that his so-called Western Central Council and headquarters staff were preparing to evacuate Mitau and retire to Shavle. The Lettish troops were encircling Mitau. On Nov. 19 it was announced semi-officially at Berlin that General von Eberhardt, in Mitau, was arranging for the immediate return of the troops from the Baltic States to Germany by rail.

The Red Terror in Kiev

One of the Blackest Chapters in Bolshevik History—Seven Months of Rule by Murder and Torture

WHEN one of General Denikin's armies drove the Bolshevik forces from Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, in the first days of September, 1919, the world learned for the first time of the horrors which the inhabitants had suffered under a small group of murderous Red leaders. The Bolsheviks had regained control of Kiev in January, and had terrorized the whole population for about 200 days. On every one of those 200 days of Bolshevik occupation there were executions under the orders of the Chresvechayna

(commissions for combating the counter-revolution). When a London Times correspondent reached the city by airplane from Warsaw on Sept. 17 he found it a place of horrors.

"I do not know," he wrote, "of any other town in which the Bolsheviks have left such ghastly traces of their fiendish work as they have here. No one knows how many persons perished, but reckoning by the number of bodies which have been found (buried or unburied), there must have been at least 2,000 victims. The anatomical theatre of the university

was used as a mortuary for the executed dead, and the volunteer army when they entered the city found about 200 corpses lying there in a state of horrible putrefaction. In a room in a private house 140 more were found, locked up and left to rot.

"Even today, a fortnight after the delivery, a terrible odor, which chloride only partially stifles, invades one's nostrils continually in certain parts of the town. Among the 'sights' of Kiev are the houses where the two Chresvechaynas, the one for Kiev, the other for the Ukraine, held their sittings and tortured their victims, either to wring information from them or, as it appears in many cases, simply from a fiendish pleasure in human suffering.

"The Kiev Chresvechayna, which was accounted the most cruel, sat in a house in the street of Sadovaia, a gloomy by-road, darkened by the thick foliage of horse chestnut trees. Behind it is a small garden, in which is a shallow pit not five feet deep. From this were taken the bodies of 124 persons, who were murdered a few days before Kiev was captured—one night's work. Many of the bodies were mutilated by having pieces of skin in the shape of epaulets cut from their shoulders and strips from the thighs in imitation of the stripes on an officer's trousers.

"At one side of the garden is a garage or coachhouse. This was used as the place of execution. The walls are pitted with revolver bullets and splashed with red stains; the floor is still glutinous; the smell makes one turn away sickened after a very short inspection. An English governess, Miss Billingsley, who lives in this street, has told me of the awful shrieks which could be heard coming from this house night after night. The house itself is littered with an almost comic collection of objects, apparently looted by members of the committee from private houses. There are furniture of all kinds, clocks, toys, a bird cage, photographs, gramophones, books, heaped together anyhow. The first volume picked at hazard from a big pile proved to be a Tauchnitz copy of Mark Twain's 'The Innocents Abroad.'

"The house of the Ukraine Committee has a similar slaughterhouse, also a garage. This is, if anything, worse than the other. There is an inspection pit, which was used as a drain; from it there comes up the horrible reek of blood. A common chopping block beside it is soaked in it. An old bayonet lies on the floor near by. Twelve bodies were found in the garden here, stuffed anyhow into a pit and barely covered with earth."

The strangest part of the Kiev episode is the fact that a handful of soldiers—perhaps 5,000 in all—and about 200 men, none of them educated, and almost all newcomers to the city, the majority of them dissipated and diseased, were able to hold for seven months a population of 200,000 in slavish subjection. One reason was that on entering the city the Bolsheviks searched every drawer, cupboard, and cranny for firearms; another was that the people were constantly in a state of semi-starvation. A Kiev journalist, Jean Kalinnikov, who has long studied Bolshevik methods, adds the further explanation that the Moscow Government has worked out a deliberate system of rendering a population supine by terror.

A special correspondent of The London Morning Post, who visited Kiev, wrote on Sept. 19:

LATSIS AT WORK

"In Kiev the man who performed this all-vital work for Lenin and Trotzky was a brother-in-law of the notorious Peters of Petrograd. His name was Latsis, and he is a Lett by birth. Soon after the Bolshevik occupation in January he was sent on from Moscow to become chief of the Commission for the Suppression of Counter-revolution in Kiev—the Kiev Chresvechayna. Concerning the man's earlier antecedents I was not able to get any exact information, except that he was a Jew and had been identified with the Bolshevik movement from the beginning. However, I have a photograph of Latsis, seated in the middle of a group of all the members of the Kiev Counter-revolution Commission. Short, dark, untidily dressed, his countenance seems to express a kind of cheery confidence, the

expression of a man on the crest of the wave and sure of himself. His eyes have in them a quality of rat-like intelligence, and Latsis was intelligent; at least, he was intelligent enough to have contributed an analytical article to the Bolshevik publication, the *Red Knife*, on the subject of tortures. At any rate, it was Latsis who was the real power in the Bolshevik control of Kiev, and it was he who manufactured the Red Terror for the city's 200,000 people.

"Latsis's system forbade a beginning of his operations until about nightfall. At the end of the day he would gather around him, generally at No. 5 Sadovaia—a great, gloomy house that had once been a private residence, and is set darkly within the shade of a dense bank of horse chestnut trees—the other members of the Kiev Commission, and there plan out the evening's work. I was told that there was always much immoderate drinking at these sessions, and in poking about the premises I came upon several barrels filled with empty wine and vodka bottles. Latsis himself, however, had the reputation of being temperate. It would be about 10 o'clock, or a little later, when four or five automobiles would set out from the Sadovaia establishment, scattering in several directions, and roaring through the streets on a round of visits to search homes for concealed firearms or food, to drag back some so-called suspect for examination, or to make one of Latsis's arbitrary 'arrests,' which were reckoned equivalent to a death sentence.

"A woman in Kiev, who lived near the house in Sadovaia, told me that night after night for nearly seven months she turned positively ill at the sound of those Chresvechayna motors. The searches, under Latsis's handling, contributed not a little to the creation of the terror. Very skillfully he endowed them with the element of surprise. For instance, in Kiev all through the Bolshevik régime there were Dr. Lipinsky, Professor of Neurology in Kiev University, and his family. Lipinsky was a man whom the Bolsheviks, on account of his private wealth, his well-appointed home, his prestige, his position, and influence, would have liked to do away with. There were elements of

danger in Dr. Lipinsky. But Latsis could not quite bring himself to arrest and accuse the professor. Lipinsky maintained a hospital, of which he was the chief physician. It was the best conducted institution of its kind in the city—a fact which Latsis was entirely capable of realizing. * * *

TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS

"Nothing could have been more disgraceful than the so-called 'examinations' conducted by Latsis and his underlings at the house in Sadovaia. A 'suspect,' torn from his bed in the middle of the night, attired without dignity, would be dragged there to the principal room of the dwelling. Perhaps six or eight of the Chresvechayna would be ranged at one side of a long, plain board table; not infrequently some were intoxicated, some under the influence of drugs, some throughout the proceedings fondling a woman of his fancy as lewd as himself. Latsis, always, it appears, quite collected, would preside. From such a tribunal none expected justice; life seemed to depend upon the whim of some distorted, irresponsible brain; an 'examination' was, as Latsis desired it should be, a first-class torture in itself. Frequently 'suspects' were freed, sometimes they were tortured, not infrequently they were taken to the stable in the rear and summarily executed. Once within the Sadovaia portals there was nought one could do but pray; there was no guessing one's fate. All the city knew this, and a summons in the night—thousands of examinations were made—brought all the terror of a death decree.

ROSA SCHWARTZ'S CRIME

"There was one episode at the Sadovaia place that contributed not a little to Kiev's paralysis of fear. Among the number of celebrated scholars included in the Faculty of the University of Kiev was Dr. Florinsky, one of the greatest of all authorities on Slavic history and law. The city was very proud of Dr. Florinsky, and he enjoyed enormous respect and influence there. At the time of the coming of the Bolsheviks, Dr. Florinsky, like a great number of the other

professors in the university, did not flee, because it was reported then, and generally believed, that Lenin and Trotzky had abandoned their policy of attempting to exterminate the intellectuals, and were, on the contrary, trying to coax them into the movement. He stayed on. During the early days of the occupation the Florinskys underwent the 'search,' but nothing worse. However, upon a night in June, a Chresvechayna motor stopped before the professor's home, and a young man routed him from his bed.

"The doctor insisted upon dressing carefully, and that irritated the youthful agent of Latsis. About 2 in the morning they reached the house in Sadovaia, where Florinsky was to be 'examined.' The usual gathering was there, including, as usual, Rosa Schwartz, a Kiev prostitute, who was used as an agent by Latsis, and was in effect an unofficial member of the Chresvechayna. Dr. Florinsky entered—a tall, grave, white-haired figure.

"The doctor was a man of a ripeness and dignity not easily to be exaggerated. Schwartz, a dark, impudent type of woman, bedecked with diamonds, for she always wore much jewelry, demanded the privilege of examining the professor. Latsis agreed. At length she put a certain question; I did not learn what the question was, but at it Florinsky stiffened and drew erect. The situation is readily conceived; the embodiment of all that is noble in the world on the grill before all that is ignoble in the world, the prostitute harrying the saint. The historian's reply was slow in coming. At Schwartz's elbow lay a small revolver which she invariably kept by her. In a sudden spasm of emotion she fired, and Florinsky was dead, and within a few moments his body had been cast into the dark garden behind. Mme. Florinsky subsequently recovered the body by making a payment of 25,000 rubles.

"The news of Florinsky's death staggered Kiev. If they would kill him none could be immune! Would the Schwartz woman suffer? Not at all! To the Chresvechayna life was less than nothing. To enter the house in Sadovaia was death. Thus went the talk after the

shooting of Professor Florinsky, which Latsis made not the smallest effort to excuse or conceal. The episode and the reaction it produced were all in accordance with the plan which he had been sent from Moscow to carry out. It intensified the enslaving fear of the Red Terror in Kiev."

METHODS OF TORTURE

There were many forms of torture used in Kiev, but in a rough way they are divisible into three classes. First, beatings were employed. Second, there were decrees of executions, some of which the Chresvechayna intended eventually to carry out, and did carry out, some of which were merely threats to terrify. Third, there were what may be most conveniently termed the "confinement" tortures. Of these The Morning Post correspondent wrote:

"In this group of cases the underlying idea was to imprison a person, who was entirely uncertain whether he or she was later to be killed, with the bodies of others who had already met death. Frequently, as in the case of Mme. Vasilyra, the subject of the torture was compelled to witness the execution of the persons with whose lifeless, often mutilated, bodies he or she was later to be confined. The imprisonment was sometimes made in a tiny room—always the room where the execution had occurred. Some of these rooms I have visited—at the houses in Sadovaia Institutskaia. These were windowless holes with spattered walls, and floors still glistening, despite heavy overlays of chloride of lime, with blood, and none too sure to the foot by reason of human particles as yet unrecovered. The mind recoils from the thought of what those rooms must have been on a hot Russian night, when powder smoke still clung heavily in the air, and the very rafters still echoed with dying screams.

"But not always were the imprisonments made in these rooms. Latsis, in creating the Terror, had variety. And a Chresvechayna device was to imprison a person condemned to the 'confinement' torture in a coffin with the corpses of those whom he or she had a few moments

before seen die. These imprisonments would last from twenty-four to ninety-six hours. Dr. Kraynsky, Professor of Psychology in Kiev University, who heads a committee appointed by the Faculty of the university to investigate the entire subject of tortures and executions carried out by the Bolsheviki, told me, and Countess Natalie Medivedieff, a Russian Red Cross sister, confirmed his statement as he made it, that he knew of more than thirty cases of insanity in Kiev as a result of the 'confinement' tortures.

EXECUTIONS

"Actual execution, however, was the great weapon of the Terror. Apparently executions were carried out in two ways. Upon occasions victims were struck over the head with a heavy, sharp instrument that caused profuse bleeding and also instant death, but more frequently simple shooting was employed. Most of the executions were carried out by Chinese troops, but not all.

"There are aspects of the Red Terror in Kiev which I have ignored. For example, a great number of bodies were thrown by the Chresvechayna into the operating theatre of the medical school of Kiev University; every one in the city knew the bodies were there; boys used to lift each other up to look through the iron palings at the gruesomeness within. Soon after the day when the Bolsheviki arrived until the day they left the anatomical room of the university was a known horror pit.

"The entire story seems horribly unreal. One has a sense that none of the chapter I have recorded could possibly have happened in our day. But it did happen. Professor Lipinsky has declared to me that it happened. Dr. Dietrichs, the Professor of Surgery in Kiev University, has affirmed it; so, too, has Professor Kraynsky, the psychologist, and the very cool-eyed Countess Medivedieff of the Russian Red Cross. There were others, including General Bredov, Denikin's representative in Kiev. I could go on at much greater length, but it is not necessary. The case is this: A handful of alien commissaries, with only a most slender garrison at their command, held

the 200,000 people of Kiev in utter subjugation for seven months. They did it by propagating fear, by scientifically creating, with methods in large degree indicated from Moscow, a Red Terror.

NO RUSSIAN LEADERS

"Who are the Bolsheviki of today? That was a question to which by many means, direct and roundabout, I tried to find an answer. In the first place, as Kiev knew the Bolsheviki, they are utter aliens—Letts, Finns, internationalized Jews, Rumanians, anything except actual Russians. Rokowsky, the nominal head of the Bolshevik Government in Kiev, was a Jew, born a Bulgarian, naturalized as a Rumanian; Latsis, head of the Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Counter-Revolution in Kiev, and in reality the master of the city, was a Lett—a Lettish Jew—and there were a few Jews in the movement who had been in America long enough to obtain citizenship.

"In the leadership of Bolshevism in Kiev there was not a single bona fide Russian, not a single man who had ever been known of or heard of in the city before the occupation. It was an alien invasion, a crowd of strangers, who came in to strangle the town. And it was aliens whom the Rokowsky-Latsis gang used for the chief work of the terrorization that paralyzed and atrophied the population—that is to say, Chinese mercenaries. Kiev for seven months was under the domination of a group of complete strangers. The workmen of Kiev, the thousands employed in the foundries and sugar refineries were, practically speaking, entirely dissociated from the Bolshevik movement.

"At the beginning, in January, 1919, many of the workers seemed to see a possibility that through Bolshevism they might obtain easier hours and a larger remuneration than they had been receiving. Essentially their attitude was for a time noncommittal and neutral. But this period soon passed. The factories closed; food rose to impossible prices; horrors began to become commonplaces. 'We thought we saw through to the light,' said a petition presented by 30,000

workmen to General Bredov, Denikin's representative, when he entered the city, 'but we did not see then the hand that was holding the light.' However, there was an element in Kiev that did join up with the Bolsheviks. Professor Kraynsky told me that about 200 strangers came into the city to enforce the communistic order, that these aliens had about 5,000 troops at their command, and that they could incidentally call upon something like 500 other persons in Kiev.

"These other persons were not laboring people at all, nor were they persons with any definite trade. In the main, they were shop assistants, economic ne'er-do-wells, rolling stones of industry, who saw in the Bolshevik invasion a chance that the normal ways of life did not offer. Latsis used them, but precisely in so far as they served his ends. They were, according to all testimony, unwitting dupes of the movement, and the only actual Kiev residents in the smallest way involved.

"Three professors of the university escaped with their lives because they were medical men. I have it upon the testimony of all three of these: First, that with the exception of a very few of the prime leaders, like Latsis, those who exercised control in Kiev were syphilitic; second, that a considerable number were addicted to the use of drugs; third, that they were alcoholic. In short, there is responsible testimony that there was very little normality in the entire Bolshevik Government of Kiev. The head of the Government, Rokowsky, was a fop and a fool and a laughing stock."

TWO IRISHWOMEN'S STORY

Miss Eva and Miss Eileen Healy, daughters of the former member of Parliament, Thomas Healy, were among the

forty or so British residents of Kiev during these six months of Bolshevism. They gave the following statement to a Reuter correspondent:

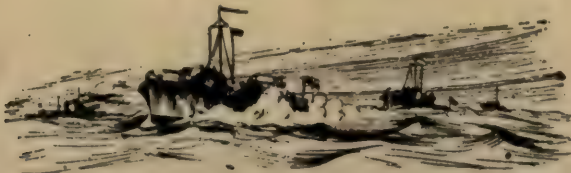
Our first experience of Bolshevik liberty was at Kiev in 1918, when over 3,000 officers were shot only for the crime of defending their country against the Germans. We saw long rows of corpses clad in underlinen in the square before the palace, inside of which drunken "comrades" were dancing and capering about the place. There were more rows of corpses in the public gardens of all ages, from mere boys to old men of seventy.

The last six months, when the majority of the members of the Kiev Chreavechayna were always under the influence of drink and drugs, transcended all conceivable awfulness. At every Chreavechayna huge heaps of empty spirit and wine bottles and scores of morphine and cocaine bottles were found. The members sat before a cage with wooden bars reaching to the ceiling. The prisoners were marched through the cage to be reviled and sentenced to death. Afterward they were stripped naked and carted off to the slaughterhouse.

Among the exhumed bodies was that of a young woman with a child of 2 or 3 years old closely tied to her. Both had been shot through the head. The Sister of Mercy, Sister Martinova, who was accused of sheltering officers, was violated, and her breasts were cut off before she was killed. A lady of over 60 years of age was taken out on several successive nights and placed against a wall and shots were fired all around her head. This was done to extract information as to the whereabouts of an officer's son whom she did not know. She also was finally murdered. Other barbarities, including the crucifixion of a priest, could be enumerated. The Bolsheviks explained that all such deeds were committed "for strategic purposes."

The chief guilt for Russia's bloody era falls on the trio Lenin, Trotzky, and Peters.

The Reuter correspondent who transmitted this statement estimated the total number of Bolshevik victims in Kiev at more than 4,000.



Russian Factions in Death Grapple

Bolsheviki Drive Back Yudenitch—Omsk Evacuated by Kolchak—Soviet Peace Offers

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 15, 1919]

THE desperate and sanguinary conflict of opposing forces in Russia continued through the months of October and November. After virtually reaching the City of Petrograd, the Northwestern Army led by General Yudenitch was driven back to its original starting point at Yamburg by large Bolshevik reinforcements. The Estonian and other Baltic Governments subsequently planned to resume peace negotiations with the Bolshevik Government and a conference of the representatives of the Baltic States began at Dorpat on Nov. 9.

The Bolshevik Armies advanced so close to Omsk that the Kolchak Government removed its offices to Irkutsk and the former capital was evacuated by civilians, hospital and interallied units. On Nov. 15 a Moscow wireless reported its capture and the withdrawal of the Kolchak forces to the east. The successes of Denikin in the south continued, but toward the middle of November the Bolsheviki were progressing also in this theatre, and Denikin, who was holding a front of 1,300 miles with a comparatively small army, and who was much harassed by marauding bandits, was advancing his offensive toward Tula, the Bethlehem of Russia and the key to Moscow. On Nov. 15 it was reported that the whole eastern coast of the Black Sea had been seized by a large insurgent army operating in Denikin's rear.

Soviet Russia during this period suffered much from cold and famine, but the Bolshevik's confidence apparently suffered no abatement, though they reiterated their readiness to make peace with the Allies whenever terms might be arranged. The formal blockade of the Entente and the virtual blockade by the United States continued. Germany, to United States continued. Germany, after

long consideration of the subject, finally returned a definite refusal to the request that she associate herself with the interallied blockade of Petrograd.

ON THE NORTHERN FRONT

After the departure of the British and other allied troops from Archangel little fighting occurred between the Russian forces and the Bolsheviki. Where fighting occurred the North Russians gave a good account of themselves. About Oct. 25 the Russian forces repulsed a Bolshevik attack on Povenietz and inflicted great loss upon the enemy, who were driven thirty-three miles from Onega. Several villages were captured. The important railroad junction of Plessetskaya, with an armored train and many prisoners and guns, was also taken. The Archangel newspapers regarded the capture of Plessetskaya as a notable success, and rejoiced at the unaided achievements of the North Russian Army, declaring that its position was better at that time than it had been before the departure of the Allies, who, they asserted, had underestimated the North Russian strength.

A further advance of the North Russians occurred shortly before the end of October. The anti-Bolshevist forces had reached Birumshev, 150 versts south of Onega, where they had formed a junction with the forces operating on the railway front. In the Onega sector the capture of 2,000,000 cartridges and 1,000 shells was reported. The road along the Onega River was found strewn with the bodies of soldiers and horses, and with vehicles which had been mired and abandoned by the Bolsheviki.

THE PETROGRAD FRONT

The offensive begun by General Yudenitch on Oct. 10 brought the forces of the Northwestern Government virtually within the suburbs of Petrograd by Oct.

18. Gatchina, twenty-five miles south of Petrograd, was captured from the Bolsheviks on Oct. 17, while the Esthonians, acting in conjunction with Yudenitch, had arrived within four miles of Krasnaya Gorka, facing Kronstadt. Re-



SCENE OF YUDENITCH'S ATTEMPT TO TAKE PETROGRAD

ports that Kronstadt had surrendered proved untrue. Yudenitch also established himself at Krasnoé Selo and Ligovo, twelve miles from Petrograd, but only after hard fighting. Strong resistance was encountered at Pulgovo, about seven miles south of Petrograd, compelling General Yudenitch to halt his advance and concentrate his forces while awaiting reinforcements and heavy artillery. Bolshevik forces concentrated at Gdov, on Lake Peipus, and, threatening the rear, were dispersed. Fighting still proceeded six miles north of Krasnoé Selo, and along the Windau Railway, while the Bolsheviks and the forces of General Yudenitch kept up a heavy bombardment.

Already at this time the stiffening defense of the Soviet Army showed the effect of the heavy reinforcements which the Reds had drawn from the northern front, and fears of the Bolshevik advance which occurred soon thereafter drove long processions of peasant-folk, with their carts of household effects, along the road toward Gatchina, which General Yudenitch had made his base. A slight advance had been made to a point just short of Tsarskoe Selo, in the

face of an obstinate Bolshevik resistance.

YUDENITCH DRIVEN BACK

The threatened advance of the Bolsheviks began to be fulfilled about Oct. 24 with an offensive against Pavlovsk and Tsarskoe Selo, in which the forces of Yudenitch were driven back. Their left flank was under fire from a Bolshevik dreadnought lying in the Neva. On Oct. 25 Yudenitch announced that his cavalry had pushed forward to Tosno, a few miles southeast of Tsarskoe Selo and twenty-five miles east of Gatchina, but admitted that his forces had been repulsed at other points. By Oct. 27 the success of the Bolshevik counteroffensive was clearly outlined. The Bolsheviks, after taking Tsarskoe Selo, had moved on Krasnoé Selo and thrust the Yudenitch line back south of this place, and to the west six miles from Gatchina. At this date Yudenitch was daily losing ground, and complained bitterly of the refusal of Colonel Avalov-Bermond, the pro-German Russian commander, whose forces had attacked Riga, and who had been nominally under his command, to aid him in his offensive against Petrograd.

Meanwhile the Bolsheviks were making a wing movement in an attempt to cut off Gatchina and reach the railroad. Stubborn fighting was proceeding, while the Bolsheviks were daily growing stronger. Sporadic offensives of Yudenitch proved fruitless, and by Oct. 29 he was falling back along his entire line, being compelled to abandon Gatchina and to remove his staff headquarters to Yamburg, sixty-eight miles from Petrograd on the road to Reval. In an official communication to an Estonian paper General Yudenitch admitted that his offensive on Petrograd had failed "because of lack of assistance." On Nov. 1 Trotzky declared officially that the danger of Petrograd's capture had been definitely removed.

BOLSHEVIST ADVANCE

Meanwhile fierce fighting was continuing in the Finnish Gulf region, and the Bolsheviks had advanced all along the line against the retreating forces of Yudenitch. The occupation of many vil-

lages in the Luga-Gdov sector, to the east of Lake Peipus, was claimed by Bolshevik dispatches. Gdov had been captured by Nov. 8, and the anti-Bolshevik troops driven fifteen miles south of Yamburg. The Bolshevik pressure was increasing hourly from the north and south, despite heroic resistance offered by the personnel of the armored trains to check the Soviet advance. The forces of Yudenitch lacked both food and munitions. A Bolshevik wireless stated that the pursuit of General Yudenitch's retreating forces was continuing along the whole front. The Soviet troops had advanced to within twenty-five versts southeast of Yamburg, and were driving the enemy northwest of Gdov.

At this time all hopes entertained by anti-Bolshevik sympathizers of the success of General Yudenitch's offensive had vanished, though on Nov. 11 he announced the recapture of Gdov, and though officials of the Northwestern Government stated on Nov. 13 that plans were being made for a new campaign.

APPEAL TO FINLAND

Strong pressure was brought by the Northwestern Government on Finland to persuade that country to throw its strength into the balance against the Bolsheviks. With this object Stefan Lianosov, head of the Northwestern Government, proceeded to Helsingfors from Reval on a British torpedo boat destroyer to conduct negotiations. On Oct. 31 M. Lianosov declared that Petrograd could be taken in three days with the help of the Finns, who had an army of 35,000 men, of whom some 15,000 were stationed on the Russian frontier. The Finns, he said, would aid in the struggle if the Allies consented to finance them, and give them guarantees of Finland's future independence. The situation at the front, he said, was critical, as the Bolsheviks numbered from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and were fighting desperately: they had led eighteen successive attacks on Tsarskoe Selo before they had captured it. The assistance of Finland, he declared, would turn the scale in favor of Yudenitch.

Both Lianosov and Margulies had

been cordially received by a Finnish conference consisting of President Stahlberg, Prime Minister Dr. Holsti and the Chief of Staff. The President, said M. Margulies, though not in favor of official intervention, was well disposed to the suggestion that Finland should send troops to assist in the taking of Petrograd. On Oct. 31 the question came up in the Finnish Parliament in the form of an interpellation relative to Finland's future policy; in his reply the Premier stated that Finland would co-operate with the Allies and the Baltic States in opposing Bolshevism. After an all-night debate, forty-four members of the Diet voted the statement unsatisfactory, and moved to refer the matter to the Foreign Relations Committee for further investigation. The answer was considered satisfactory by seventy members—seventy-five Socialists abstained from voting.

Meanwhile, on Nov. 2, General Justus Mannerheim, the former Finnish Premier, addressed an open letter to President Stahlberg demanding Finland's immediate intervention in the campaign against Petrograd, which, he declared, "the whole world is urging." On Nov. 4, however, it was stated from Helsingfors that the Finnish Government had informed General Yudenitch that it was unable to co-operate with him for the deliverance of Petrograd. The reply set forth that it was impossible to accede to General Yudenitch's appeal owing to Finland's internal political situation, her weak finances, the uncertainty of obtaining war materials, and the fact that the Entente had not guaranteed that future Russian Governments would recognize Finland's independence. Soon after this the offensive of General Yudenitch collapsed.

THE DORPAT CONFERENCE

An attempt to arrange a conference of the Baltic States to bring about peace with the Bolsheviks had been begun by Esthonia in Pskov before the Yudenitch offensive. With the collapse of this offensive the plan was pushed more energetically, and on Nov. 6, seven representatives of Esthonia left for Dorpat, the place chosen for the conference.



THEATRE OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE REDS AND GENERAL DENIKIN'S FORCES
SOUTHEAST OF MOSCOW.

Here they were joined by delegates from Lettland, Lithuania, Poland, Finland, and the Ukraine, the three last named being unofficial delegations. Informal discussions were held on the 7th, 8th, and 9th, and the first general meeting of the conference took place on Nov. 10. White Russia also was represented. M. Piip, Estonian Foreign Minister and head of the Estonian delegation, had sent a preliminary dispatch to Moscow expressing a desire to confer with the Soviet delegates regarding the liberation of prisoners and the cessation of hostilities. Esthonia's attitude was further stated by Premier Strandemann as follows:

For Esthonia it is not a question of peace with the Bolsheviks, but of a cessation of hostilities in order to save our existence. We cannot fight indefinitely: our financial and economic condition will not permit this. Our military supplies are

exhausted, those from England having ceased, and Esthonia and the other border States have no reason to fight longer . . . It is too early to speak about terms. I think, however, it would be possible to bring about an armed truce, somewhat like the state of things existing between the Bolsheviks and Finland. . . . As for Esthonia's sacrifice, the occupation by the Germans stripped the country of foodstuffs, horses, machinery, and other necessities. In November, 1918, came the Bolshevik invasion, which we have documents to prove was instigated by the Germans. The Bolsheviks overran three-quarters of Esthonia, committing wholesale murders and atrocities. Last June the offensive by the German General von der Goltz began. As a result of the wastage in the years of fighting, the country is worn out.

So far, the Estonian Premier said, the allied Governments had offered no objection to the Baltic League project and the suggested peace with the Bolshevik Government.

M. Tchitcherin, the Soviet Foreign Minister, sent a radiotelegram to the Estonian Premier on Nov. 13, demanding guarantees of safety for the Bolshevik representatives at the Dorpat conference. M. Piip replied assuring Tchitcherin of safe conduct and immunity from arrest for the delegates. On the afternoon of Nov. 16 the little Estonian city observed with keen interest the arrival of four Bolshevik representatives, headed by Maxim Litvinov, former Soviet ambassador to England. The conference was still in session when this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press.

[For the struggle of the pro-German Russian commander, Colonel Bermond, for possession of Riga, and the problem of getting the German troops of von der Goltz out of the Baltic territory, see page 483.]

THE SOUTHERN FRONT

After the capture of Orel in the middle of October, with 3,500 prisoners, Denikin's forces seized Chernigov, southwest of Moscow, and recaptured a junction town north of Voronezh. Heavy Bolshevik attacks southwest and east of Orel were repulsed with heavy losses to the enemy. The Don Army was kept busy meanwhile in defense operations against cavalry attacks led by the Bolshevik General Budenny, following the raids of the Cossack leader Mamontov, along the Don. Kiev was temporarily occupied by the Bolsheviks on Oct. 15, but they were finally driven out; the city was still held by Denikin's forces on Oct. 27, though the anti-Bolshevik troops had been compelled to withdraw at some points south of the city.

By Oct. 20 Denikin's battleline extended from Kiev to Kharkov, and along the Don to Tsaritsin. Pressure was being exerted by his army at various points, despite the handicap of insufficient munitions. Denikin's objective at this time could be drawn by a line bisecting Saratov, Penza, and Tula (120 miles south of Moscow), as the three main points of a triangle whose apex pointed straight at Moscow, and whose base controlled the Ural region. In this base sector, on Oct. 22, the Bolshevik

forces were thrown back near Kamyshin, sustaining a loss of 3,000 prisoners and many machine guns. The Bolshevik authorities at Tula, at the apex of the triangle, after a visit from Trotsky in his armored train, began fortification work in anticipation of an advance of Denikin's army as far as this city.

NEW BOLSHEVIST OFFENSIVE

Spurred by the increasing menace of Denikin's steady advance, the Bolshevik forces began a general attack along a 700-mile front from Tsaritsin to Kiev. They scored successes at Voronezh and Orel, which they recaptured, but were unable to check Denikin, who by Oct. 25 had advanced from forty to forty-five miles on a 120-mile front, taking many prisoners and much material. Yelets, midway between Voronezh and Tula, and 230 miles southeast of Moscow, was also captured. Harold Williams, a correspondent with Denikin's armies, admitted, however, on Oct. 28, that the resistance of the Bolsheviks was stubborn in the extreme. The Bolshevik commanders, some of whom were formerly Generals in the army of the Czar, were exerting all their strategical and tactical resources to avert disaster.

Despite the loss of Voronezh and Orel, the anti-Bolsheviks held Yelets, a most advantageous position, and won a great improvement on their flanks; Tsaritsin had been held against desperate attacks by General Wrangel and the Bolsheviks driven northward toward Kamyshin; this success, combined with a northeasterly drive of the Don Cossacks from the Middle Don, had removed the Bolshevik menace to Denikin's eastern flank, which had impeded his operations in the centre.

In the alternating battle for supremacy Orel again changed hands (Oct. 30), and General Denikin resumed his advance on Moscow. The Reds had brought up a large number of troops and were exerting pressure on both sides of the Orel salient in an attempt to relieve the central advances on Moscow. Some successes were won by Denikin at this time, including the capture of a Soviet division of 3,300 men, on the Khoper River, the capture of Bobrov, southeast of Voronezh,

and the capture of another town with 1,000 men.

For nearly a fortnight no news of importance came from Denikin, but on Nov. 12, a communiqué was given out by him admitting the loss of Alexandrovsk, and the abandonment of Dmitrievka. The Reds declared that in taking the latter town they had inflicted a severe defeat on Denikin's army, and asserted further that Denikin's front had been broken over an extent of forty-seven miles, that Denikin had suffered heavy losses, and that the Bolshevik Cossack division had advanced 105 miles in three days.

DENIKIN'S TROUBLES

A constant handicap under which General Denikin had to struggle was the disturbance to his rear by the hostile attitude of unfriendly populations, replete with propaganda to attain some national aim. Under this category came the hostility of General Petlura, the peasant Ukrainian leader, between whom and Denikin a state of war had been declared. But Petlura was far from being Denikin's only opposer in South Russia. Three Ukrainian bands had been operating for some time behind his lines, robbing stragglers and holding up trains. Of these, the most formidable was the band of Makhno, in the Province of Ekaterinoslav, which was anti-Semitic, and the band of Shubé, which attacked trains between Kiev and Poltava. The inhabitants of the Kuban district, also, gave Denikin considerable trouble, until he entered into an agreement with them which relieved the situation. The district of Astrakhan, on the Black Sea at the mouth of the Volga, had fallen under Bolshevik control.

Petlura saw in Denikin the representative of reactionary monarchism; Denikin refused to encourage the separatist tendency embodied by Petlura and the Ukrainian Government. There were also intimations that Petlura was conducting his campaigns with the aid of German money. This charge was confirmed in an official report made by General Edgar Jadwin, member of the Morgenthau Jewish Commission and one of the

ranking officers of the American Army, who, in company with an Intelligence officer, traveled for three weeks through the Ukraine, visited Denikin, and also Petlura, and saw much of the latter's army. Petlura's source of supplies was frankly and avowedly German, General Jadwin reported, and Petlura's justification was that only the Germans would help him. General Jadwin described Petlura as a man of considerable intelligence, and much determination to maintain Ukraine's absolute independence. His civil Government scarcely deserved the name of Government at all; and his army was a mere aggregation of scattered guerrilla units; there was little discipline or co-ordination, the various leaders making war on the Bolsheviks or upon General Denikin's forces as they saw fit.

FIGHTING A BANDIT FORCE

About the middle of October, after Petlura's declaration of war on Denikin, he was joined by the bandit leader, Makhno, who, after having been defeated north of Odessa, had returned to his old haunts, the eastern side of the Dnieper and the region north of the Sea of Azov, and had raided several towns in Daghestan, in Northeastern Caucasus, where an insurrection movement had begun. Denikin had dispatched troops to this spot to put down the insurrection and capture the bandit leader. On Oct. 29 a Moscow wireless reported that large bodies of both Petlura's and Makhno's forces were joining the Red Army. Several towns along the Dnieper had been taken by the insurgents southeast of Kiev, while Makhno had captured Alexandrovsk and was besieging Elizabetgrad. On Nov. 15 it was reported that a number of important towns on the eastern coast of the Black Sea from Eilershik to Sochy had been taken by a large insurgent army operating in Denikin's rear.

Severe fighting occurred between Petlura's forces and those of Denikin on Oct. 30, and the Petlura troops were driven from several villages. On Nov. 4 Denikin concluded an armistice with Petlura, by the terms of which Denikin was to evacuate the Ukraine, but after a lull of a

few days the battle was renewed. An Ukrainian dispatch of Nov. 9 said that Denikin had been driven across the Bug River, leaving many prisoners and much booty and war material in the hands of the Ukrainians. A later dispatch from Denikin, however, said that 30,000 Galicians had joined the volunteer army and taken Petlura's army in the rear, and that the Ukrainians, in consequence, intended to lay down their arms.

At this date General Denikin sent a telegram to the Paris headquarters of the American Red Cross, thanking that organization for the assistance which the populations of Southern Russia had received from it. This telegram was as follows:

In these epoch-making days, which demand superhuman effort and self-sacrifice from every true Russian, the American Nation has once more proved the depth of its historical devotion to real liberty and progress by stretching out its hand to Russia in an effort to save world civilization from the corruption of the Bolsheviks.

I beg you to accept my profound thanks for the numerous gifts of the American Red Cross through its commission to South Russia and for assistance given soldiers and wretched populations, and express to you and the American people the deeply felt gratitude of the Russian people, who will always remember these acts of generosity.

THE SIBERIAN FRONT

A summary of military events on the Siberian front given out Oct. 12 showed that at this time the right flank of the Kolchak armies had passed Tobolsk and was driving toward Tumen; the centre was advancing slowly eighteen miles west of Yalutorovsk, the left wing was within thirty miles of Kustany, and in the south the fight had been carried to within three miles of Orenburg. Ural Cossacks were driving the Reds before them seven miles from Uralsk. Then the tide turned. Petropavlovsk, 166 miles from Omsk, was captured from Kolchak at the end of October, with 1,500 prisoners. The rapid progress of the Red forces was indicated on Nov. 12, when a Moscow wireless announced that the Bolsheviks had taken Ishim and occupied Kochubayev Station, eighty versts west of Omsk. The question of whether Omsk, the Kolchak capital,

should be abandoned or defended was bitterly debated; owing to a difference on this point General Diedrichs, commander of the western armies of the Omsk Government, was superseded by General Sakharov. Admiral Kolchak and the members of his Government on Oct. 31 expressed their determination to remain and defend Omsk in spite of all advice and dissuasion.

Evacuation of civilians and Government offices, however, was decided upon. A constant stream of carts and trucks took away the civilians' household goods, and in freezing weather civilians, Government aids, sick and wounded, were taken away in unheated box cars. The plans of defense were outlined by the Russkoye Dielo, which stated that a decisive battle would be fought between the Rivers Ishim and Irtysh, and that Omsk would be fortified and surrounded with trenches as a centre of defense. The newspaper Russ called upon all to rally around the Government, realizing that the situation was critical, and that an ultimate choice must be made between Lenin and Kolchak.

The allied military representatives regarded the situation as grave. All the allied missions finally left on Nov. 6, except the Japanese. The American Red Cross hospitals and the Government offices were provisionally transferred to Irkutsk. The American Vice Consul was left to maintain contact with the Kolchak Foreign Office at Novo Nikolaevsk.

A Moscow wireless on Nov. 15 asserted that Omsk had been occupied by Bolshevik forces, and that the troops of Kolchak were retreating to the east. Up to the time these pages went to press, this claim had not been confirmed.

IN EASTERN SIBERIA

General Semenov, an anti-Bolshevik leader, held up a train bearing part of a consignment of 68,000 rifles recently shipped from America to Admiral Kolchak at Chita, Trans-Baikalia, on Oct. 24, and demanded that 15,000 rifles be delivered to him by Oct. 25. The American Lieutenant who was guarding the assignment with a small force of fifty soldiers telegraphed to General Graves

for instructions, and, on receiving orders on no account to surrender the guns, sent a categorical refusal to Semenov, and got through safely with his consignment.

It was stated at Vladivostok on Oct. 28 that General Rozanov, whose activities had occasioned great friction with the interallied commanders and a demand for the withdrawal of his troops from Vladivostok, had been recalled to Omsk, and that General Romanovsky, recently leader of the Russian troops in the Udinsk region, had been appointed by Admiral Kolchak to act as Governor and commander of the Russian troops in the Far Eastern provinces. A Cossack conference at Omsk issued a protest the same day against Rozanov's recall from the Far East, where his presence was considered desirable.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Admiral Kolchak toward the middle of October asked the allied Governments for a credit of \$350,000,000 to be used for military and economic purposes. He also requested the use of additional allied troops to guard the Trans-Siberian Railroad between Irkutsk and Omsk as substitutes for Czechoslovak troops soon to return to Europe. Siberian banks, co-operating with the Government, arranged a credit of \$25,000,000 with Japanese banks, at 7 per cent. interest, depositing gold bullion of an equal amount as security. It was announced in Washington on Nov. 7 that the All-Russian Government had made a deposit of \$1,000,000 in gold bullion at Omsk as a guarantee that it would meet its obligations for the purchase of war material from the American Government. This bullion was safely received at San Francisco, and subsequently deposited in the United States Treasury.

Not having received a reply from the Japanese Government to a communication sent in September concerning co-operation in the administration of the Trans-Siberian Railway, the United States on Oct. 18 dispatched a second note on the subject to Japan. The Japanese reply, finally received in Washington on Nov. 2, signified Japan's readiness to protect the road to the best of its ability;

constant efforts to do so had been made, and reports that it had not done so were based on misunderstanding. The note, however, declined in diplomatic but firm language to submit the Japanese troops in Siberia to the authority of the Allied Railway Board under John W. Stevens and defended the Japanese policy of non-participation in individual disputes.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The psychology of Leon Trotzky, the Bolshevik Minister of War, who went to Petrograd to direct that city's defense against Yudenitch, and whose energetic measures led to the final driving back of the Yudenitch forces below Yamburg, was brought out in a Moscow wireless of Oct. 18 which reported Trotzky's views on the Baltic situation in the following terms:

A pack of bourgeois curs is worrying the body of Soviet Russia on all sides. Polish Knights are gnashing their teeth. The German General von der Goltz, under instructions by the Stock Exchange and the off-scourings of all lands, is seizing the Baltic country with the help of monarchist hands in order to attack Moscow from there.

In the northwest, the blood-drunken trio, Yudenitch, Balakovitch and Rodzianko, are advancing on Petrograd. The Estonian peace negotiations served as a means to lull the Red Petrograd troops and as a soporific.

The army defending the approaches to Petrograd failed to withstand the first blow, and danger has again come to Petrograd. The English and French radio stations announce with joy the fact of our failures on the road to Petrograd. The Stock Exchange and the press of the whole world are sharing the joy and predicting the speedy fall of Petrograd. But they are wrong this time. Petrograd will not fall. It will stand. We shall not surrender Petrograd.

For the defense of the first town of the proletarian revolutions sufficient strength will be found in the peasants and the workers of the land. Yudenitch's successes are those of a cavalry raid. Troops are being sent to the assistance of Petrograd and the Petrograd workers who rose first of all. We must break the skulls of Yudenitch's bands and the Anglo-French Imperialists.

Other proclamations issued by Trotzky and addressed to the Red Army attacked the English bitterly, and called on the Red troops to harry the forces of Yudenitch unceasingly. Observers in

Petrograd, at this time described the situation of the former capital as tragic; many people both in this city and Moscow were perishing of cold and hunger. On Oct. 22 Tchitcherin notified the German Government that participation by Germany in the proposed interallied blockade of Soviet Russia would be regarded as a deliberate act of hostility. Strong opposition to Germany's joining the blockade was expressed by the Berlin press.

Despite the beating back of the Yudenitch offensive, and the favorable position of the Red Army on other fronts, the Soviet authorities still maintained their readiness to make peace with the allied nations—on Lenin's terms. On Nov. 6 *The Daily Herald*, the London labor organ, published a draft of the Bolshevik peace conditions; they had been brought from Moscow by Lieut. Col. Lestrangle Malone, Liberal member of Parliament, who had interviewed both Lenin and Trotsky.

These terms briefly were a peace conference in a neutral country, an armistice on all fronts, the removal of the blockade, the re-establishment of free communication over all parts of Russia and Finland, the withdrawal of all allied troops from Russia, and the discontinuance of all aid to Soviet Russia's enemies. The former debts of the Russian Empire were to be accepted. The draft concluded with an implied threat to enter into an alliance with Germany in case the Entente rejected the Soviet terms.

Similar offers were made in public statements attributed to Tchitcherin and Lenin at this time. As far as Germany was concerned, Herr Müller, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared before the National Assembly on Oct. 24 that so long as the Bolsheviks were interfering in Germany's internal affairs and preaching world revolution any agreement with Soviet Russia would be impossible. The ex-Danish Consul General at Moscow, Baron Haxthausen, declared in Paris on Oct. 23 that the program of the Bolshevik Government, as given to him in full by Karl Radek, Lenin's right-hand man, was based wholly on the overthrow of all existing "capitalistic" Gov-

ernments. For this and other reasons, Great Britain, France and the United States refused to take the Soviet offers of peace at their face value.

AMERICA'S BLOCKADE

In specific application to the United States, Assistant Secretary Phillips, in a letter made public on Nov. 4 at the State Department in Washington, in explaining the reasons why the United States had not formally joined in the blockade against Soviet Russia, said that the American policy of non-intercourse was based on the following considerations:

(1) It was the declared purpose of the Bolsheviks of Russia to carry revolution throughout the world, and they had availed themselves of every opportunity to conduct propaganda in the United States aimed to bring about the forcible overthrow of the American form of government.

(2) The opening of commercial relations would mean the bringing into the United States of large supplies of gold, some of it the expropriated property of the Rumanian Government, for the purpose of carrying on this anarchistic propaganda.

(3) By the nationalization scheme of the Bolshevik authorities a program of political oppression was being maintained in the apportionment of food supplies among the various classes, and it was inadmissible that American food should be sent for the perpetuation of such a system. If food could be sent without concurring in this system, the United States would consider it. Far-reaching measures had been taken for the relief of all peoples in areas freed from Bolshevik control. The American Relief Commission had sent food stores to Viborg sufficient to support Petrograd for a month, and they would be delivered whenever that city came under the control of authorities with whom it was possible to deal.

On Nov. 13 Premier Lloyd George announced in the House of Commons that he proposed to call at an early date an international conference at which the Ministers of the allied powers might consider, among other questions left unsettled, the vexing problem of Russia.

Yudenitch and Northwestern Russia

Plans of New Government

[SEE PORTRAIT, PAGE 440]

GENERAL NICHOLAS YUDENITCH, whose offensive against the Bolsheviks brought him within a few miles of Petrograd in October, 1919, first came into prominence in 1914 as a military commander of note. A graduate of the Military School of Moscow and the Military Academy of Petrograd, he had seen considerable service in Turkestan, and was made a Colonel at the age of 33. He was subsequently made a Major General for his record in the Russo-Japanese war, in the course of which he had been severely wounded, and five years later received the epaulets of a Lieutenant General and the appointment of Chief of Staff in the Caucasus. It was in this region that he first came into the limelight. Grand Duke Nicholas had been removed by the Czar from his command as head of the Western front, and transferred to the Caucasus, where the Turks were active. When Turkey entered the war, at the close of 1914, her plan of campaign included a swift invasion of the Russian Caucasus, with a drive toward Tiflis, its capital. The battles of Sarikamysis and Ardahan, and above all of Erzerum, where Yudenitch led the troops of the Czar, broke up this movement of invasion and put the Turks on the defensive.

In the four years following, during which the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the Bolshevik régime occurred, little was heard of Yudenitch. But about a year ago it became known that he, with a small group of Russian officers, had organized a force of 23,000 men under the name of the Northwestern Volunteer Army, to fight against the Bolsheviks on the Petrograd front. It was stated at this time that he was acting in co-operation with the Finnish General, Mannerheim, now Premier of Finland. His first operations against the former capital were cautious, but as success met his attempts he became more aggressive, and eventually became a men-

ace to the rule of Lenin and Trotzky. In August, 1919, in co-operation with Finnish forces, he advanced toward Petrograd along three lines in an offensive which met with considerable success, but desperate resistance by the Bolsheviks checked this movement.

NORTHWESTERN GOVERNMENT

Soon after the failure of this offensive, however, a new anti-Bolshevist Government was formed under the name of the Northwestern Government, with its seat in the Esthonian city of Reval. In the Cabinet formed, which fused all factions opposed to Bolshevism, General Yudenitch was given the position of Minister of War. The full list of the appointed members of this new Government is given herewith:

Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs and Finances—C. G. LIANOZOV, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

Minister of the Interior—K. A. ALEXANDROV, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

Minister of War—General N. N. YUDENITCH, (Non-Partisan.)

Minister of Industry and Commerce, of Provisions and of Health—M. S. MARGULIES, (Radical.)

Minister of Justice—E. I. KEDRIN, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

Minister of Food—F. G. EISHINSKY, (Radical.)

Minister of the Navy—Vice Admiral V. K. PILKIN, (Non-Partisan.)

Minister of Education—F. A. ERN, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

Minister of Public Charities—A. S. PIESHKOV, (Socialist-Revolutionist.)

State Controller—V. L. GORN, (Social-Democrat.)

Minister of Agriculture—P. A. BOGDANOV, (Socialist-Revolutionist.)

Minister of Cults—I. F. EVSEIEV, (Labor Group.)

Minister of Posts and Telegraphs—M. M. PHILLIPEO, (Non-Partisan.)

Minister of Public Works—N. N. IVANOV, (Constitutional-Democrat.)

The Northwestern Government was subordinated to the All-Russian Government at Omsk. Its official program, as issued on Aug. 24, when General Yude-

nitch was planning his new campaign, was as follows:

In the fratricidal war brought about by the Bolsheviks. Russia is perishing in fire and blood. The young and strong are perishing in vain and without glory, and the old and weak are dying out from hunger and epidemics.

Entire cities are dying out, and mills and factories are deserted and at a standstill. The villages are put to the torch, and the fruits of the land tillers' labors are destroyed while yet in the fields; their live stock is ruined and our peasantry is reduced to the utmost degree of desolation. Masses of refugees, shelterless and hungry, are wandering in the forests of our native land.

Thus is Russia perishing under the heel of the Bolsheviks. The bottom of the dark precipice into which Russia has been hurled is already in sight. The Government of the Northwestern Provinces of Russia, having been called into life by the necessity of the immediate and decisive liberation of Russia from the Bolshevik yoke, is formed in complete harmony with the plenipotentiary representatives of the allied powers, and is united with the rest of Russia in the person of the Chief Executive, Admiral Kolchak.

It has put before the citizens of Russia the principles which it accepts as the basis of its impending activities:

(1) A firm struggle against the Bolsheviks, as well as against all those who aspire to re-establish the old régime.

(2) The equality before the law of all the citizens of the Russian State, without distinction of race, nationality, and religion.

(3) All the citizens of liberated Russia are guaranteed inviolability of person and domicile, freedom of the press, speech, association, assembly, and strikes.

(4) The All-Russian authority must be recreated on the basis of the rule of the people. To this end, immediately upon the liberation of our motherland from the tyranny of the Bolsheviks, steps must be taken for the summoning of a new All-Russian Constituent Assembly to be elected by a general, direct, equal, and secret vote.

(5) If after the liberation of the Petrograd, Pskov, and Novgorod Provinces general conditions may not yet warrant the convocation of an All-Russian Constituent Assembly, there should be summoned, for the purpose of co-ordinating conditions of local life, a Territorial Popular Assembly in Petrograd, elected on the same democratic basis by the population of the liberated provinces.

(6) The nationalities inhabiting the various territories composing the united and regenerated Russia are to decide freely

for themselves their form of administration.

(7) The administration of the Russian State is to be founded on principles of wide local autonomy. The Zemstvos and municipal self-governments are to be elected upon a democratic basis.

(8) The land problem is to be solved in the Constituent Assembly, in accordance with the will of the tolling agricultural population. Until its solution by the latter body, the land should remain in the hands of the peasantry, and all transactions and alienations of lands outside of city limits are prohibited, except in cases of extraordinary importance and by special permission of the Government.

(9) The labor question is to be solved on the basis of the eight-hour day, the State control of industry, and the full protection of labor and of the working class.

Citizens of long-suffering Russia! The Government of the Northwestern Provinces of Russia, having undertaken at this critical hour of our struggle for liberation the responsibility for the present and the future of Russia, calls upon you for a final effort and for final sacrifices in the name of our motherland, our freedom, and our happiness.

TO REPRESENT ALL CLASSES

In September, 1919, on the eve of the decisive movement toward Petrograd, the Northwestern Government issued the following appeal to the a'my:

Citizen-Soldiers!

The newly formed Government of the Northwestern Territory is making this appeal to you, brave soldiers of our army, the sole support and hope of mutilated and bleeding Russia.

The Bolsheviks, as may be expected from them, will tell you that ours is a Government of capitalists and landowners or of "social traitors." Place no trust in them, for the Bolsheviks are lying and deceiving you, and they are only maintaining themselves by chicanery and lies and your credulity.

We are a Government not of capitalists and the landed gentry. Our Government is composed of men in public life, of representatives of all classes and of all the strata of the population. The régime of Czarism is as hateful to us as it is to you, and no return to it is possible.

We shall not permit that the peasants become again the hired help upon lands belonging to the gentry. The land belongs to those who toil upon it. We shall not permit that capitalists, manufacturers, and industrialists re-establish a twelve-hour working day in mills, shops, and factories. The eight-hour day must be preserved.

We shall not permit that Russian life be again placed behind a Czar's prison

walls, where it has been stunted and stultified during many centuries. We shall use all our energies and apply all our efforts to the end that the people may live a free, peaceful life; that they may freely develop and make use of their abilities; that they may enjoy in the fullest measure the fruits of their labors; that our people may dwell in happiness and comfort which they so justly deserve.

But in order to establish this new, good life, we must first of all rid our country of the Bolsheviks, who have been plaguing and mutilating our unfortunate Russia for the past two years. Having usurped power by force, they are leading our motherland to perdition. They promised peace to a people weary and tired of war, and deceived them; they concluded peace with the Germans, and are now warring against their own fellow-Russians and shedding rivers of blood; they promised bread to the people and deceived them again. In place of bread, they have created in Russia a famine such as our motherland had not known in the thousand years of its existence.

The Bolsheviks have turned over to the peasants the estates of the former landowners, but they have confiscated their crops, both from their former allotments and from the lands that had belonged to the gentry, leaving for the peasants only a meagre ration of twenty pounds per soul.

They are promising freedom to all, but in reality they are filling the prisons daily and are executing hundreds of innocent people, and, without consulting the will of the people, are issuing decrees more vicious in their nature than a state of total lawlessness. They are promising a prosperous life to every one, and, mean-

while, they are destroying cities and are putting villages to the torch, confiscating bread from the peasants and fodder from their cattle.

As long as the Bolsheviks remain in Russia we shall have neither peace, nor bread, nor freedom, nor laws.

Only the army can save Russia from the Bolsheviks. We know that you are tired of campaigning and fighting; we know that you have frequently suffered from hunger and want, that you have been poorly clad and shod in the past, and that you were poorly armed. But now all this is ended. We have supplies for you in plenty, and soon bread as well as clothing and arms will be distributed among you.

Make your greatest efforts, citizen-soldiers, and your last and final sacrifice at this hour. March bravely to fight the enemies of the people and of freedom, and fulfill to the last your duty; thus winning peace and happiness for yourselves and for our unfortunate motherland.

The new offensive by General Yudenitch followed soon after the issue of this proclamation. Its results have been described in the November issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. In this approach to the very gates of Petrograd General Yudenitch was nearer than ever before to attaining his desire—the capture of the Red stronghold. His forces were inadequate, however, and the Bolsheviks, by concentrating large masses of troops from other fronts, kept him from actually entering the city, and early in November had driven him back beyond Gatchina.

British Aid for Northwest Russia

The terms of an agreement between the British Government and the Northwestern Government of Russia, headed by Stefan Lianozov, were recently printed in *La Feuille*, a Socialist paper of Geneva. According to this agreement, Great Britain agrees:

1. To support in every way the Lianozov Government in its struggles against the Bolsheviks and especially in its efforts to occupy Petrograd.

2. To supply Lianozov with munitions and modern weapons of war, such as tanks, airplanes, &c.

3. To exercise pressure upon Germany so as to facilitate recruiting among the Russian prisoners of war in Germany.

4. To furnish supplies to the districts suffering from the effects of Bolshevik rule.

5. To grant a special credit of 1,000,000,000 rubles, after the overthrow of the Bolshevik régime, for the purchase of machinery and raw materials for the restoration of Russian industry.

The Northwestern Government agrees:

1. To recognize all Great Britain's special interests in the Baltic region.

2. To give the Baltic countries an opportunity to exercise self-determination.

3. To declare officially, after the fall of Petrograd, its disinterestedness in the Persian question.

4. To recognize all the debts of the former Government.

5. To forbear making any important purchases in Germany so long as delivery agreements based upon the credit arrangement with Great Britain exist.

How We Made the October Revolution

By LEON TROTZKY
[BOLSHEVIST MINISTER OF WAR]

(FIRST INSTALLMENT)

This narrative of the events that led to the overthrow of the Kerensky Government and the advent of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia is the official Bolshevik version of those events. It is part of a long treatise first drafted by Leon Trotsky in the intervals between the sessions of the Russo-German Peace Conference at Brest-Litovsk. In the preface, dated Feb. 25, 1918, the object of the work is declared to be "to acquaint the international proletariat with the causes, the development, and the significance of the revolution accomplished in Russia in October, 1917." It was addressed to the workers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and all Europe." The work was published serially in French at Paris in the Summer of 1919 by the Archives de la Grande Guerre, from which the essential portions are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY and presented without comment.

THE revolution was born directly from the war, and the war became the touchstone of all the revolutionary parties and energies. The intellectual leaders were "against the war"; in the time of Czarism many of them were considered affiliated with the left wing of the Internationale and were Zimmerwaldians. But scarcely had they assumed "responsibilities" when their whole attitude changed.

To practice the policy of revolutionary socialism was, in these conditions, to break with the Russian and allied bourgeoisie. But the intellectual and semi-intellectual lower middle class sought to cover its political incapacity by an alliance with bourgeois liberalism. Hence the pitiful and really shameful rôle played by the leaders of the lower middle class in the question of the war.

Sighs, phrases, exhortations or secret pleas addressed by them to the "allied" Governments was all that they could mentally devise; but factively they continued to walk in the footsteps of the liberal upper bourgeoisie. The soldiers dying in the trenches could evidently not infer that the war, in which they had fought for nearly three years, had suddenly taken another turn through the sole fact that in Petrograd certain new personalities, calling themselves Revolu-

tionary Socialists, or Mensheviks, had become a part of the Government.

Milyukov succeeded the official Prokrovsky, and Tereschenko succeeded Milyukov; that is, in simple words, instead of bureaucratic disloyalty, there was first the militarist imperialism of the Cadets, and then the absence of all principle, and political "complaisancy"; but there were no objective changes, and no real issue from the terrible struggles of war was shown.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE ARMY

To this, precisely, was due the gradual disintegration of the army. The agitators explained to the soldiers that the Government of the Czar sent them without rhyme or reason to be slaughtered like so many cattle. But the successors of the Czar were unable in any way to modify the character of the war, just as they were unable to pave the way for an effort to obtain peace. In the first months not a foot of advance was made, and the impatience of the army, as well as of the allied Governments, was caused thereby. This led to the offensive of June 18, [1917.] The Allies insisted on the offensive, presenting at the cashier's window, so to speak, old letters of exchange received from the Government of the Czar.

The leaders of the petite bourgeoisie,

intimidated by their own impotence and the growing impatience of the masses, yielded to this demand. They began really to imagine that only a push by the Russian Army was needed to bring about peace. The offensive seemed to them to be the only way to escape from their difficulties, the solution of the problem; in short, salvation.

No more monstrous and criminal error could be conceived. At that time they spoke of the offensive as they did in the first days and the first weeks of the war; the patriotic Socialists spoke of the necessity of defending "the country," of inner peace, of the "holy union," &c. All their Zimmerwaldian and internationalist enthusiasm appeared to have been swept away.

We, who combated them uncompromisingly, were well aware that the offensive might prove a frightful peril, and might even bring about the end of the revolution. We pointed out that they should not send into battle an army which had, as it were, just awakened to consciousness, and which had been shaken by the force of events whose import it still did not understand, without previously giving it new ideas which it might consider as its own. We resorted to exhortation, demonstration, threat. But as there was no other possible solution for the factions in control, who in their turn were allied with the Russian and the allied bourgeoisie, they showed us only a hostile attitude and an implacable hatred.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST BOLSHEVIKI

The historian of the future will not read without emotion the Russian papers of May and June, 1917, period of the moral preparation of the offensive. The articles of the official and Governmental organs, almost without exception, were directed against the Bolsheviks. There was no accusation, no calumny which was not "mobilized" against us at this period. In this campaign the principal part, as was only to be expected, was played by the Cadets. Their class instinct told them that not merely the offensive, but all the subsequent developments of the revolution, and even the

whole future of the State, were involved in this offensive.

The bourgeois machinery of so-called "public opinion" was then revealed in all its workings. Divers organs, divers authorities, publications, platforms, and pulpits, all were used to bring about the common objective: to make the Bolsheviks, as a political party, impossible. The tenseness and dramatic qualities of the press campaign directed against the Bolsheviks, all ready before the appointed hour had come, foreshadowed the civil war which was destined to break out in the following revolutionary phase.

This campaign of hatred and calumny was intended to excite the working masses against "cultivated society" and to divide the two radically by erecting between them a water-tight compartment. The liberal upper class understood that it could not succeed in placating the masses without the intervention and assistance of the democratic lower middle class, who held provisionally the directing power of the revolutionary organizations. The political hue and cry against the Bolsheviks had, then, as its immediate object, the stirring up of relentless hostility between our party and the deep-lying strata of "intellectual socialism," which, once isolated from the proletariat, would be bound to fall into subjection to the liberal upper class.

It was at the time of the first Congress of the Soviets of all Russia that the first muffled roar of thunder was heard presaging the terrible events which were about to occur. Our party had planned for the 10th of June an armed demonstration in the streets of Petrograd. The object of this demonstration was to act directly on the Congress of the Soviets of all Russia. "Seize the power!" the workmen of Petrograd said thereby to the social revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, who had come from all the corners of the earth: "Break with the bourgeoisie, renounce coalition with it, and seize the power!"

AN ABORTIVE DEMONSTRATION

It was manifest to us that a rupture of the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks with the liberal upper bour-

geoisie would force the former to seek support in the most advanced ranks of the proletariat, and that they would thus assure themselves a preponderance to the disadvantage of the upper bourgeoisie. But it was precisely this probability that frightened the leaders of the latter. When they learned the plan for a demonstration, they launched, in common with the Government, in which they had representatives, and with the liberal and counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, a veritably insane campaign against the demonstration.

All the trumps were played. We had at this time in the Congress only an insignificant minority, and we were obliged to retreat. The demonstration did not occur. But this abortive demonstration left deep traces in the consciousness of the two parties; it accentuated contrasts, and embittered hostilities. At a special session of the presiding officers of the Congress, at which the representatives of our group were present, M. Tseretelli, who was then Minister in the Coalition Government, declared, with all the uncompromising dogmatism of the doctrinary petit bourgeois of limited horizon, that the only danger threatening the revolution came from the Bolsheviks and from the Petrograd proletariat armed by them. He concluded that men "who did not know how to use arms" should be disarmed. This applied to the workmen and to members of the Petrograd garrison who had joined our party. This disarmament, however, did not take place, for the political and psychological conditions which would justify the carrying out of such a radical measure were not at hand.

In order to offset the effect of the failure of the demonstration on the masses, the Congress of Soviets announced a general demonstration, without arms, for June 18. That day was a day of triumph for our party. The masses marched through the streets in solid columns, and though, inversely to what had taken place in our demonstration project for June 10, they had been called out by the official power of the Soviets, the workmen had inscribed on their flags and standards the rallying

cries of our party: "Down with Secret Treaties!" "Down with the Policy of an Offensive!" "Hurrah for an Honorable Peace!" "All Governmental Power for the Soviets!"

Only three signs expressed confidence in the Coalition Ministry, those borne by the Cossack regiment, the Plekhanov group, and the Petrograd section of the Jewish "League," which comprised elements alien to the proletariat.

This demonstration proved not only to our enemies, but also to ourselves, that we were much stronger in Petrograd than we had supposed.

OFFENSIVE OF JUNE 18

Following this demonstration of the revolutionary masses, a Governmental crisis seemed absolutely inevitable. But news from the front that the revolutionary army had taken the offensive effaced the impression of the demonstration. The very day that the proletariat and the Petrograd garrison demanded publication of the secret documents, as well as categorical offers of peace, Kerensky launched the revolutionary army into the offensive.

This was not purely a gratuitous coincidence. The engineers of the political backstage had already prepared everything in advance, and the time of the offensive had been determined not on military but on political grounds.

On June 19 the so-called patriotic manifestation occurred in the streets of Petrograd. The Nevsky Prospekt—the principal artery of bourgeois circulation—was filled with animated groups, among whom were officers, journalists, and elegant ladies, all agitating against the Bolsheviks. The first news regarding the offensive had been favorable. The liberal press asserted that the main object was attained; that the attack of June 18, whatever its subsequent military effects might be, was a deadly blow at the revolution, for it would re-establish in the army the old system of discipline, and would assure to the liberal upper middle class the domination of the State.

We had predicted otherwise. In a special statement which we had presented

to the first Soviet Congress a few days before the June offensive we said that this offensive would destroy the inner unity of the army, would bring its different branches into opposition, and would give a great preponderance to the counter-revolutionaries, for the enforcement of discipline in an army in a progressive state of demoralization and without any new moral principle to support it would lead to bitter reprisals.

In other words, we predicted in this statement the consequences which were fulfilled later on under the general name of the Kornilov affair. We pointed out that in every case the revolution was threatened by the greatest danger, whether the offensive succeeded, which we doubted, or whether it failed, which seemed to us almost inevitable. The second theory proved to be the correct one. The news of victory did not last long. Instead came the announcement of sad events, such as the refusal of numerous army corps to support the attacking units, and the killing of officers, who, in some instances, were the only attackers.

Military events were also complicated by the ever-increasing difficulties in the inner life of the country. In respect to the agrarian question, industrial organization, and national harvests, the Coalition Government made absolutely no progress. The question of food and transport became increasingly difficult and local conflicts became more frequent every day.

THE GOVERNMENT HESITATES

The Socialist Ministers asked the masses to wait. All urgent decisions and measures, notably the question of the Constituent Assembly, were deferred. The irresolution of the Government was obvious. There were only two possible solutions—either the bourgeoisie must be expelled from power and the revolution must go on, or else, by severe reprisals, the popular masses must be muzzled. Kerensky and Tseretelli backed and filled between these two extremes and only confused the situation more.

When the Cadets, who were the shrewdest and most penetrating members of the Coalition Government, saw that

the failure of the offensive of June might deal a fatal blow, not only to the revolution, but also to the directing parties, they hastened to withdraw, throwing as they did so all responsibilities on the shoulders of their associates of the Left.

On July 2 occurred the Ministerial crisis, the direct cause of which was the question of the Ukraine. From all points of view this was a moment of extreme political tension. From different parts of the front thronged delegations and isolated representatives to describe the chaos which reigned in the army following the offensive. The "Governmental" press demanded stern reprisals. Similar demands became more and more frequent in the columns of the "Socialist" press.

Kerensky drew nearer, or rather publicly nearer, to the Cadet Party and the Cadet generals, and he showed publicly not only all the hatred which he had for the Bolsheviki, but also his aversion for all revolutionary parties in general. Meanwhile the Entente diplomats exerted pressure on the Government, and demanded the re-establishment of discipline and the continuation of the offensive. In Governmental circles the greatest heedlessness prevailed. In the breast of the working masses an accumulation of anger awaited impatiently the moment of explosion. * * *

THE COALITION DISSOLVED

I remember the meeting of the Executive Committee of July 2. The Socialist Ministers had come to report on the new Governmental crisis. * * * The spokesman was Tseretelli. He explained at length to the Executive Committee that the concessions which he and Terestchenko had made to the Kiev Rada were far from signifying the dismemberment of Russia, and were consequently not a sufficient motive for the Cadets' withdrawal from the Cabinet. Tseretelli reproached the Cadet leaders with their centralizing doctrinarianism, their inability to grasp the necessity of a compromise with the Ukraine, &c.

From all the previous experiences of the coalition only one issue seemed possible—to break with the Cadets and to constitute a Soviet Government. The

equilibrium of forces in the Soviets was then such that the Government of the Soviets, from the point of view of party policy, would have come into the hands of the revolutionary Socialists and the Mensheviks. We boldly defended this policy. But even after the Ministerial crisis of July 2 Tseretelli and his associates did not renounce their idea of the "coalition." They declared to the Executive Committee that though the Cadet leaders were infected with doctrinarianism, and even with counter-revolutionary tendencies, there were in the provinces numerous bourgeois elements which could still act harmoniously with the Revolutionary Democracy, and that to obtain their collaboration representatives of the upper bourgeoisie must be admitted into the new Government.

The announcement that the coalition was dissolved, only to be succeeded by a new coalition, spread immediately through Petrograd and aroused a storm of indignation in the workmen's quarters. Thus was laid the foundation for the events of July 3, 4, and 5.

THE DAYS OF JULY

The Executive Committee of All-Russia, created by the July Congress and supported by the unprogressive provinces, relegated the Petrograd Soviet further and further to the background, and even seized control of affairs in Petrograd. A conflict was inevitable. The workmen and soldiers expressed violent dissatisfaction with the official policy of the Soviets and demanded more energetic action on our part. The position of our party in relation to the movement of July 3, 4, and 5 was clearly drawn. The agitators of the party, distributed through the lower strata of the population, went with the mass and fomented an agitation based on no half measures.

The Central Executive Committee was in session at the Tauride Palace when the palace was invested by tumultuous bands of workmen and soldiers bearing arms. These elements (including anarchists, "Black Hundreds," and paid agents) demanded the arrest of Tschernov and Tseretelli, the dispersal of the Executive

Committee, &c. They even tried to seize Tschernov. The bourgeois press represented the whole movement as a pogromist and counter-revolutionary as well as a Bolshevik exploit, the immediate object of which was to seize the Government and to do violence to the Central Executive Committee.

All the strategy of Tseretelli, Tschernov, and others on July 3 was to try to gain time and thus give Kerensky the possibility to bring "safe" troops to Petrograd. In the hall of the Tauride Palace, which was surrounded by a large crowd of armed people, deputation after deputation arrived, demanding an immediate break with the upper bourgeoisie, absolute social reforms, and the opening of overtures of peace. We, the Bolsheviks, received each new detachment in the street or in the courtyard, and exhorted them to be calm, expressing our certainty that in view of the attitude of the masses the party of the Centre would not succeed in forming a new Coalition Government. The most excited were the militant ones who had come from Kronstadt, and we had great difficulty in keeping them in bounds.

On July 4 the demonstration assumed even greater proportions, already under the immediate direction of our party. The Soviet leaders were lacking in decision, their words were evasive; the replies that "Ulysses" Tseretelli made the delegations were void of any political import. It was clear that all the official leaders were in a state of expectation.

On the night of the 4th the first "safe" troops arrived from the front. During the session of the Executive Committee there resounded from within the walls of the palace the strains of a brass band playing the "Marseillaise." The faces of the members of the committee were immediately transformed. The self-assurance which they had lost during the last few days returned to them. It was the Volhynian regiment which was entering the Tauride Palace, the same regiment which, a few months later, marched under our flags in the vanguard of the October revolution.

This event changed the aspect of

everything. The Executive Committee threw off all restraint in replying to the delegations of workmen and soldiers and to the representatives of the Baltic fleet. From the balcony of the committee came words referring to armed rioting, which "troops faithful to the Government" had just repressed. The Bolsheviks were declared a counter-revolutionary party. The anguish of the upper bourgeoisie during the last two days of armed demonstration now gave way to an intense hatred, not only in the columns of the papers, but also in the streets of Petrograd, and especially on the Nevsky Prospekt, where the workmen and soldiers who were arrested in the act of "criminal agitation" received a frightful beating. Ensigns, officers, shock troops, Knights of St. George, remained the masters of the situation. At their head stood the uncompromising counter-revolutionaries. In the city the offensive against the labor organizations and the institutions of our party was pitilessly pursued. Arrests, domicile visits, bastonnades and assassinations occurred on every hand.

During the night of the 4th the Minister of Justice, M. Pereversev, gave out for publication "documents" which purported to show that the leaders of the Bolshevik Party were paid German agents. The leaders of the Socialist-Revolutionist Party and of the Mensheviks had known us too long and too intimately to believe these charges; but they were too much interested in having them believed to repudiate them openly. To this day we cannot think without disgust of those orgies of falsehood overflowing the pages of all the bourgeois and moderate press.

Our own papers were stifled. The Petrograd revolutionists felt that the province and the army were far from being in their favor. In the workmen's quarters there was a short period of disorder. Repressive measures began in the garrison against disbanded regiments, and various units were disarmed, while the leaders of the Soviet "manufactured" a new Ministry, including the representatives of the landholding bourgeois parties, who were not only incapable of supporting the Government in

any way, but could only take from it the last iota of revolutionary initiative.

MILITARY COLLAPSE

And at the front events merely followed their course. The organism of the army was shaken through and through. The soldiers had convinced themselves that the majority of the officers who at the beginning of the revolution, with a view to personal protection, had displayed the red cockade were hostile to the new régime. At the main headquarters counter-revolutionary elements were openly chosen. The Bolshevik publications, meanwhile, were relentlessly pursued.

The offensive was soon transformed into a tragic retreat. The bourgeois press overflowed in furious calumnies against the army; and, though on the eve of the offensive, the directing parties had told us that we were a completely negligible quantity, that the army knew nothing about us, and wanted to know nothing about us, now, that the opening of the offensive had come to such a tragic end, these same individuals and parties sought to throw all the responsibility for this failure upon our shoulders.

The prisons were packed with workmen and soldier revolutionists. The Magistrates of the former courts of the Czaristic period were charged to investigate the events of July 3, 4 and 5. It was under these conditions that the Socialist-Revolutionist Party and the Mensheviks invited Lenin, Zinoviev and our other comrades to give themselves up voluntarily into the hands of "Justice."

AFTER THE DAYS OF JULY

The period of disorder in the workmen's quarter lasted but a short time, and was succeeded by great revolutionary activity, not only among the proletariat, but also in the Petrograd garrison. The moderates lost all influence, the stream of Bolshevism began to overflow from the urban centres over the whole country, and, overcoming all obstacles, invaded the army.

The new Coalition Government, headed by Kerensky, openly began reprisals. The Ministry re-established the penalty

of death for offenses committed by soldiers. Our papers were stifled and our agitators imprisoned, but this only strengthened our influence. Despite all the impediments put in the way of reelection to the Soviet of Petrograd, the balance of forces had been so shifted that in some important questions we already had a majority. It was the same with the Moscow Soviet.

At this time I, myself, together with many other comrades, was detained in the Kresty Prison "for agitation and organization of armed revolt on July 3, 4 and 5, at the instigation of the German Government, and with the intention of furthering the war aims of the Hohenzollerns." The examining Judge of the Czarist régime, Alexandrov, who was no nonentity, and who had numerous trials of revolutionists to his credit, received instructions to defend the republic against the counter-revolutionary Bolsheviks.

Under the old régime political and criminal prisoners were distinguished. This distinction was succeeded by a new terminology: the common law criminals and the Bolsheviks.

The majority of the soldiers who had been arrested were perplexed. They were young boys from the country who had previously known nothing about politics, and who had believed that the revolution had brought them freedom once and for all. But now they were amazed to find themselves behind bolted doors and grated windows. During the daily exercise they asked me each time with great anxiety what it all means and how it would end. I consoled them by assuring them that the ultimate victory would be for us.

THE KORNILOV AFFAIR

[M. Trotsky at this point takes up the Kornilov affair in some detail. He represents it as an attempt of the bourgeois class, including Kerensky and others, to give the Bolshevik revolutionary elements a lesson, and explains Kornilov's subsequent abandonment as due to fear of the consequences of the latter's success. Kornilov's defeat he ascribes to the thoroughness of the Bolshevik propaganda, which turned the revolutionary masses against him as an exponent of imperialism. Despite the favorable outcome of the Kornilov revolt no immediate

political transformation could occur, because of the still existing effects of the repression of the July revolts, which had made the revolutionary masses and their leaders much more prudent. One tangible accomplishment, however, was the gaining of a Bolshevik preponderance in both the Petrograd and the Moscow Soviets, and the steady falling into line of the provincial Soviets under the same system. Confident of a majority in the approaching second Soviet Congress, the Bolsheviks favored it in opposition to the plan of a "Democratic Congress." This project was advocated vigorously by the Socialist-Revolutionists as a weapon to be used both against the Bolsheviks and against Kerensky, who had reached an extreme stage of arbitrary irresponsibility, though in reality his belief in his own power was mostly pure delusion. Kerensky, in fact, had become one of those "personal factors" whose elimination it would be the duty of the coming Democratic Congress, composed of Soviet representatives, diplomatic councils, zemstvos, trade bodies, and labor unions, to effectuate.

This Democratic Congress was convened in the middle of September by Tseretelli and his associates. M. Trotsky characterizes it as "a combination of Soviets and autonomous organs, 'dosed' in such a way as to assure the predominance of the moderate parties." It was, he asserts, a miserable fiasco. The bourgeois landholders, fearing dispossession, showed extreme hostility; the revolutionist proletariat and the peasant and soldier masses condemned the illicit methods employed for the convocation of the Assembly. The voting on the question of a Coalition Government showed extreme inconsistency; the project of coalition with the bourgeoisie obtaining only a few more votes than the contrary tendency. Coalition with the Cadets was rejected, but secret negotiations ultimately led to their inclusion as—social workers! The Soviet, eliminated from the Democratic Conference, was to be completed by representatives of the landholding class: this pre-parliament would function until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. The whole result of the conference was a victory of the landholding bourgeois element over the lower middle class. The study of M. Trotsky continues as follows:]

The inner situation, however, became more and more complicated and difficult. The war dragged on, purposeless, meaningless, and hopeless. The new Coalition Government did nothing to escape from this vicious circle. It was at this time that the ridiculous plan was formed of sending to Paris the Menshevik Skobelev to influence the Entente imperialists. But no sensible man took this plan seriously.

Petrograd was threatened, but the

bourgeois elements showed a malicious joy, all too obvious, before the danger. The former President of the Duma, M. Rodzianko, declared openly that the capture by the Germans of a centre of corruption like Petrograd would be no great misfortune. He cited the case of Riga, where, after the entrance of the Germans, the Soviet had been abolished and public order restored by the police organization of the old régime. "The Baltic fleet is lost; but this fleet is gangrened by revolutionary propaganda, and consequently the loss of the fleet deserves no great amount of lamentation," he said. This cynicism of a verbose grand seigneur expressed the secret thoughts of the bourgeois circles.

The Kerensky Government had no intention of seriously defending the city; on the contrary, it prepared public opinion for an eventual capitulation. The various branches of the Government had already been transferred to Moscow and to other cities. It was at this juncture that the group of soldiers of the Petrograd Soviet assembled. The state of mind was tense and disquieted. "The Government is unable to defend Petrograd? Then let it make peace! And if it cannot make peace, let it fall and be damned!"

This point of view expressed the opinion of the soldier group. The day of the October revolution was already dawning. At the front the situation was steadily growing worse. Autumn was approaching with its cold, its rain and mire. A fourth Winter of war was imminent. The food was becoming worse every day. The rear had forgotten the front; there were neither relief forces, reinforcements, nor the warm garments required for the regiments. Desertions multiplied. The old Soldier Committees, which had been elected during the first period of the revolution, continued to function and supported the policy of Kerensky. No re-election was authorized. Between the committees and the mass of soldiers an abyss was being created. The soldiers finally reached a point where they felt nothing but hatred for the committees. More and more frequently delegates from the trenches came to Petro-

grad, and at all the sessions of the Petrograd Soviet they asked the same insistent question: "What is to be done? Through whom and how is the war to be ended? Why does the Petrograd Soviet remain silent?"

STRUGGLE FOR POWER

But the Petrograd Soviet did not remain silent. It demanded the immediate delivery to the Soviets of all the central and local power, as well as the immediate handing over of the land to the peasants; the control of production by labor and the immediate opening of peace negotiations. As long as we were merely an opposition party, our rallying cry and the slogan of our propaganda was "All power to the Soviets." But as soon as we had a majority in all the principal Soviets, this rallying cry imposed on us the necessity of beginning a direct and immediate struggle to obtain this power.

In the country districts the situation was extremely confused and complex. The revolution had promised lands to the peasants, but the directing parties forbade the peasants from touching those lands before the convening of the Constituent. At first the peasants waited patiently. When they began to lose patience the Coalition Ministry adopted violent measures.

The convening of the Constituent Assembly, meanwhile, was constantly deferred. The upper middle class did not wish to convene the Constituent until after the conclusion of peace. The peasant masses lost patience more and more. What we had predicted at the beginning of the revolution began to be fulfilled—the peasants seized the land on their own account. Reprisals by the Government were intensified; one after the other the peasant revolutionary committees were arrested. In some districts Kerensky had proclaimed martial law.

Rural deputations thronged to the Petrograd Soviet. They complained at the arrest of the peasants for having, in accordance with the program of the Petrograd Soviet, transferred the landed estates to the peasant committees. The peasants counted on our protection. We

replied to them that we could protect them only if we were in power. The conclusion was that if the Soviets did not wish to be mere talking bodies they must gain possession of the Governmental power.

Our neighbors of the Right told us that it was an act of folly to begin a struggle to obtain power for the Soviets within a month and a half of the convening of the Constituent. But we were by no means infected with the Constituent fetich, all the less so as we had no guarantee that it would really be convoked.

The demoralization of the army, the wholesale desertions, the food distress,

the agrarian revolts, had all created an unfavorable situation for elections to the Constituent. The eventual surrender of Petrograd to the Germans threatened, moreover, to wipe the question of elections from Governmental discussion. And then, even if the Constituent Assembly should meet under the authority of the old parties, and on the basis of the old electoral lists, it would become only a mask and a means of justification for the Coalition Government. Neither the Socialist-Revolutionists nor the Mensheviks would be able to take over power without the assistance of the upper bourgeoisie.

[To be Continued]

Allenby—Victor of Jerusalem

Career of the Famous British General, Culminating in Honors
Paid Him by the City of London

FIELD-MARSHAL SIR EDMUND ALLENBY, Commander in Chief of the British Army in Egypt and Palestine, received the freedom of the City of London on Oct. 7, 1919, and was presented with a sword of honor commemorating the victories gained by him against the Germans and Turks in the Levant, culminating in the capture of Jerusalem. At a brilliant ceremony in the venerable Guildhall, which was hung with many flags and colorful with the uniforms of distinguished soldiers, in the presence of the greatest personages of the British realm, a laudatory speech on Marshal Allenby's exploits was delivered by the City Chamberlain, Sir Adrian Pollock; the freedom of the city was presented, and the sword of honor, a richly decorated gift, supplied by the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, was formally conferred. In reply, General Allenby reviewed his historic campaign. Later, at an elaborate luncheon at the Mansion House, speeches were made by the Lord Mayor of London, Mr. Winston Churchill, Mr. Lloyd George, and Sir Douglas Haig,

to all of which General Allenby made a suitable reply.

In a number of these speeches, which marked the crowning point of General Allenby's long career, the chief facts of his life were brought out. He had not originally intended to enter the British Army. From Haileybury, where he was educated, he attempted to pass the difficult examination for the Indian Civil Service, and failed. This failure led him to change his plans and enter the army. He joined the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons in 1882, and had his first fighting experience in the Bechuanaland expedition of 1884. In 1888 he served in the operations in Zululand. Subsequently he went through the Staff College course, where his remarkable abilities and strong personality attracted much attention.

Like many of the foremost British Generals in the European war, Allenby served with distinction in the South African war, taking part in the relief of Kimberley, the operations at Paardeburg, and many subsequent actions. He was three times mentioned in dispatches for distinguished services, and received the

brevet rank of Colonel, the Queen's medal with six clasps, and the King's medal with two. In 1902 he was in command of the 5th Lancers, and was subsequently appointed to command the 4th Cavalry Brigade. Afterward he became Inspector of Cavalry; this important post he held until the outbreak of the war.

Sir Edmund went to France as a corps commander under Lord French, and took a notable share in the magnificent but unequal struggle sustained by the "Old Contemptibles." In command of the Cavalry Corps in the Expeditionary Force, he covered the British front until the Germans launched their great attack through Mons. His cavalry again played a brilliant part at Le Cateau, and in the subsequent retreat, where the critical work of rearguard fell to Allenby and his men.

At the second battle of Ypres, the Field Marshal took up the command of the 5th Corps, and defended the Ypres salient successfully through the Summer of 1915. He was then appointed to the command of the now famous Third Army, which, among other exploits, fought the battle of Arras under his orders on Easter Monday, 1917. In this battle the Vimy Ridge was stormed and 16,000 prisoners and 150 guns were taken.

CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST

In 1918, soon after these exploits, General Allenby was appointed to head the campaign against the Germans and the Turks in the East, a campaign which the Prime Minister said in the House of Commons was "the last and most triumphant of the Crusades, the completion of an enterprise which absorbed the chivalry of Europe for centuries." The character of that victory and the generalship which secured it appealed universally to the imagination of the British people.

Despite the fact that, before his offensive began, his army had been reduced from a total strength of 316,000 to under 293,000 between March and August, 1918, Lord Allenby carried through in six weeks, between Sept. 19 and Oct. 30, one of the most brilliant campaigns in the history of the British Army. In this

short time the army of Syria, operating in a rugged country and under extraordinarily complicated difficulties of supply as regards food, water, and munitions, attacked and completely defeated the Turkish Army, which was well intrenched and skillfully led, captured 75,000 prisoners and 350 guns, advanced a distance of over 300 miles, from Samara to Aleppo, and compelled the Tur-



FIELD-MARSHAL SIR EDMUND ALLENBY

kish Government, owing to the utter destruction of its army, to ask for a cessation of hostilities.

It is not too much to say that these brilliant results were achieved owing to Lord Allenby's skillful use of resources which, so far from being excessive, might, on the contrary, be regarded as barely adequate for the task in hand, and that these resources were only the residue of what was left him after all the needs of the British Army on the main front in the west had been fully supplied.

ALLENBY'S OWN STORY

The detailed record of this campaign has been given by General Allenby in his official dispatches, which have been printed from time to time in *CURRENT HISTORY*. The following intimate sum-

mary, however, embodied in his reply to the City Chamberlain at the Guildhall ceremony, is well worthy of being added to the record:

As regards my campaign in Palestine and Syria, I should like to say how indebted I am to the London Division under Sir John Shea. He was with me in the Third Army in France. He did not take part in the Arras battle because the 60th Division was transferred to Saloniki; but before I began my campaign in Palestine and Syria, the 60th Division joined me from Saloniki, with Sir Edward Bulfin, who handed over the division to Sir John Shea, who commanded in Palestine and Syria. That division took a very leading part in the capture of Beersheba. Further, it was the division which eventually accepted the surrender of Jerusalem. When I say accepted the surrender, the general officer commanding that division had orders and took the greatest pains to preserve Jerusalem from any sort of injury. The capture of the city was delayed, for several days owing to the necessity of avoiding damage to the city itself. It was gradually surrounded, and the city itself surrendered to him without a shot being fired in the neighborhood of it. Subsequently, the 60th Division fought in the Jordan Valley in the Spring and Summer of last year, 1,300 feet below the level of the sea, in intense heat and every sort of physical discomfort. They fought there the whole of the early part of the Summer and took part, or practically carried out, with the help of the cavalry, the Australian Light Horse, and the New Zealand mounted troops, two great raids on the Hedjaz railway.

The first raid was at the end of March last year. The 60th Division got to Es Salt, and supported the New Zealanders right up to the hills, but the weather was atrocious, coming from the heat of the Jordan Valley to the bitter cold, snow, rain, and sleet of 5,000 to 6,000 feet above the sea, which meant about 6,000 to 7,000 feet above the Jordan, and they were unable to hold what they had so gallantly won. The second raid was made at the end of April or the beginning of May last year, with the same objective. All my mounted troops took part in it. The London Division again supported them, and had terrible fighting in the hills, trying to break their way through to open a second road to join up with the cavalry and mounted troops, who had already arrived there. The troops of his Royal Highness the Emir Faisal co-operated gallantly from south of Amman. The Turks were too strong for us, and again we had to withdraw. The result of this was that we applied a blister to that part of the Turkish front, which drew a whole Turkish Army over there,

and there they remained. The effect of that action of the London troops and our Arab allies, with the mounted troops and cavalry of the Dominions and India, enabled us to proceed with our preparations for an attack on the other flank, without any fear for our right flank.

IN THE JORDAN VALLEY

From the headquarters of Liman von Sanders we found that the enemy staff expected an attack along the Jordan Valley. I do not know why, but I suppose they thought that we could not attack them along the seacoast, because they thought that the necessity of keeping in touch with the Arabs would prevent me from moving anywhere else. I knew that his Royal Highness Emir Faisal would recover that flank for us, and I kept sufficient mounted troops—I kept the whole Anzac mounted division—in that valley the whole Summer. I was told by all the textbooks and authorities that no troops could be kept in the valley during the Summer, 1,300 feet below sea level, and in a heat which could be hardly named, and under frightful conditions of malaria. But we attacked the mosquito, drained the swamps, burned the bush, canalized the streams, and oiled the pools, and we were able to stay there. After we crossed the Turkish lines, we tumbled into it, and got sickness very bad. In six weeks from Sept. 19, when I attacked, I lost three times as many men by disease—malaria and influenza—as by wounds in battle. That was not in our own ground, but when we had reached the Turkish area, where they had not taken precautions for attacking malaria.

The London Division, after all its good work in the mountains throughout the Spring and Summer of last year, was called upon again to make the first hole in the attack on Sept. 19. The 60th Division was not the old London Division now. The call for trrops in Europe prevented Londoners being sent out to keep it up to the old London establishments, and, although there was a nucleus of two battalions left in the division, the rest was composed of Indian troops, and many of those were quite raw and had to be trained during the few weeks that remained between May and the end of August. They had to be trained to war and made efficient fighting soldiers, and that was done. The old spirit of the London Division remained in the cadre and animated it as it had in the past. That 60th Division in the attack of Sept. 19 attacked right on the coastline, and its mission was to break a hole for the cavalry to go through, and it carried out that mission splendidly. I was up there at 5:30 in the morning, when the division was ready to attack. By 6:15 three divisions of cavalry began

to pour through the gap made. They were told to go right away through the Turkish Army. The 60th Division went on fighting throughout the whole of the hostilities, and continued to take as leading a part as it had done before.

ATTRACTIVE "LADIES"

There is one little point which shows the spirit of that division. Before it attacked at Beersheba it was exercising so hard to keep fit that the general officer commanding ordered the men to eat and drink more and not to do so much work. They were wrestling and taking every possible exercise, and they also kept up the very best theatrical musical comedy company I have ever seen in my life. Later that entertaining company went down to Cairo, stayed there about a month, and cut out every other entertainment in the place. There were two "ladies" in that company, who broke the hearts of all the youths in Cairo, who swarmed around the stage door, but never saw the "ladies" come out. The "ladies" never did come out. I do not want to be

too discursive, but I thought you would like to know something about the London Division which did so well.

When I mention the London Division I do not want to depreciate any other. They all did well. I had an army such as a man has seldom commanded. In spite of its number of different units—there were ten or twelve nationalities—they all worked together and worked for one aim. I should like to refer again to the loyal work done by our gallant allies in the East. A commander was never more loyally supported by allies than I was by the Emir Faisal, who is one of my greatest friends, and I am glad to see him sitting here today. I thank you again for the reception you have given me, for the sword of honor which I have received, and for the inestimable privilege of being numbered among the freemen of this great city in this ancient hall. It is an honor which falls to few people, and it is an honor which no one can prize more than I do. In accepting this sword of honor, I shall look upon it as a gage of honor to remind me of my duties to London, to my country, and to my King.

The Straits of Constantinople

By DR. J. F. SCHELTEMA

ONE of the curious developments of the war, which presented so many strange aspects, was the effort of a British fleet, aided by the French Navy and a strong army operating on land, to open the Straits of Constantinople for the relief, in the first place, of—Russia. British warships had been up those Straits on earlier errands, in 1807, even as on this occasion, to comply with the obligations of a short-lived Russian alliance, but then guided by a different policy based on considerations of an exactly opposite character, though always in keeping with Britain's traditional attitude toward the chronic Eastern question. When her course, if not her aims, gradually veered round, as indicated by her treaties and agreements of 1904 and 1907, which were followed by the frightful conflagration that flamed up in 1914 from long-smoldering animosities, the world was notified of what would have seemed impossible a few years, nay, only a few months, before.

In reply to a question put to him in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, announced on Feb. 25, 1915, Britain's consent to Russia's free egress from and ingress into the Black Sea. True, this concession was prudently hedged; nevertheless, it denoted the passing away of a phase of British diplomacy worn out since the opening of the Suez Canal, a fortiori since the stipulations of the entente cordiale concerning Egypt versus Morocco.

Diplomatic squabbles and armed conflicts for the possession of Constantinople are of much older birth than the city's comparatively modern name. Its advantageous position as a bridgehead between Orient and Occident has drawn on it and on its successive occupants, last but not least on the Sultans of the house of Othman, the bone-breaker, that long series of encroachments which crystallized into the disgraceful scramble characteristic especially of the more recent stages

of the Eastern question. Thus far absolutely insolvable, thanks to international rivalries, the problem involved touches primarily the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, those narrow inlets and outlets of the Sea of Marmora, intended by nature for a double gate of entrance to the Black Sea and the wealth of Asia beyond.

MEDIAEVAL FORTIFICATIONS

Blazing a path for the European conquests of his descendants, the Emir Orchan, son of the founder of the Ottoman dynasty, had already made himself felt in the waters of the classic ox ford and the Sea of Helle, notorious pools of dissension between East and West from the most remote antiquity on. Masters, after Mohamed II., of the northern as of the southern coastline, his successors did not delay tightening their hold by means of the two strongholds which became famous under the name of the "old castles," Rumely Hissar on the European and Anatoly Hissar on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. In 1642, under Sultan Ibrahim, Saddul-Bahr, the sea-barrier, and Chanaq Qaleh, or fortress of the potteries, were built to remain for a while the sole works of defense on the western waterfront, which unpreparedness gave, in 1649, the Venetians an opportunity to enter the Dardanelles and anchor off Gallipoli, from where, however, Derwis Pasha obliged them to retire. Two more castles or fortresses were then erected, facing each other across the water on the hills of Yeni Sihr and Baba Yusoof, according to plans outlined by the spirited Sultane Validé, the mother of Mohamed IV. But, though the battle of Lepanto and naval engagements of a younger date had demonstrated the urgent necessity of taking the Dardanelles still further in hand, it was not before the Grand Vizier Mohamed Kiuprilli's firm rule that Qoom Qaleh, or fortress of the sands, and Kilid Bahr, the key to the sea, were constructed at their mouth, while nine other fortifications and eight batteries completed his system of defense between 1678 and 1700.

After a new period of inaction the diligent Baron de Tott, one of the numerous agents sent to Turkey by the Duke of Choiseul to assist the Sublime Porte

against Catherine II. for the benefit of France and greater glory of Louis XV., saw to it that the Dardanelles had again their due amount of care, fully aware as he was of their strategic value.

HEAVY MOSLEM GUNS

A good deal has been said by old historians and travelers about the big guns mounted on the shores of Bosphorus and Dardanelles in those and earlier days. It is well known that the Turks in their conquest of European lands, which they began to invade under the leadership of Orchan's son Solyman, and particularly in their final investment of Constantinople, made a clever use of artillery, far surpassing their Christian foes by their skill in the manufacture and manipulation of ordnance. Mohamed II. had, moreover, a certain Urban in his service, a Hungarian renegade and a worker in metals by trade, who founded a cannon described as the biggest ever seen. This monster gun threw enormous balls of stone and sank as its first victim a Venetian blockade runner, which exploit commended it so highly to the Sultan that he had it transported to his camp before the walls of Constantinople. Seven hundred men were required to bring it in position, and it needed three hours of rest to cool off after every discharge, while to its right and left two pieces of smaller calibre kept up the task of widening with twenty-two-pound balls the breach it had made. When these engines of destruction had been wheeled to one of the town gates, which showed signs of weakening, and the prime-holes of the trio were touched with the fuse to finish the job by bringing the bridge tower down, Urban directing the fire, a tremendous crash startled the besieging army and besieged garrison alike. Not the barbican had come to grief, though, but Urban's giant cannon, blowing up and killing him with a score of the Padi-shah's artillerists on the spot.

PROPERTY OF THE SULTANS

From 1453 on the Ottoman Sultans held the Bosphorus and Dardanelles and Sea of Marmora, like the Black Sea, to be their exclusive property. According to Dmitry Galitzin, Peter the Great's envoy

to the Sublime Porte, they considered especially the latter their private domain, where nobody was allowed to penetrate, Mustapha comparing its status to that of a virgin reserved for fine disport in his harem, and "he would rather have war than permit any one to navigate it." Peter's taking of Azov changed the situation. Catherine II., extending her empire, continued that work of southern expansion. Potemkin's victories, the formal annexation of the Crimea, the Peace of Jassy, Jan. 9, 1792, established Russia as Turkey's neighbor on the Euxine.

None the less, that maiden once unapproachable, save as it might please the Grand Seigneur, could yet be isolated by closing the double door of Bosphorus and Dardanelles until Britain succeeded in gaining a joint control of the key to her favors, which feat greatly agitated her lover on the Neva, too, the more so since the occupation of the classic Taurus had brought him, the White Czar, a wide step forward on his way to Byzantium. To cite Danilewsky: "Russia's right to let her warships pass from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean is nothing but the right to pass from her inner court to the outside world; the (alleged) right of other powers to let their warships enter the Black Sea at their will is the (alleged) right to invade our inner court for the sake of pillage."

IN NAPOLEON'S DAY

One of the results of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, which, for a moment, united Sultan and Czar in their common apprehension of his ultimate purpose, was free access for the Russian Navy to the Mediterranean through Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Thereupon the Peace of Tilsit introduced a different combination—the two Emperors thought that they could pool their covetings to mutual advantage. But Alexander I. asked too much. Napoleon hesitated. "Constantinople," he was heard to mutter, "Constantinople, never! The possession of Constantinople means world dominion." Accordingly, the negotiations between Paris and St. Petersburg failed, and Sébastiani, Napoleon's envoy to the Sublime Porte, became so unpleasantly active that the English Ambassador Arbuthnot

demanding his dismissal and the instant co-operation of Turkey with England and Russia against France. No reply being vouchsafed, Admiral Duckworth, in command of a fleet off Tenedos, received instructions to proceed to Constantinople and prepare for a bombardment of that town. Though the Turkish fleet in the Sea of Marmora was destroyed, Admiral Duckworth had to withdraw and sustained severe losses on his return voyage. Sébastiani having made it his business to equip the fortifications of the Dardanelles for that emergency. By the Treaty of Jan. 5, 1809, the Sultan engaged himself to keep the Straits closed, and England declared that from her no further attempts to force them were to be feared if he saw to it that all the other powers respected the compact. This was intended as a blow for Russia, and the antagonism displayed furnished the sick man of Stamboul with a handy trump card in the diplomatic game which he learned to play with consummate skill.

IN THE VICTORIAN EPOCH

On Oct. 20, 1827, the combined squadrons of Britain, Russia, and France defeated the Turco-Egyptian fleet in the Bay of Navarino. In 1833 Russia was on the side of Turkey against her rebellious vassal and obtained in reward of her services the Sultan's signature to the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessy, which annulled that of Jan. 5, 1809, and established a Russian protectorate in the guise of a defensive alliance. The second Turco-Egyptian unpleasantness gave Lord Palmerston an opportunity to resuscitate British predominance, and Article 4 of the Convention of London, July 15, 1840, laid down the closure of the Dardanelles as a principle of international policy, binding in still wider sense when France rejoined the European concert by her adhesion to the agreement of July 13, 1841. Henceforth it was the Sultan's duty to keep the Straits closed *sans phrase*, and the insistence on his renunciation of the right to open them at his will implied a curtailment of his sovereignty, guaranteed by the powers themselves, that humbled him. Yet, during the Crimean War, his

British and French allies sent, as a matter of course, their battleships and troopships through the gate which they were so anxious to lock and bar against their rivals.

The Treaty of Paris, concluded on March 30, 1856, which, by the way, admitted Turkey "to participate in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe," and guaranteed besides "the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire," (Article 7,) added to the stipulations of 1840 and 1841 this other one that the Black Sea should be neutralized, its waters and its ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, but formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war of the powers possessing its coasts or of any other power. (Article 11.) Russia was forbidden to have there any military-maritime arsenal or any kind of navy except a small number of lightly armed vessels for the coast service. A century and a half after Peter the Great secured for her an outlet to the south, she had lost more in that quarter than she had won, and she felt terribly aggrieved.

Small wonder that, when the Franco-Prussian war changed the international outlook, Prince Gortschakov, notified by his circular dispatch of Oct. 31, 1870, the co-signatory Governments of his imperial master's decision to renounce the Treaty of Paris, repudiating in particular the obligations derogatory to Russia's rights in the Black Sea. The protocol which embodied the result of the Conference of London, in the course of the next year, accepted the Czar's defection, Article 2 authorizing the Sultan to open the Dardanelles and Bosphorus "in time of peace to vessels of war of friendly and allied powers, in case the Sublime Porte should judge it necessary to secure the execution of the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris." The Congress of Berlin, held in 1878, from which British diplomacy, personified in Lord Beaconsfield, could carry home the glad assurance of "peace with honor," simply confirmed the status of the Straits as successively defined in 1841, 1856, and 1871. But, says M. René Pinon, in one of his brilliant discussions on international

problems, Lord Beaconsfield, elated by his success, presumed too much on the future, believing that he could count upon the uninterrupted continuity of preponderant British influence at Constantinople.

CONCESSIONS TO RUSSIA

At the occasion of the Armenian disturbance of 1895 the powers asked and obtained permission to station each a second warship off Galata. In 1897 Russia was allowed to dispatch troopships through the Straits on the same footing as, before and after that date, the ships of her so-called volunteer fleet. But when in 1902 she wished to reinforce her Black Sea squadron with four torpedo-boat destroyers from Kronstadt, Sultan Abdul Hamil II. seemed inclined to refuse. As usual there was much mining and countermining in the diplomatic circles of Stamboul, but at last the advice to yield, whispered from Berlin, if rumor did not err, silenced the arguments of the obstructionists, and the imperial assent was given by an irade which had no sooner been signed at Yildiz Kiosk than the four destroyers left for their destination. This, however, did not end the affair. Three months afterward, Jan. 6, 1903, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, Ambassador of the Court of St. James's to the Sublime Porte, presented a note wherein he stated that his Government, apprised of the passage of Russian warships through the Straits, would not hesitate to avail itself of this precedent whenever it saw fit to claim the same privilege for British warships.

And so, by the irony of fate, Russia and Britain, playing at *chassé-croisé*, interchanged the diametrically opposite views of the question of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles defended in 1878 by their respective plenipotentiaries at Berlin as in 1840 at London and in 1856 at Paris, trimming their ideas of international equity to make them agree with their shifting interests.

MORE RECENT INCIDENTS

When it was thought at St. Petersburg that a prompt display of naval strength in the Far East might materially affect the issue of the war with

Japan, the best squadron Russia boasted had to stay in the Black Sea, bottled up by treaties and agreements of which Japan's well-wishers in Europe supervised the desired interpretation. Instead, the Baltic fleet was ordered to go under command of Admiral Rozhdestvensky, who enlivened its roundabout voyage with the Dogger Bank episode and finally met crushing defeat off Tsushima.

The movements of the volunteer fleet that left Odessa to supply the Russian Navy in eastern seas with coal and provisions, or to harass foreign merchantmen chartered by the enemy, were greatly hampered by all sorts of regulations. Turco-Russian antipathy, adroitly exploited by third parties, militated worse than in any period of the past against the Black Sea remaining the Sultan's or becoming the Czar's, while the former's lordship over the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, even over the Istanbul Bosphorus, the channel between Constantinople and Scutari, was disregarded whenever it suited the leader of the moment in the Western European concert.

The incident of the Russian ironclad whose mutinous crew, after an insane cruise, appeared with her before Burgas and Constantza, at last ingloriously to surrender to the Rumanian authorities, proved likewise, if proof had been necessary, that besides Russians and Turks, other nationalities were astir in the Black Sea to dispute the pretensions of either of them. Both Rumania and Bulgaria, ignoring the question whether they had a right to any warships at all, seized upon the short but wild career of the Knavaz Potemkin as a pretext to increase the embryonic navies which they had quietly acquired, and to put their harbors in a better state of defense.

MODERN FORTIFICATIONS

As regards the defenses of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, the work commenced by Sultan Mohamed II. and recommended by Mohamed Kiuprili had been continued with the fits and starts and indolent delays characteristic of Turkish endeavor. There was a renewal of vigilant display in 1827 when Admiral Cochrane, having entered the Greek serv-

ice, menaced Constantinople without, however, substantiating that threat. At the example of de Tott and Sébastiani, General von Moltke and General von der Goltz gave successively their attention to the Straits, followed, also in this respect, by General Liman von Sanders, as the Franco-British fleet hammering at the forts between Qoom Qaleh and Gallipoli experienced to its cost without effecting an entrance to the Golden Horn. Neither did the Black Sea squadron, steaming up to its eastern approach, accomplish the capture of Constantinople.

Alexander II. pledged on Nov. 2, 1876, his sacred word to Lord Loftus, then British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople or identifying himself with the aims of Peter the Great and Catherine II., the stories of whose ambitious schemes were, moreover, largely a figment of the imagination. Not seventeen months later came the Treaty of San Stefano to show that no Russian Czar, whatever his assertions to the contrary, could resist the fascination of "the precious jewel of the Thracian Chersonese, contrived to clasp two continents."

FATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Assigned to Russia under the régime now defunct by an agreement among the Allies, principally due to the persistence of M. Sazonov when Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and announced to the Duma on Dec. 2, 1916, by the Russian Premier, Trepov, its award fell in abeyance owing to the Brest-Litovsk arrangement and Bolshevik reign of terror. As Mr. Lloyd George gave to understand in the House of Commons on Dec. 20, 1917, improving upon Sir Edward Grey's reservation of Feb. 25, 1915, "the fact that Russia entered into separate negotiations disposes of all questions about Constantinople"—i. e., with respect to Russian aspirations in that quarter. Lucky, perhaps, for Russia, because, apart from Bismarck's hypothetical forecast, Constantinople has always been a source of danger to its overlords. With the Allies in possession, we may also expect another prophecy to reach fulfillment.

When, according to the legend, Mo-

handed II. entered St. Sophia on horseback after his troops had forced the town gates and scaled the ramparts, and made the imprint of his bloody hand on the inner wall in token of his appropriating the Christian Church for Moslem uses, a priest was celebrating mass at the high altar, surrounded by the wives and daughters of the sanctuary's defenders, who, praying and wailing, counted upon a miracle to save it and themselves from Turkish lordship and violence. But, no miracle stemming the tide of Mohamed's onslaught, the priest suspended his holy office and, gathering together the sacred vessels, carried them in solemn procession toward the sacristy. Brandishing their scimitars and heading him off, the

invaders had almost attained him and his flock when, lo! he vanished from their sight. At first they thought that he had escaped through a secret passage, but wherever they tested the masonry of the solid walls, it gave no sign of sliding panels or masked doors. And it is said that up to this day, on every anniversary of Mohamed's capture of the City of Constantine, near the mark of his hand a faint sound is heard as of psalms and canticles being chanted in some hidden recess; that at the moment of St. Sophia's restoration to Christian worship, the wall will open in that place and the priest will step forth to finish his mass so rudely interrupted more than four and a half centuries ago.

Managing 200,000 Coolies in France

By CAPTAIN HARRY L. GILCHRIESE

WHEN the post-war tourist debarks in one of the polyglot ports of France he now sees among the stevedores a colorful sprinkling of coolies from the Far Eastern countries. Predominant among these are Chinese, Indo-Chinese, and Siamese, fused in the cosmopolite melting pot with Turk and Moroccan, Senegalese, and Prussian—all contributing their efforts, willingly or otherwise, to restore to France what four years of chaos destroyed.

These Chinese and their slant-eyed kindred are the outposts of a large army working in every port of France, and on the scenes of the recent world conflict. More than 120,000 of them are engaged in clearing the battlefields preparatory to the colossal scheme of restoration designed for war-ravaged France. This force, working under contract with the British and French Governments, is being continually augmented by new drafts from the Orient. It represents China's contribution to the war. Since 1916 it has been steadily increasing, the bulk coming chiefly from the northern provinces of Chihli and Shantung. It reached its greatest height just prior to the sign-

ing of the armistice, when it numbered almost 200,000. With the British the coolies are engaged for three years, contracts terminable at the option of the Government any time after the first year. The French hold them unreservedly for five years, but retain the right to sublet their services.

During the war the coolie went about his business of laboring in true hero fashion, impassively, and with outward contempt for danger. Frequently air raids, long-range artillery, and poisonous gas resulted fatally for him. Even now he is beset by dangers, the kind that strike him in the dark. Unexploded mines, grenades, "duds," and bombs have increased the already swollen casualty list of the Chinese laborers. But these accidents are always met by coolies with the stoicism so characteristic of the race.

Long before China's doors were open to modernism, church missionaries and representatives of the Y. M. C. A. had gained entrance and were working into the interior of the world's greatest empire. Now 200,000 Chinese have come into personal contact with our Christian civilization. What are their thoughts,



"THEY WERE TAUGHT BOXING AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR KNIFING"

[© By the American painter, Harry B. Lachman]

and how will these thoughts be expressed upon their return home?

FIRST IMPRESSIONS

Arriving from China after a voyage filled with heretofore unknown terrors, a voyage lasting weeks and resulting in strange maladies of the stomach, they were herded together in wire inclosures. English and French officers were placed in immediate command of the labor battalions into which the coolies were grouped, and noncommissioned officers, whose limit of Chinese knowledge was confined to "Chink" and its French equivalent, were assigned as gang foremen. Their charges, willing enough to work, were timorous, bewildered by strange sights, and, perhaps, a little super-sensitive. Gruff commands were misunderstood for insults, and the coolies refused to work.

For example, the English word "go" has a sound which in Chinese is similar to the expression for "dog." The phraseology of the "Tommie" unfortu-

nately is bountifully besprinkled with terms in which "go" is salient. Interpreters were not only difficult but almost impossible to obtain. Much valuable language was wasted on both sides, and more misunderstandings resulted. Strikes, and even riots, occurred with alarming frequency, and many uncomplimentary things were said by both the party of the first part and the party of the second part.

From the Chinese viewpoint everything was topsy-turvy in this new land of grotesquely dressed people, impossible languages, and peculiar customs. Darkness is the coolie's most dreaded enemy, and it was only natural for him to resent having his customary candle snuffed out. What did he know of air raids and the direful consequences of illuminating the way for "Fritzie"? The sight of the first battleplane surrounded by tiny white puffs of smoke, silhouetted against an azure sky, held him fascinated, astounded; then, at Calais, an air bomb fell in one of the camps, killing twenty Chi-

nese. After that he not only gave them a wire berth, but showed uncommon eagerness to find shelter when a Hun appeared.

AVERTING A CRISIS

Conditions were rapidly approaching a crisis in the British labor camps, where the coolies were held in rigid military discipline, when the Y. M. C. A., with a knowledge bred of many years' experience in the Orient, volunteered its services. For several months the "Y" had been urging a program of welfare, pointing out that with adequate interpreters and men who understood Chinese customs the chief source of difficulty would be removed. The British authorities demurred at first, fearing that Chinese-speaking workers in camp might react to the prejudice of military discipline, but this attitude soon underwent a perceptible change. The French had already accepted the Red Triangle as necessary to the successful accomplishment of work by the Chinese.

In 1918 the International Committee of the Y. M. C. A. of North America began recruiting secretaries for this new phase of army welfare work. It was required that these secretaries be familiar with Mandarin, the only written language of China. The co-operation of the Chinese branch of the "Y" therefore was enlisted, and for the first time in the history of the world, China sent missionaries abroad. Today, in addition to American and British secretaries, there are more than eighty Christian Chinese students, representatives of universities in America, England, and China, serving the coolie labor battalions in France. They come from fourteen provinces and forty-six cities of China.

SUCCESS OF THE EXPERIMENT

Difficulties over orders began to disappear at once. The coolies were overjoyed to find a means of transmitting their desires and needs to their officers. Some one was taking a personal interest in them for the first time in their tempestuous careers on foreign soil. They had wished to write letters home. Practically no one had been able to do this,

and, as a result, relatives in China had not heard from them in six months.

Letter-writing soon became more popular than gambling. Under capable instructors they were taught boxing as a substitute for knifing, (this had been one of their favorite pastimes,) and many a quarrel was settled in the ring before a Y. M. C. A. referee. Baseball and Chinese chess, of which they are very fond, soon replaced idleness and vice. Entertainments in which the performers were attired in their native costumes and provided with weird Chinese musical instruments drew them from the estaminet. So great has been the progress in reading and writing at the night schools in the camps that recently the "Y" started a newspaper printed in Chinese script.

Although the moving pictures and Chinese plays are by far the most popular features of this welfare work, the most beneficial service the "Y" is giving these unlearned Celestials is along educational and vocational lines. These men will exert a great influence on China when they return, and it is imperative that they understand not only the fundamentals upon which Christianity is based, but that they carry home with them an undistorted conception of modern civilization.

The illiteracy of the coolies is the basis of many amusing tales. During a heated discussion among laborers in one of the camps, the theory was advanced that the United States entered the war because the Crown Prince of America had become engaged to a Princess of France, and we were thus bound to support the cause of our newly acquired ally. A favorite subject, often discussed, is the phenomenon whereby so many Chinese came to be assembled in France when some of them went east and some west from China. Many versions of this remarkable discovery have been rendered, in which the sun, the moon, and the stars have been accused of straggling on their respective "beats."

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

These childish ideas are rapidly being dispelled in the elementary classes conducted by the Y. M. C. A., and



"THE PERFORMERS WERE PROVIDED WITH WEIRD CHINESE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS"
[© By the American painter, Harry B. Lachman]

the vision of the coolie is broadening. His war experience has contributed, in some measure, to this metamorphosis. When understanding first began to replace ignorance in his credulous heart, he worked, and even fought, for his officers when opportunity afforded. In one company two Chinese were awarded the British Distinguished Service Medal for conspicuous bravery. They went through a barrage three times to get food for their company when its supply had been cut off by enemy fire.

The work of the labor battalions did not often take them into advanced positions, but during the onrush of the German horde they were sometimes swept into the maelstrom of battle. Nor did they flinch. One company almost refused to leave the field, begging for helmets and a chance to show their allies the spirit with which the Chinese could fight. During the fiercest fighting in Picardy a British officer commanding a Chinese labor unit was caught in a sudden advance by the enemy and badly gassed.

Although they were hard pressed, the coolies grouped around him and fought with their crude weapons until relief arrived. They might have run and escaped, with a few casualties, but they didn't.

ETHICS AND BOMBS

The coolie's methods of warfare did not always follow the ethics of international law. When some German prisoners in a wire inclosure shouted derisively at a gang of passing coolies the insults were taken without show of the slightest emotion. The following day, having purchased some Mills bombs (at 10 francs per bomb) from the willing "Tommys," the coolies proceeded to "mop up" the inclosure, forgetting, however, to pull the magic firing pins which ignite the fuses. The Germans knew how to meet this emergency, and without a moment's delay picked up the bombs, pulled the pins, and hurled them back. The result was disastrous to the coolie brigade. But by the time they had learned their lesson the guards had

taken the situation in charge, and there was no more bombing that day.

These children of the Far East are effacing the scars of war. Their contracts are neither remunerative nor easy. They have agreed to work ten hours daily and seven days a week, but they are never held strictly to this agreement. The British give them 1 franc a day, and send a small monthly allowance to their families in China. The French omit this latter ceremony, but pay a trifle more. Both Governments make provision for the la-

borer's family in case of death or disablement. The Chinese are contented with their contracts—in fact, from their point of view the terms are very liberal. They go about their daily business of digging and carrying quite cheerfully, and with a vigor that bids well for the future of new China. It is the duty of the rest of the world to see that, when they finally take leave of the West, they take with them the message that our modern Christian world is worthy of emulation.

China and Japan

Aftermath of the Shantung Settlement — Contemporary Events in Both Countries

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 10, 1919]

THE resentment of the Chinese over the Shantung provisions of the Peace Treaty with Germany continued to find expression during September and October, and the parallel Japanese insistence on the correctness of its intentions underwent no abatement. The discussion of the Shantung award in the United States Senate was closely followed in China, and at the end of July the Shantung Provincial Assembly sent a telegram addressed to "The President, American Senate, Washington," voicing the gratitude of the Chinese for the sympathy of the Senate. The telegram read as follows:

Tsinanfu, China, July 30, 1919.

The President, American Senate, Washington:

The people of China, and particularly of Shantung, are extremely grateful for the sympathetic understanding of international justice shown by the American Senate concerning the Shantung clauses in the Peace Treaty with Germany. All Sino-German treaties became null and void on China's entry into the war as one of the Allies, and Japan has no right to claim that she is heir to the concessions and privileges taken forcibly from China by Germany.

The treaty of 1915 containing twenty-one demands was forced on China by Japan: the Kiao-Tsi railway agreement, the Kuantung-Hsuechow and Shantung-Tsinan

railway agreements were negotiated by Chinese traitors, and have not been sanctioned by the national Parliament. Chinese people cannot recognize such treaties and agreements, and will oppose them with the sacrifice of life if necessary.

Sino-American friendship has always been ideal, and to perpetuate this friendship and to maintain everlasting peace in the Far East we, the representatives of the Shantung people, address the American people through the American Senate in the hope that profound consideration will be given to the Shantung question and that America will continue her aid toward maintaining the integrity of Chinese sovereignty. We extend our heartfelt thanks.

(Signed)

SHANTUNG PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY.

NARRATIVE OF A DELEGATE

All through July and August the Chinese attacks on the Shantung provisions and the official deprecations of the Japanese succeeded one another in rapid succession, linked with arguments pro and contra. At the beginning of September a number of the Chinese peace delegates arrived in Shanghai. One of these, Kung Hsiang-ko, a Shantung delegate who traces his ancestry in a direct line through seventy-four generations from Confucius, returned after a short stay in Shanghai to his

ancestral home at Kufow, in the Shantung Peninsula, to prepare for the Provincial Assembly the formal report of China's activities in the Peace Conference. Kufow, famed throughout China as the place where the tomb of Confucius stands, felt more keenly than any other city the grief which the Shantung award to Japan brought to the Chinese Nation; for it is in a sense the very heart of the nation. After recounting the efforts of Dr. Wellington Koo and Dr. C. T. Wang to combat the pro-Japanese campaign which had hampered the work of the delegates at every turn, Kung Hsiang-ko stated his belief that one of the important reasons why China was defeated was because the Fiume question had received precedence at the conference. In this regard Mr. Kung said:

President Wilson was fully determined to support the Chinese cause. If the Shantung question had been brought up first it would, perhaps, have been disposed of to the satisfaction of the Chinese.

THE TREATY OF TOKIO

But the blow under which the Chinese delegates were crushed, said Mr. Kung, was the disclosure of the so-called "Tokio-Treaty," of which they had never heard until the Japanese produced it at the conference. This was a document of agreement concluded with Japan by the former Chinese Minister to Tokio, Chiang Chung-hsiang, one of the officials against whom the wrath of the students was turned in June when the Minister was deposed. Chiang Chung-hsiang, the Shantung delegate explained, acted with the power of a plenipotentiary in concluding this secret treaty, by the terms of which the German holdings in Shantung and, in particular, the railway concessions, were given to Japan. When Dr. Koo and Dr. Wang, protesting against the twenty-one demands, contended that they had been signed under threat of war, the Japanese produced the Treaty of Tokio, of the existence of which the Chinese envoys were ignorant. Mr. Kung commented further as follows:

When this treaty was produced it closed the mouths of all of China's dele-

gates and none of them knew exactly what to do.

When the Chinese delegates learned that the decision on Shantung had been reached all the smaller nations protested and the Chinese took vigorous action. At a conference a delegate asked who had made the decision. Speaking for the Big Five, M. Clemenceau answered: "We did it." When he was asked how the Big Five could decide a question like that he replied, saying: "We have suffered more than others."

We trusted Mr. Wilson entirely too much. We sent a note to him asking him how he could reconcile assurances he had given to China before she entered the war with the decision. He sent a representative to us expressing his sorrow and suggested that he would help us when the League of Nations was formed.

When the conference was concluded the Chinese divided on the question whether to sign the treaty with Germany. It was the students and Chinese statesmen in Paris who swayed those who were disposed to sign.

On the morning of the day set for the signing of the treaty, after China had been refused the right of signing with reservations, crowds of students patrolled in front of the hotel of Lu Chen-hsiang, our chief delegate, who had been suffering from ill-health and was confined to his bed. The question of signing had not been decided when the delegates gathered in his room. He was asked for the last time if he would consent to sign, and he replied with tears streaming from his eyes:

"I signed the twenty-one demands. Can I, must I, also sign this?"

It was the only answer he gave and the delegates understood. That is why, when the conference was called to order, the seats of the Chinese were vacant.

MARTIAL LAW IN KOREA

In Korea the condition of unrest continued. Since the attempt made on Sept. 2 to assassinate Baron Saito, the new Japanese Governor General, in Seoul, every part of that city was occupied by Japanese troops, and the place was virtually in a state of siege. The bomb-thrower was still at large, although a number of persons suspected of being implicated in the plot were under arrest. Baron Saito, on the day following the attack, which injured twenty-nine persons, summoned the Councilors and, apparently unperturbed, explained the keynote of his policy as Governor General along the lines of abolishment of discrimination and non-interference with

freedom of speech or publication so far as consistent with public safety. Answering visitors who congratulated him on his escape, he replied that he was ready to sacrifice his life, if necessary, in the cause for which he came to Korea.

PEACE WITH GERMANY

Parliament having agreed that the state of war between China and Germany should be ended, a Presidential mandate to that effect was issued on Sept. 15. The document contained the following statement:

Although, owing to our disapproval of the three articles concerning Shantung, we have refused to sign the treaty with Germany, yet we recognize all the other articles as our allies do. Now that the war is ended, we, as one of the allied nations, shall consequently regard ourselves as in the same position as our allies.

But though finally at peace with Germany, China was not at peace within her own boundaries, and the clashing factions of the north and south continued the civil war which has so long disorganized the country. The Chinese peace delegation at Paris had been advised on Aug. 28 that Wong-i-Tong, representing the Northern Government, had begun negotiations with Tang Shao-yi of the Southern Government looking to reconciliation. On Sept. 29, however, further advices reported that southern representatives had refused to treat with Wong-i-Tong; hostilities between the two Governments were resumed by Oct. 7, with the departure of numerous troops from Amoy for action against the southern forces stationed at Changchow.

Serious disorders meantime continued through the metropolitan province as the result of acts of brigandage committed by roving bands of outlaws, whose suppression could not be undertaken because the military Governor did not possess the necessary funds to move the troops against them. The attitude of the troops themselves was a matter of very serious concern. A large number of these were superfluous, but regular disbandment involved the payment of arrears, amounting to \$50,000,000, which the depleted Chinese Treasury, reduced to such disastrous expedients as the dis-

count of Treasury bills at a loss of 46 per cent. on the transaction, found it impossible to provide. Fears of a mutiny of these unpaid troops were entertained.

The National Government, nevertheless, sought to reduce its outlay for military purposes. Keen interest was aroused in Peking on Oct. 30 by the action of Parliament in making a reduction of the military budget from \$250,000,000 to \$160,000,000. As it was uncertain whether the Tuchuns would comply, General Ni Ssu-chung, Tuchun of Amhui, who advocated the reduction, began an exchange of telegrams with other Tuchuns recommending an immediate 30 per cent. reduction.

OUTER MONGOLIA'S PETITION

An event of considerable importance was the receipt of a petition signed by the chieftans of the "Mongolian Banners" and forwarded by the Chinese Ambassador at Urga, capital of Outer Mongolia, asking China to take this province back under her protection. Outer Mongolia had declared itself autonomous shortly after the outbreak of the Chinese revolution. On Nov. 3, 1912, by a protocol signed at Urga, the province was placed under the protection of Russia, and Chinese colonization and the presence of Chinese troops were forbidden. Later an agreement was reached between Russia and China whereby Russia recognized Inner Mongolia as part of Chinese territory under Chinese suzerainty, and China recognized the autonomy of Outer Mongolia.

The petition set forth that the original declaration of autonomy had been due to intriguers, that the Russians had treated the autonomous province with a high hand, and that the province regretted the loss of favorable treatment by the Chinese Government which the Princes and chieftans of Inner Mongolia still received. It also expressed a desire to cancel the declaration of autonomy, and return to the protection of the mother country. The petitioners further asked that China should redeem the 2,000,000 ruble loan which the Urga Government had contracted with Russia in October, 1913, and requested that the salaries or

allowances of the Princes and chieftans be paid by the Central Government.

The Peking Government sent a telegraphic message to the Ambassador at Urga accepting the offer and promising to pay the salaries and allowances; \$800,000 was voted for this purpose.

On Nov. 2 Captain Frederick F. Moore of the Intelligence Department of the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia, declared that the attempt of Outer Mongolia to cancel her autonomy and to return under the protection of China was due to the rapidly increasing control of the Japanese in Mongolia and Manchuria through acquirement of mines, public utilities, and concessions of all kinds, supported by a considerable strengthening of Japanese armed forces in Siberia and Northern China.

Another recalcitrant province, Szechuan, over whose boundary with Thibet a dispute had arisen, and which withdrew from the control of the Chinese Government in 1917, when it broke the three-year armistice following the Conference of Simla by an attack upon the Thibetans, was stated on Sept. 18 to be again seeking the advice of Peking in regard to the campaign it was waging, chiefly as the result of having been chastened by defeat. The Chinese Government on its part had proposed the resumption of the negotiations which had been broken off in India in 1914.

STATEMENT OF DR. REINSCH

On Sept. 14 Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, after handing in his resignation as United States Minister to China because of his inability to approve the Shantung settlement, left Peking on Sept. 13. American, British, and Chinese guards of honor were drawn up about the station, while the members of the Diplomatic Corps and of the Chinese Cabinet, as well as a number of students just returned from America, bade him farewell. On his arrival at San Francisco on Oct. 9 the former Ambassador made the following public comment on the situation in China:

There is a strong undercurrent of feeling in Japan that the best interests of the country will be served by making a liberal settlement of the Shantung question.

Few persons have any conception of the thoroughness of the Chinese boycott. So efficiently is it maintained, there is no question that Japanese interests are losing vastly. As an instance, one of the Japanese concerns with a capital of 150,000,000 yen constructed palatial steamships to carry freight and passengers up and down the Chinese rivers. The only competition consisted of old and undesirable British vessels. The latter are carrying all the Chinese passengers and all the native freight, while the Japanese line is plying nearly empty and is losing a million yen each month.

Americans in China are not anti-Japanese because they must oppose whatever Japan may attempt, but in the matter of Shantung they are looking at the question in the full knowledge they have of the situation and an appreciation of the fact that the pledge to restore to China the sovereignty of the province means only the return of the shell, and in this they sympathize with the Chinese, just as the other foreigners in China.

They appreciate, too, the fact that Japan holds a wonderful trump card if she will only play it, which is the return to China of those things wrung from her by Germany, retaining only her privilege of entering Shantung on equal terms with the rest of the world.

If Japan could only see it, that would be her reply to all the charges that have been brought against her, a reply that would at once convert sentiment in China from a probable lasting hatred into a feeling of grateful friendship and something that would be appreciated by the Americans in China equally with the Japanese. It would also be something that would disarm every critic of Japan in America and elsewhere throughout the world and pay Japan materially much more than she can possibly gain by pushing the advantage the treaty gives her in Shantung.

JAPANESE ATTITUDE ON PEACE

The feeling of Japan on the issues involved at the Peace Conference was one of satisfaction over the Shantung award, combined with chagrin over the failure of the proposal to incorporate a clause of racial equality in the peace treaty with Germany. On Sept. 8 Marquis Saionji, head of the Japanese Peace Delegation at Paris, in response to an address of welcome made on behalf of the City of Tokio at a banquet given in celebration of his return, reviewed the situation in the following terms:

Japan clearly understands her responsibility in aiding and promoting the useful-

ness of the League of Nations—that great international organization, which, if whole-heartedly and effectively administered, is destined to insure the world against the menace of war.

The Marquis pointed out that Japan had gained a reputation as a militarist and aggressive nation, which was due partly to sinister propaganda by interested parties, and partly because she had prosecuted two successful wars since she opened her doors to foreign intercourse. He added:

That Japan should be made the object of distrust and misunderstanding is immensely injurious to Japan, and not less unfortunate to the foreign nations whose policy in the Far East is influenced by this erroneous estimate. It is of paramount importance that Japan should correct this mistaken judgment abroad, while the people of Japan should exercise the utmost care in all their domestic and international undertakings to demonstrate the real national ideals of Japan, which are entirely opposed to militarism or aggression.

Marquis Saionji outlined the rapid demand which had arisen in Japan for armaments in consequence of the peculiar changes of the last half century. He pointed out, however, that military excellence was not the only thing to be desired, but now that the empire was consolidated and Japan was co-operating in a world movement to secure a durable peace, all the people should exert themselves to develop along the paths of science, art, literature, and industry. He ended as follows:

I feel confident that the time is coming when those who misrepresent and misunderstand us today will appreciate our sincerity in laboring toward international peace and credit us with success in the sphere of pacific undertakings. Then, alone, will Japan's position be made lastingly secure and unassailable.

STATEMENT BY DR. IYENAGA

Another semi-official utterance on the question was contained in an address delivered Oct. 4 before the Twentieth Century Club of Boston by Dr. T. Iyenaga, the head of the Japanese Bureau of Information. Dr. Iyenaga deplored what he termed "the campaign of misrepresentation, abuse and slander" directed against Japan since July, 1919, which, he declared, had produced "a gross mis-

understanding among the American people regarding the Shantung question." His interpretation of the whole situation from the Japanese viewpoint was in part as follows:

When we study the Shantung settlement by the light of the Portsmouth Treaty we at once observe a very marked difference between the provisions of the two agreements. The difference, however, is all to the advantage of China. By the Shantung adjustment—that is to say, in observance of the China-Japan agreements of 1915 and 1918, and the assurances given by Japan's peace envoys to President Wilson and Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau, reinforced by the repeated declarations of the Japanese Government—the Kiaochow leasehold is to be given up, the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railroad brought under joint Sino-Japanese management, the road policed by Chinese police, the military occupation wiped out by the complete withdrawal of Japanese troops, and the exercise of full sovereignty over Shantung, which was infringed upon by Germany, restored to China. In this way, Shantung will come to attain the same status as that in other provinces of China.

What Japan obtains are simply the economic rights and concessions in Shantung similar to those enjoyed by other powers in other parts of China, and the establishment of such a settlement at Tsingtao as the foreign settlements that exist at Shanghai, Tientsin, and Hankow. The Shantung settlement, therefore, far from impairing the territorial integrity or independence of China, rather serves to restore her sovereignty, which Germany had, in fact, overridden at Kiaochow by the treaty of 1898.

Such being the actual outcome, I am unable to understand what ground there is for the abuse that has been heaped upon the Japanese Nation on account of the Shantung disposition of the treaty. To restore the exercise of full sovereignty over Shantung to its owner—is this what you call "Japan's rape of China"? To develop, in conjunction with China, the resources of her potentially rich province, which, left alone to the Chinese, would long remain a hidden treasure—is this what you call an act of "burglary"? To contribute to the education, sanitation, and physical well-being of the inhabitants of Shantung, as Japan will doubtless strive to do along the railroad in whose management she has a share—is this what you call "the enslaving of 36,000,000 in Shantung"? Were these acts to be properly styled "rape," "burglary," and "enslavement," we would ask for the immediate and thorough re-

vision of Anglo-American dictionaries to prevent our disastrous blunders in understanding the English language. * * *

A BITTER EXPERIENCE

Every experience which Japan has gained is a priceless lesson to her. In 1895 she tasted the bitter cup of being deprived of the best fruits of victory in the costly war with China through the machinations of certain European powers, and not long after of witnessing those fruits slip from China's grasp and fall into European hands.

Is it difficult, then, to understand that, in order to forestall a repetition of this experience at the Peace Conference, which was to settle the world war, Japan felt it necessary to assure herself of the support of her allies by her allies at the peace table? This will explain the agreements entered into in 1917 between Japan on the one hand and Great Britain, France, Italy, and Russia on the other, as well as the China-Japan agreements of 1915 and 1918.

These agreements are the basis of Articles 156, 157, and 158 of the Versailles Treaty. The terms of the latter treaty are substantially the same as those specified in the former. So long, therefore, as these treaties stand, so long will the Shantung clause of the Versailles Treaty stand. Consequently, Chinese advocates are consistent, at least, when, in trying to annul the Shantung decision, they advocate the abrogation of the China-Japan Treaty of 1915. This, however, is out of the question. Great Britain, France, and Italy stand upon their honor. Nor will Japan ever consent to be a party to the abrogation of the Treaty of 1915. Moreover, in adopting such a grave course, China must be prepared to turn into "scraps of paper" many of the treaties she has concluded with other powers.

AWAITS EUROPE'S EXAMPLE

I dare say that Japan will follow the suit of other powers, if they decide to give up the leaseholds and settlements they maintain in China: if they return to her the rights and concessions they have secured therein, and withdraw their troops now quartered at Peking, Tientsin, and other places, and, further, if China sufficiently demonstrates her ability to defend herself and maintain her integrity by her own arms, instead of shifting the burden to Japan to stand in the Far East as a bulwark against outside aggression. Then Japan is safe, China free, and she will have attained all that she is clamoring for today.

Among the Great Five, the United States is the only disinterested power, free from the web which history has woven. This, if I am not mistaken, is the reason why

China, backed by scores of foreign advisers, is moving heaven and earth to persuade America to come to her own views, and is putting to a test the talent of intrigue and persuasion, which she has inherited through centuries, against hard realities. I am, however, inclined to think that the American people, who, however idealistic, hold as their first principle the doctrine of independence and "self-help," will first see, before they commit themselves and take upon themselves the burden of China, what she has done to help herself. The history of the past few decades is a sad commentary upon China's lack of "self-help." In fact, the genius of intrigue and wrangling, with which the Chinese are so strikingly endowed, is rending the country into factions and leading it to disintegration and disaster.

Such being the situation, is it not most urgent for our neighbors across the Yellow Sea to compose their factional quarrels, put their house in order, and exert themselves to uplift the country, so that their goal of the abolition of foreign settlements and of the system of extra-territoriality and the recovery of tariff autonomy may successfully be attained? The savior of China is found in her own self, and, as President Wilson said, in the League of Nations.

JAPANESE DISSATISFIED

It was stated that the Japanese Privy Council on Oct. 30 had suggested the impeachment of the Ministry of Premier Hara and the Versailles Peace Delegation for the "unsatisfactory" peace terms. At a meeting of the council on Oct. 27 Viscount Kiyoura, head of the special committee of the council which examined the German Peace Treaty, had declared that Japan made a mistake in raising the racial issue at the Peace Conference, and had criticised the Government for the failures he asserted had been scored by Japan at the conference.

In respect to the racial issue, Viscount Kiyoura stated that, though the Government had negotiated on this question beforehand with the American delegation, it had not consulted the representatives of Great Britain, Japan's ally, and its proposal of the racial issue had been both untimely and inadvisable, while the proposal's enforced withdrawal had produced an awkward situation, in which the distinction between the Japanese and the negro race had been ignored. He also regretted that the Japanese delegation had failed to insist on Japanese

occupation of the South Sea Islands. The League of Nations had recognized the American Monroe Doctrine, he pointed out, and it was a matter of regret that the delegates had made no effort to secure recognition of Japan's special position in the Far East. He also declared that the Japanese delegation should have protested against the proposal to try the German Emperor.

After reviewing the entire navy in an imposing display, the Emperor on Oct. 28

issued a message to the fleet congratulating it upon its showing in strict discipline, martial spirit, and marked improvement in tactical ability.

Kijuro Shidehara, the new Japanese Ambassador to the United States, made his first visit to Secretary Lansing at the State Department in Washington on Nov. 3, pending the presentation of his credentials to President Wilson personally as soon as the President should be able to receive him.

Tacna and Arica

The Powder Kegs of South America

By WILLIS KNAPP JONES

TACNA and Arica, the Alsace-Lorraine of America!" "Chile, the South American Germany!" These are catch phrases bandied about through Peru and Bolivia from the high altitudes of La Paz and Cochabamba to the lowlands of Lima and Mollendo. During a six weeks' trip through these countries I have heard the expressions from Indian and Senator, on seacoast and altiplano. Discussions of the topic fill the pages of the daily papers, once dedicated to European war news, and books on all phases of it are legion.

To get to the first beginnings of the trouble now involving Chile, Bolivia, and Peru, it is necessary to go back to the period of Spanish settlement when the country was divided between various colonies and ruled by various officials, all under the Viceroy in Peru. The exact boundaries were never carefully laid out, for a few leagues more or less meant nothing to the colony. The Spaniards did not attempt to delineate boundaries, except for their own farms. When the nineteenth century began and the yoke of Spain was thrown off, the new nations had too much to do to regulate such unimportant problems. No treaties were made over the geographical lines of any of the nations.

Bolivia and Chile were separated by a barren region, the desert of Atacama,

where no one lived and where nothing grew. Consequently, neither Chile nor Bolivia cared much about it, although the governing officials and the almost negligible customs revenue were Bolivian. Thus there was peace until 1841.

GUANO AND NITRATE DISCOVERED

In that year it was found that the seacoast of Atacama and the islands in the ocean were rich in guano, especially at a place called Punta Angamos, north of Antofagasta. A hasty survey put the value of this fertilizer at 60,000,000 pesos, (\$20,000,000.) Here was something worth thinking about. On Oct. 31, 1842, the Chilean Congress passed a bill claiming this territory. Chile pressed her claims on the ground that Alto Peru, out of which Bolivia had been cut after the War of Independence, never came as far south as the desert. Chile's northern boundary, she declared, was at parallel 23, and produced documents to show that the Captain General of Chile in colonial days ruled all the Province of Antofagasta. Bolivia replied that her own country extended to parallel 25. While they were discussing, the further discovery of vast salitre, or nitrate, beds in Atacama and Antofagasta made the matter of boundary still more keenly argued. Without waiting for the question to be settled, Chilean financiers and labor went

to the country, and, aided by British capital, began the development of the territory.

The President of Bolivia, Melgarejo, was a great admirer of Chile and things Chilean. He held a position in the Chilean Army and drew an officer's salary. As one Bolivian writer says of him,



MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF TACNA AND ARICA IN RELATION TO CHILE, PERU, AND BOLIVIA

"The atmosphere of honors and adulations in which the Government of Chile and its agents enveloped the dictator, Melgarejo, put him in the attitude of conceding whatever was demanded of him by that Government and its citizens. Things came to such a pass that he handed over to a group of these Chileans the concession of five square leagues of land and the sole privilege for fifteen years of exploiting and exploring the nitrate of Atacama."

All the countries on the west coast suddenly found themselves, or thought themselves, confronted with a war against a Spain determined to win back her lost colonies. A defensive alliance was formed in 1866 while the Spanish fleet

was bombarding Valparaíso, Chile, and Callao, Peru. But the pending conflict was stopped by the intervention of the United States. Chile seized the opportunity to come to an agreement with Melgarejo and a compromise was effected, making the boundary the 24th parallel. However, all the wealth between the 23d and 25th parallels, the customs on outgoing nitrate and other minerals, were to be divided between the two countries.

BOLIVIAN-PERUVIAN ALLIANCE

Yet, in spite of the apparent friendly spirit, Bolivia was not entirely at ease. She possessed neither army nor navy. Chile had a fleet of five warships and four transports, and was building two more of each. Bolivia found Peru likewise afraid of the war preparations of Chile, and in 1873 the two nations formed a defensive alliance.

Yet the relation between Peru and Bolivia was far from smooth, and at least once, when a Peruvian fleeing from political trouble was sheltered in Bolivia, there was much open talk of war. However, they managed to calm matters, and at Peru's suggestion tried to strengthen their alliance by inviting Argentina to join them. As later events proved, they made a diplomatic blunder.

In 1874 Chile complained that Bolivia was not living up to her agreement, and the representatives talked it over, deciding on Aug. 6, 1874, that the dividing line extended back to the Cordilleras. Chile promised to recognize Bolivia's sovereignty in Antofagasta in return for the confirmation of Chilean nitrate concessions in that province. Also it was settled that no increase in export taxes was to be levied by Bolivia. Once more peace reigned.

Peru took this occasion to show her hand. She declared all nitrate beds to be a State monopoly. The Chilean companies found themselves compelled to shut down and turn over their nitrate establishments, upon which they had spent time and money. All they received in return were paper notes, which were valueless. They appealed to Chile, but nothing was done, and they had to leave the country.

Meanwhile the President changed in

Bolivia, and in 1876 Hilarion Daza came into power. His Peruvian friends pointed out how the country was losing money in the nitrate district, and consequently in 1878 the President imposed a heavy tax on all exported fertilizer. At first it was to have been a 10 per cent. tax, but later it was reduced to 10 centavos a quintal, (220 pounds.) The nitrate men objected, called attention to the treaty of 1874, and refused to pay, asserting that it would spoil their business. Chile later imposed a tax of 1.50 pesos a quintal, and the industry flourished.

When the Bolivian authorities threatened to confiscate the nitrate plants where the tax was not paid, the Chileans called upon their country to keep them from being driven out of Bolivia as they had been out of Peru. A small naval force was sent to Antofagasta. Then Peru tried to use its good offices to avert trouble, but Argentina revealed the proposed league against Chile, and the latter, disgusted with such double dealing, declared war on Peru and Bolivia on April 5, 1879.

Valdes Vergara in his history of Chile points out how sure the allies were of victory. Peru thought her fleet far stronger than Chile's. Bolivia was confident in her army. Since 1839 Chile had lived in peace, except for two brief revolutions in 1851 and 1859, while the allies, with their continual wars, were well in practice. The naval battle of Iquique finished the Peruvian fleet, while the Chilean roto soldier, primed with *chicha*, his national drink, was a demon, and it was not long before even the capital of Peru was in his hands.

TACNA AND ARICA

Then came the treaty of Ancon with Peru, signed March 28, 1884, and with Bolivia peace was made a week later. By the terms of the treaties Chile was given the Peruvian nitrate Province of Tarapacá. Two provinces further north, Tacna and Arica, were temporarily to go to Chile. At the end of ten years a vote was to be taken, the people having the power to decide whether they would belong to Chile or Peru. The country which gained the territory was to pay to the other the sum of 10,000,000 pesos.

(about \$2,000,000.) The two provinces are really of little value, although Arica, on the seacoast, is the most beautiful port between Panama and Valparaiso, and Tacna, two hours from it by rail, is an attractive city. But the greater part of the land is desolate. Its chief value to Chile is as a buffer between Peru and the nitrate beds.

The plebiscite was to have been held in 1894, but it never took place. The terms of the treaty are largely to blame, because the manner of voting was not decided then. Peru has always insisted that only those vote who have lived for a long time in the territories. In 1910 Chile proposed that all who had resided there for six months and who could read and write be given a ballot, but this plan would permit the Chilean garrisons to vote, and Peru refused. And while they are settling upon a way Chile keeps the territory.

In the terms of peace with Bolivia, Chile received Atacama and Antofagasta, thus cutting off Bolivia from the sea. The delegates at the conference suggested that Bolivia would be given an opportunity at some future time to acquire a port, and that in the meantime Chilean ports were open to them. In the year when the plebiscite should have been held, Chile made another treaty with Bolivia, promising, in return for assurances of perpetual control of Atacama and Antofagasta, that, should Chile gain Tacna and Arica, she would turn them over to Bolivia. And if she lost them, she would give Bolivia the little port of Vitor and 5,000,000 pesos.

CHILE'S MILITARISTIC CLAIMS

Five years passed. In 1900, after Chile had settled her boundary dispute with Argentina, the Chilean Minister in Bolivia, Abraham König, handed a strange document to the Bolivian Chancellor. Among other things, it said that public opinion had changed in the last five years, and therefore Bolivia need not count on getting Tacna and Arica, even if the plebiscite were favorable to Chile. It denied that Bolivia was to have a port in return for the seacoast which she had lost, and added, "Chile has occupied the

shore and has become guardian of it by the same title as that by which Germany annexed to her empire Alsace and Lorraine. Our rights arise from our victory, the supreme law of nations." Thus Bolivia lost nearly 60,000 square miles of territory occupied by 32,000 people. From one of the nitrate districts alone, Toco, Chile gets an annual income of 5,000,000 pesos. Yet Bolivia is getting a return, too. In 1904 a new treaty was signed giving Bolivia 4,000,000 pesos indemnity and promising a railroad from Arica to La Paz, recently finished at a cost of \$25,000,000, which in twenty-five years will become Bolivian property. Bolivia at that time ceded all her claims to the coast.

Peru, however, is not yet satisfied with arrangements. Tacna and Arica occupy a place in Peruvian politics similar to that formerly held by the tariff or free silver issue in the United States. The papers there are full of talk now because a Presidential election comes this year, and the candidates are incorporating the "Lost Provinces" in their platforms. Then there is a hope, too, that the League of Nations will do something. From being newspaper and political talk, it has now gone further. Students in Callao and Lima made demonstrations against Chile. In Paita, Peru, the Chilean Consul was supposed to have been insulted and driven from the country. Exaggerated reports of the doings came to Chile and the incensed people started the present trouble in the country.

DANGERS OF THE SITUATION

The internal conditions of Chile are not enviable. The United States Embassy in the last few months has more than once been on the point of sending all Americans home. This is due partly to injudicious newspaper reports and partly to the underlying social unrest. The Bolshevik germ has reached South America, and the Chilean authorities fear an outbreak. Punta Arenas, in the far south, has been in open revolt, while the many demonstrations by striking workmen in all the cities give at least a hint of danger; so the Government is quite willing that the Peruvian issue should distract popular attention.

Little is known in the south of Chile of conditions in the north, for news is rigidly suppressed; but I had occasion to visit Iquique, the scene of the greatest anti-Peru disorder. In Santiago the report was given out that the Peruvians in Iquique left the city of their own ac-



MAP INDICATING LOCATION OF DISPUTED PROVINCES IN RELATION TO THE REST OF SOUTH AMERICA

cord, and the statement was backed by affidavits of the steamboat Captains who carried them to Peru. In Iquique the fleteros who row passengers from the ships to the shore, for there are no docks, say that there is a fine of a hundred pesos for any one who carries a Peruvian ashore, and we had to assure them of our nationality before we could land. One fletero told me that many Peruvians were taken out of their beds and forcibly put on board ships for Peru, and one American gentleman upon whose word I can rely, though it is obvious his name cannot be given, said he watched six mounted police guard his dwelling while a crowd looted the house of a Peruvian six doors away, completely wrecking it.

In the nitrate district also there is this same distrust of Peruvians. All have been sent away, and when I visited the

American copper mine at Chuquicamata the representatives of the Patriotic League questioned me very closely because they fancied I looked like a Peruvian.

This movement, it should be noted, is against Peru, not Bolivia. The newspapers recently published a report that the Chileans at the Huanchaca mine in Bolivia had been driven out, but while there I found that the director of the mine, a Chilean, had put his friends in power, and that it was not nationality but inefficiency which made the workmen rise against them. Their places have now been filled with capable Chilean and Peruvian engineers working together. In my six weeks in Bolivia I carried a card identifying me with a Chilean newspaper, and it got me a number of favors from the authorities, and several of them remarked that they were glad to be able to do something for a person from Chile.

Of course, everything is not quiet in Bolivia. The papers are full of editorials about a port, but they do not advocate war. It is Peru that is doing the

war talking, and Chile encourages her, for it takes the minds of the Chileans from internal troubles.

The educated people of both Peru and Bolivia see that war would not help them. Chile is infinitely superior to both nations together. Her army is well trained. She possesses fifty airplanes, the gift of Great Britain. Her warships are more up to date and better manned, and her submarines, three times as numerous as those of Peru, have only recently made the ocean trip from the United States to Chile, while the Peruvian underwater craft have never been outside Callao Harbor. War, therefore, would not obtain Tacna and Arica for Peru, nor get Bolivia a port. Many of the more thoughtful in both countries are hoping that a better way may be hit upon by the League of Nations.

[Official advices received at Washington on Nov. 4, 1919, stated that Chile had given Bolivia an outlet to the Pacific Ocean by ceding a strip of land north of the Province of Arica; the Bolivian Legation, however, discredited the report. Minister Calderon stated that such reports had been current in years past, but that nothing had come of them.]

The Negro in the War

How French and American Black Troops Performed Deeds of Valor on Many Battlefields

AMONG the factors which aided the allied and associated nations, including the United States of America, to fight their way to victory in the great war were the efficient services rendered by the dark-skinned Hindus from Britain's furthest dominions and the negro colonials of France—her Algerians, her Senegalese, and her Moroccans—whose fearlessness was demonstrated repeatedly on the battlefield—"black devils," the German soldiers called them, when, fighting like demons, they had forced the Kaiser's proudest shock troops to retreat before them. And America sent 80,000 negro citizens to do their part for the world's liberty. What they did was made manifest by ci-

tation after citation, the conferring by the French Government of many War Crosses, and the granting of many United States medals for distinguished bravery.

France for a long time struggled without the help of her black colonists, and the thought of the valuable man-service that was being wasted in her African and other colonial possessions, while French soldiers by millions were falling on red battlefields, was slow in coming to her. And yet, had she listened to the voice of Gallifet, Minister of War at the time of the Fashoda episode, and of Mangin, then a simple Captain, and of Gouraud, victor of Samory, she would, at the time the European war broke out,

have been able to bring a large black army into the field against Germany.

In 1908 Mangin, then a Lieutenant Colonel and Chief of Staff of Western Africa, foreseeing the European conflagration which burst forth six years later, took up the idea again, but his proposals failed of acceptance; in 1910, however, a commission, headed by Mangin and composed of four colonial officials, was sent to Western Africa to study the possibilities. It stayed there nine months. On its return it reported that an annual contingent of 40,000 black troops could be depended on, and recommended the creation of seven divisions within four years. But when the war broke out France possessed only the two Algerian divisions originally planned.

TRAGIC FATE OF ALGERIANS

The history of these two divisions of black soldiers is tragic. The men went into a hell of artillery fire untested, and they proved their worth. The 2d Division, which reached the front first, came into contact with the enemy at Rheims at the end of September, 1914. The thunder of big guns seemed only to amuse them, and the carnage left them unperturbed. From Rheims they were sent to Arras. In this sector on Nov. 3 the battalion attacked "on ground as completely bare as a billiard table, cut every fifty yards by canals five yards in width and two yards deep." For three days and three nights the Senegalese went forward under a frightful fire of artillery, infantry and machine guns, wading through canal after canal, wet to the skin, decimated by the terrific hail of projectiles, and ended with a surprise attack at 5 o'clock in the morning, in which when the whole front line was mowed down by the first and last German fire, those behind rushed forward and took the German trenches after a furious body to body struggle. Of the whole battalion only 3 officers, 5 non-commissioned officers and 120 men remained alive. So the second battalion of Algeria died on the field of honor.

The end of the first battalion was equally dramatic. It happened at Dixmude, a name made famous by Charles

Le Goffic in his epic of the French marines. With these fought the Senegalese. On Nov. 10 they were defending, with the Belgian troops on the left and the cemetery of Dixmude on the right, the allied trenches, which were furiously attacked. The roaring field-gray tide poured suddenly upon them from the flanks. Two solutions faced them—to surrender or to die at their posts. They chose the latter.

An extraordinary scene began. The madness of battle had seized the black soldiers, the intoxication of self-immolation. The mysterious call of their African blood was heard and hearkened to, and an elemental power, born of the barbaric life of the wilderness, lifted them above themselves. They roared forth to the amazed enemy their fury, hatred, and contempt. A hundred African dialects fused into a savage and unintelligible harmony. A vast chant of war and death, it rose and grew, became formidable, terrible, dominating all the battle, a funeral paean of the black warriors, *morituri*. And when the gray tide struck them they rushed forward, striking, killing, dying. The German troops could not finish with them. The German commanders brought up machine guns and from a distance of fifty yards mowed them down. Under the volleys the fierce hymn of war died away, and silence came. But history echoes with it still.

TROOPS FROM MOROCCO

Other territorial troops were raised in Morocco by General Lyautey. Some of them shared the fate of the Senegalese already described. "Imperfectly trained, but formidable fighters," went the record. Fully awakened now to the possibilities of her colonial possessions, France mobilized all available forces in Western Africa, in Senegal, Mauritania, in the Lower Sudan and sent a regiment into the furnace of battle at Champagne. The records tell of a cry used by one Captain Poupart to encourage white soldiers, who were wavering. "Come, men, another effort! See how the blacks are holding!" On Oct. 24, transported in automobile trucks to Arras, they advanced on the enemy from one parallel to another,

then across open country. The red flare of a burning mill illuminated the horizon. Then from the German trenches came suddenly a roar of fire. When it died away many black soldiers strewed the ground; but when the charge resounded the survivors rushed forward and swept like a wave to the German dugouts. The Germans were too many, however; the Senegalese too few. The blacks retreated without panic, and, reinforced by their reserves, held their lines. Six times in the night the Lavenir regiment attacked the enemy, sustaining many losses. The result was made manifest by the German papers, which admitted that the blacks were "good troops," had "fought well," and that their own soldiers "had never been attacked with such fury before." As a matter of fact, the black soldiers had saved Arras.

In the hell of Gallipoli, in 1915, the black troops of France fought also, and made the same record as elsewhere. But the man power of France was waning. A French envoy to Russia, who went to ask assistance of the Czar, complained of the wastage of human material. "The Germans," he said, "make war with machinery; we, with human breasts." Realizing that their resources were weakening, the French looked again to Africa. The creation of eight Senegalese battalions was planned for 1916, but the necessary mobilization law, for some inexplicable reason, was never passed. Special decrees, however, were subsequently issued, notably that of Oct. 9, 1916, by virtue of which a recruiting limit of 50,000 men was established. Raised hastily, this force, almost untrained, reached France in mid-Winter, and was amalgamated with other corps. At least a dozen battalions shared in the military operations of this period. The press recounted in detail the exploits of the Senegalese at Barleux, at la Maisonette, before Péronne, at the time of the offensive of General Fayolle on the Somme, and before Verdun under General Mangin.

At Douaumont, in the attack of Oct. 24, the fourth battalion of the colonial infantry regiment of Morocco (the regiment which, of the whole French Army,

won the greatest number of citations) sallied forth from its trenches, only to meet a terrific fire of musketry and machine guns. Wavering for a moment, the two companies at the head of the battalion swept on again. Split in the centre by an enemy force, the Senegalese rushed ahead on either side, attacking on the first lines. Thanks to this heroic action, the resistance of the Germans at Douaumont was broken after a furious struggle.

Again, on the western slope of the Fausse Côte, when the white soldiers, swept by machine-gun fire, took shelter, the 1st and 3d Companies of sharpshooters, all Senegalese, continued to progress, charged the machine-gun nest, and took it by storm. Inspired by the spirit of the black troops, the whole line renewed the attack, the Germans surrendered, and the German position was captured.

AT CHEMIN DES DAMES

The much-discussed offensive of April 16, 1917, a gigantic operation led by the British and the French from Arras to the Argonne, was disastrous not only to the French, but to the black contingents. The task of General Mangin was to take by storm the formidable position called the Chemin des Dames. Because of their achievements as shock troops, the fury of their advance under the most devastating fire, the black divisions were marked out for the first assault. At dawn they bounded forward and took the first German line within an hour, traversing a distance of from five to seven kilometers through a bewildering and formidable network of defenses. But somebody blundered. Halted at 10 o'clock in the morning before the second German line, bristling with machine guns, they were kept immovable all that day and night in trenches swept by glacial winds and clouds of snow. Their feet, unsued to European footgear and held like vices in their army brogans, became badly frostbitten, and on the morning of the 18th, when the 2d Colonial Corps moved forward, thousands of Senegalese could not follow. Whole battalions were thus put hors de combat. Then another blunder occurred. Many of these cases

of frostbite were easily cured. Had the black soldiers been brought back a short distance to the rear, and only temporarily, they could have been used again in the great offensive. Instead of this, they were dispersed, and when at last they rejoined their corps, General Mangin no longer commanded his army and the offensive had been abandoned. By the end of May, 1917, the black battalions were distributed over all the front and relegated to obscure tasks. Some regained a regimental unity in quiet sectors, some participated in the few operations around Verdun in association with white colonial troops. The year 1917 was ill-omened for the black troops, as it was for all others.

THE DEFENSE OF RHEIMS

In 1918 the Senegalese, withdrawn from the front at the beginning of Winter, and reinforced by belated units, were reorganized in the camps of the south by a colonial General, who created the fine battalions whose strength the Germans experienced in the Spring of the same year. These black troops, veterans of two years' fighting, were given the task of holding the martyred City of Rheims. The Germans, planning to take the city by surprise, advanced between Rheims and Soissons, and were beating down the resistance of the French first lines when the Senegalese divisions arrived. The German soldiers, who had already tested the temper of their black adversaries, had no stomach for further fight, and withdrew. But on June 12 they began another furious assault from the east of the city, and succeeded in capturing one of its keys, the Pompelle fort. By a fierce counteroffensive the Senegalese drove them out headlong, and the Germans did not return to the attack.

These continued failures, especially in view of the fact that the German papers had divulged contemptuously the secret that Rheims was held "only by negroes and colonial troops," became serious for German prestige, and on June 18 the Crown Prince ordered his troops to take the city, at whatever cost. On a front of twenty-five kilometers from west to east, three first-line divisions assailed the cir-

cle of the French defenses, preceding the attack by a violent bombardment of asphyxiating shells. The German effort failed again. At only one point, to the north of Sillery, the enemy penetrated, but was driven out. "We were struggling," wrote a German officer, "against those negro soldiers, who hold like walls, wait for our men till they are within five yards, and throw themselves upon them."

When, by a surprise attack, the Germans finally succeeded in taking le Chemin des Dames, a capture which brought them in four days from l'Ailette to the Marne, there was panic in Chateau-Thierry, which was choked with fugitives and fleeing soldiers. All efforts to halt the rout proved vain. Only one General, renowned for his exploits in Africa, made an attempt to stem the tide of the advancing Germans. In the ruins of the castle he installed his Senegalese, with orders to defend it to the death. These orders were obeyed. Vainly the German wave beat against the old walls of the castle, while the evacuation of the town proceeded. When finally the object of the Allies was gained, the handful of Senegalese soldiers came forth, bearing their dead and wounded, under the eyes of the Germans, who were stupefied by the small number of their tenacious adversaries.

So the French blacks fought in the great European war, the first in which they had ever been allowed to share. Isolated cases of the panic of raw black troops, brought for the first time under the fire of big guns, cannot impair the record made by the black troops as a whole. They, too, were the artisans of the victory of France.

THE COLORED AMERICANS

The negro soldiers of the United States arrived late on the field of battle, but in more than sufficient time to make Germany feel the strength of their arm. In all 83,600 negroes were drafted for service in the National Army sent overseas. More than 626 of the 1,250 colored men who completed their course of training were commissioned as officers in the United States Army; nearly 100 negro physicians and surgeons received com-

missions as officers in the Medical Reserve Corps, and a full fighting force of 30,000 men constituted the 92d Division detailed for duty in France under General Pershing. The total number of negro combat troops was 42,000.

Like the Senegalese forces of the French Army, the black American troops held their own on European battlefields and stood the test of courage, endurance and aggressiveness in moments of the greatest stress. They fought valiantly at Château-Thierry, Soissons, on the Vesle, in Champagne, in the Argonne, and in the final attacks in the Metz region. The entire first battalion of the 367th Infantry, the "Buffaloes," as it was called, was awarded the Croix de Guerre for heroism in the drive on Metz. The soldiers of this battalion received their baptism of fire in this attack; at the start they won honors which veterans of many conflicts had failed to capture. In other engagements three black regiments as units were awarded the Croix de Guerre, which bestows on each man the right to wear the coveted badge. When the fighting stopped, it was the negro troops who were nearest to the Rhine. Whether performing individual exploits, fighting in a single regiment, or doing battle in a division made up entirely of men of his organization the negro soldier rose to every test.

In the Argonne the 368th Infantry, colored, sent a volunteer runner with a message to the left flank of an American firing line. The way led across an open field swept by heavy enemy machine-gun fire. Before he had gone far, a shell cut him down. As he fell he shouted back to his comrades that some one should come and get the message. Another member of the regiment, Lieutenant Campbell, dashed across the shell-swept space, picked up the wounded private, and, amid a hail of German bullets, carried his man back to the American lines, winning by this achievement the Distinguished Service Cross and the promotion to a Captaincy. Under the same Lieutenant Campbell a few black soldiers, armed only with their rifles, trench knives, and hand grenades, moving over a road in the Château-Thierry sector,

by a clever ruse and great bravery, captured a concealed machine gun that had been doing deadly work, killed four of the Germans operating it, and made prisoners of the other three.

DEEDS OF 372D REGIMENT

Four of the negro regiments first sent over, the 369th, 370th, 371st, and 372d, afterward organized into the Provisional 93d Division, were brigaded separately with French troops. The fighting record of the 372d may be taken as typical. The men had arrived in France on April 14, and had gone into training with the French on April 28. On June 6 the 372d was sent to the trenches just west of Verdun, and occupied the famous battle-swept Hill 304 and sections at Four de Paris and Vauquois. On Hill 304 thousands of French and German soldiers had fallen as the battleline swung back and forth. This hill was given to the negroes to hold, and they held it.

In the Champagne sector, with Montoir as the objective, the negroes cheered and sang when the announcement that they were going into battle was made. From June 6 to Sept. 10, in the bloody Argonne Forest, the 372d bore the brunt of the terrific battle for weeks. They took an active part in the Argonne offensive, which lasted from Sept. 26 to Oct. 7. In the ordeal of this gigantic drive, the negro troops proved their fighting qualities in deadly striking power and stubborn resistance in moments of crisis, and made for themselves such a record that they won as a unit the coveted Croix de Guerre. The casualty list showed 500 men killed, wounded, and gassed.

Another regiment's record, that of the 369th, commanded by Colonel William Hayward, ex-Public Service Commissioner, is equally striking. The 369th was in the Champagne offensive as a part of the Fourth Army, commanded by General Gouraud, a few miles west of the Argonne Forest. The accomplishment of this regiment was described by Colonel Hayward in the opening lines of his official report:

At 5:25 A. M. the assault was launched, an assault that kept assaulting so far as our division was concerned, for twelve days, in which we crossed rivers, captured

towns, cut and climbed through acres and acres of barbed wire entanglements, stormed bluffs, ridges and hills for fourteen kilometers, all the way facing stubborn and terribly effective artillery and machine-gun fire. At the end of twelve days we came out with our division, what was left of us, which included twenty officers.

At the very end of the war the 369th won another distinction, pointed out by *The Stars and Stripes*, the organ of the American troops in France, in the following announcement:

The furthest north at 11 o'clock [when the armistice went into effect, Nov. 11, 1918] on the front of the two armies was held at the extreme American left, up Sedan way, by the troops of the 77th Division. The furthest east—the nearest to the Rhine—was held by those negro soldiers who used to make up the old New York 15th, and who have long been brigaded with the French. They were in Alsace, and their line ran through Thann and across the railway that leads to Colmar.

NEGRO DIVISION IN ACTION

Soon after the 92d Division was thoroughly organized it took over the Marbach sector. The fury of these men's trench raids won from the Germans the sobriquet of "schwarze Teufel," (black devils.) By these raids they drove the Germans north beyond Erehaut and Voivrotte to Cheminot Bridge. To check these attacks the Germans tried to destroy the bridge, and flooded the country. Up to that time, it should be remembered, the 92d Division as a unit had never been in battle. Only the 368th Infantry had received the baptism of fire in the Argonne Forest.

The division's chance came in the drive on Metz. At 4 o'clock one Sunday morning (Nov. 10, 1918) they were notified that they were to be sent into action. Through the whole division echoed the fighting slogan of the "Buffaloes," the 367th Infantry: "See it through!"

The 92d began its advance at 7 o'clock from Pont-à-Mousson. Facing it was a valley commanded by the heavy guns of Metz, and by nests of German machine guns. The negro troops realized their first great opportunity. Fused by a species of race solidarity they plunged forward like a single man, swiftly, unflin-

ingly, through a veritable rain of shell-fire, heedless of their losses. Their objective for the day was Bois Fréhaut. Picked Moroccan and Senegalese troops of the French Army, striking for the same point, in an odd competition of black races on this day, were the first to arrive. The Germans, grasping the situation, pounded Bois Fréhaut with a heavy fire, and the Senegalese and Moroccans were finally compelled to retreat.

Of the American negro troops, the 56th Regiment was forced to withdraw, but not until after heavy loss. It was the 1st Battalion of the "Buffaloes," commanded by Major Charles L. Appleton of New York, with negro company commanders and Lieutenants, that was called upon to hold the Germans at bay while the decimated 56th retreated. The iron resistance which the Buffaloes made to the Germans on this occasion, in the face of a terrific fire, won for the battalion the Croix de Guerre. A little later Bois Fréhaut was taken by the 92d. The murderous fire directed against the swiftly advancing blacks could not deter them. *The Stars and Stripes* said of this fight:

Probably the hardest fighting done by any Americans in the final hour was that which engaged the troops of the 28th, 92d, 81st, and 7th Divisions of the Second American Army, who launched a fire-eating attack above Vigneulles just at dawn on the 11th. It was no mild thing, that last flare of battle, and the order to cease firing did not reach the men in the front line until the last moment, when the runners sped with it from fox hole to fox hole.

Numerous officers and privates of the 92d were commended for meritorious conduct by General Orders. At the close of hostilities the negro division held the line Vandières-St. Michel-Xon-Norry. The 92d suffered a total of 1,478 casualties.

So the negro soldier, alike of Africa and of the United States, played his part in the great war. Along the northeast front, in Rheims, on the Marne, at Mont de Choisy, in the Argonne, before Metz, these troops held their ground or broke the enemy lines by their unconquerable tenacity. As a French writer put it, "they fought like demons, and they died like men."

Haiti and the American Occupation

By DR. FRANCOIS DALENCOUR

[A RESIDENT OF HAITI]

EVENTS in Haiti both before and during the period of the war have been little known in the United States. The negro republic, which traces its history back to the discovery of the island by Columbus in 1492, has passed through five political phases:

1. The Indian period. (Prior to 1492.)
2. The Spanish period. (From 1492 to 1697.)
3. The French period. (From 1697 to 1804.)
4. The Haitian period. (From 1804 to 1915.)
5. The Haitian-American period. (From 1915—.)

The first of these periods is but little known. The Spanish period was marked by cruelty and oppression on the part of the Spaniards, who exploited the Indians unscrupulously. Subsequently they imported black slaves from Africa. Under Spanish rule the Island of Hispaniola, as the discoverers had baptized their island possession, suffered rapid decline; the mines were empty and deserted, agriculture was neglected, and the incompetency and corruption of the various Spanish Governors went on unchecked.

In the year 1626 French and English adventurers came to Haiti. These new immigrants were called "Freebooters" and "Buccaneers." They established factories in the north of the island, but the French gained the predominance and drove the English away, subsequently taking possession of the whole western part of the island, which they called Saint Domingue, (Santo Domingo.) In 1697 the Treaty of Ryswick ceded all this territory permanently to France. The French colony soon became rich and prosperous. Santo Domingo was called by them the "Pearl of the Antilles." Under their rule the slave trade was actively pursued. During the American Revolution 800 young Haitians, blacks or mulattoes, took part in the expedition of Lafayette to aid the American colonists. History has preserved their names—Beauvais, Rigaud, J. B. Chavannes, Jourdain among others.

ERA OF INDEPENDENCE

Haiti, like the rest of the world, but even more strongly, was affected by the French Revolution of 1789. A Haitian who had been educated in Paris, Vincent Ogé, returned to Santo Domingo, and sought out Jean Baptiste Chavannes, who had fought at Savannah for the independence of the United States. These two Haitians initiated an uprising of the slaves, but they were defeated and executed. The ideal of liberty, however, had been spread through Haiti, and was upheld by the brilliant but brief career of Toussaint L'Ouverture; although Napoleon I. sent a military force to compel the allegiance of Haiti, his efforts ended in failure. After many struggles Haiti became independent on Jan. 1, 1804, and the national period began. Dessalines, Commander in Chief of the Haitian Independence Army, was proclaimed Emperor under the title of James I. He died in 1806, and was succeeded by Alexander Piéton, who became the first President of Haiti.

A temporary revolt by General Henri Christophe, head of the northern army, who proclaimed himself King Henry I., failed with his death, and the whole western part of the island became a single State, Haiti,* under the Presidency of Jean Pierre Boyer, who succeeded Piéton in 1818. In 1820 the whole island was under one unified control. But after the departure of Boyer in 1843, the eastern part of the island, the former Spanish colony, became an independent State. It is now called the Dominican Republic. After Boyer there came a bewildering succession of Haitian Presidents; from 1843 to 1915 no fewer than twenty-two may be counted; in the past ten years, especially, a new President has been elected practically every year.

*The name Haiti is derived from the Indian word Aiti, meaning a high and mountainous country.



CITY OF PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, WITH A VIEW OF ITS HARBOR

(© Brown & Dawson)

Bad politics, graft, incompetency, bad faith in public business and constant revolutions brought about a deplorable state of public affairs in the Haitian Republic.

RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES

For the past twenty years the American Government, well informed of existing conditions, has been watching the Haitian Republic. The public men of the negro State seemed quite blind to their country's welfare. Ambition and love of money dominated them in all their acts. At the end of the year 1914, during the Presidency of Davilmar Théodore, the American Government notified the Haitian Government that it was disposed to grant recognition on condition that a Haitian mission sign at Washington a satisfactory protocol relative to certain questions, first among which should be a customs convention along the lines of that made with the Dominican Government. The draft of such a protocol was submitted to Haiti, according to the terms of which a Gen-

eral Receiver and Financial Adviser were to be appointed by the President of the United States to receive and disburse all moneys received; the debts of Haiti were to be audited and controlled, and a sinking fund established and maintained.

But on Dec. 15, 1914, the Haitian Government answered that it could not accept this convention, on the ground that it meant the intervention of a foreign power in the affairs of the Administration. On Dec. 19 the Legation of the United States declared that it had proposed this agreement only with the object of giving assistance to the Haitian Government, adding that, as Haiti showed no disposition to ratify it, there would be no insistence on the part of the Government of the United States. Unhappily, the warring political factions of the country could not maintain peace among themselves; a new revolution occurred, in which the Government of Davilmar Théodore was overthrown, and General Vilbrun Guillaume was elected President.



MAP SHOWING CHIEF DIVISIONS AND CITIES OF THE NEGRO REPUBLIC OF HAITI AND ITS RELATION TO SANTO DOMINGO

Immediately the American Government sent two Americans to Port-au-Prince, Mr. Ford and Mr. Smith, on a semi-official mission. With the American Minister, Bailly Blanchard, they were received by the President of Haiti, with whom they sought to resume the conversations interrupted in December, 1914. But after discovering that these two envoys had no official letters of authority from the American Government, the Haitian officials refused to negotiate with them, and the two American representatives, after filing a protest, departed on an American man-of-war. This was in April, 1915.

In May the United States Government sent Paul Fuller, Jr., to Haiti, as Envoy Extraordinary, charged not to recognize the Government of Vilbrun Guillaume officially unless the latter accepted a new convention. This new protocol called for a close and confidential advisory connection between the United States and Haiti, to be established through the respective Presidents of the two countries and Mr. Fuller and Ulrich Duverin, Haitian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; it also provided for the protection

of Haiti by the American Government against either foreign or internal aggression; the refusal of any rights or privileges in Haiti to any foreign power or its representatives, and the settlement of American or other foreign claims by arbitration within a period of six months. In response to the presentation of this proposed convention, the Haitian Government submitted a counterdraft embodying some modifications. Mr. Fuller accepted some of these modifications, but suddenly, in the first days of June, 1915, with the outbreak of a new revolution, he took his departure.

ANTI-AMERICAN DEMONSTRATIONS

This upheaval had broken out quite unexpectedly. Civil war raged, amid scenes of bloodshed, pillage, and fire, in the north. On June 2 the American Secretary of State, William J. Bryan, informed the Haitian Minister at Washington that he had received from Cape Haitien, a town of Haiti, a telegram which said that there had been a hostile demonstration before the American Consulate, and that the rebels had threatened to burn the town if they were

forced to evacuate it. The American Secretary stated that an order had been given to dispatch two men-of-war to Haiti.

On July 27, at 4 o'clock in the morning, the friends of the rebels at Port-au-Prince took arms and attacked the President at his residence in Champ de Mars, a park of the town. The President, Vilbrun Guillaume, fled to the French Legation. The Governor of Port-au-Prince, on hearing of this attack, ordered the massacre of all political prisoners. About 150 of these were executed in prison. The following day, July 28, 1915, some relatives and friends of the massacred prisoners, reinforced by a number of the rebels, went to the French Legation and seized the President, whom they killed with machetes and bayonet thrusts. Parts of the body, including the head, which was impaled on a stick, were taken out and paraded in the streets of the city by a furious crowd.

The political situation was threatening. Several factions were struggling to elect their Presidential candidates. On the same day, at 6 o'clock in the evening, the United States Marine Corps landed at Port-au-Prince, under Captain Beach, soon followed by Rear Admiral Caperton, who was in chief command. After many parleys the Haitian Parliament was convoked, and a new President, Sudre Dartiguenave, was elected for a period of seven years. Soon after this the United States Legation presented the outline of a new convention.

CONVENTION NOW IN FORCE

After many negotiations this convention was signed and ratified by the Haitian Parliament in November, 1915. It was ratified at Washington on May 6, 1916. The text of this convention is given herewith:

Preamble. The United States and the Republic of Haiti desiring to confirm and strengthen the friendship existing between them by the most cordial co-operation in measures for their common advantage, and the Republic of Haiti desiring to remedy the present condition of its revenues and finances, to maintain the tranquillity of the republic, to carry out plans for the economic development and prosperity of the republic and its

people, and the United States being in full sympathy with all these aims and objects and desiring to contribute in all proper ways to their accomplishment,

The United States and the Republic of Haiti have resolved to conclude a convention with these objects in view, and have appointed for that purpose plenipotentiaries, who having exhibited to each other their respective powers, which are seen to be fully in good and true form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I.—The Government of the United States will, by its good office, aid the Haitian Government in the proper and efficient development of its agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources, and in the establishment of the finances of Haiti on a firm and solid basis.

ARTICLE II.—The President of Haiti shall appoint, upon nomination by the President of the United States, a General Receiver and such aids and employes as may be necessary, who shall collect, receive, and apply all customs duties on imports and exports accruing at the several Custom Houses and ports of entry of the Republic of Haiti.

The President of Haiti shall appoint, upon nomination by the President of the United States, a Financial Adviser, who shall be an officer attached to the Ministry of Finance, to give effect to whose proposals and labors the Minister will lend efficient aid. The Financial Adviser shall devise an adequate system of public accounting, aid in increasing the revenues and adjusting them to the expenses, inquire into the validity of the debts of the republic, enlighten both Governments with reference to all eventual debts, recommend improved methods of collecting and applying the revenues, and make such other recommendations to the Minister of Finance as may be deemed necessary for the welfare and prosperity of Haiti.

ARTICLE III.—The Government of the Republic of Haiti will provide by law or appropriate decrees for the payment of all customs duties to the General Receiver, and will extend to the Receivership, and to the Financial Adviser, all needful aid and full protection in execution of the powers conferred and duties imposed herein, and the United States on its part will extend like aid and protection.

ARTICLE IV.—Upon the appointment of the Financial Adviser the Government of the Republic of Haiti, in co-operation with the Financial Adviser, shall collate, classify, arrange, and make full statement of all the debts of the republic, the amounts, character, maturity, and condition thereof, and the interest accruing and the sinking fund requisite to their final discharge.

ARTICLE V.—All sums collected and

received by the General Receiver shall be applied, first, to the payment of the salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants and employes, and expenses of the Receivership, including the salary and expenses of the Financial Adviser, which salaries will be determined by previous agreement; second, to the interest and sinking fund of the public debt of the Republic of Haiti; and, third, to the maintenance of the constabulary referred to in Article X., and then the remainder to the Haitian Government for the purpose of current expenses.

For making these applications the General Receiver will proceed to pay salaries and allowances monthly and expenses as they arise, and on the first of each calendar month will set aside in a separate fund the quantum of the collections and receipts of the previous month.

ARTICLE VI.—The expenses of the Receivership, including salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants and employes, and the salary and expenses of the Financial Adviser, shall not exceed 5 per centum of the collections and receipts from customs duties, unless by agreement by the two Governments.

ARTICLE VII.—The General Receiver shall make monthly reports of all collections, receipts, and disbursements to the appropriate officers of the Republic of Haiti and to the Department of State of the United States, which reports shall be open to inspection and verification at all times by the appropriate authorities of each of the said Governments.

ARTICLE VIII.—The Republic of Haiti shall not increase its public debt except by previous agreement with the President of the United States, and shall not contract any debt or assume any financial obligation unless the ordinary revenues of the republic available for that purpose, after defraying the expenses of the Government, shall be adequate to pay the interest and provide a sinking fund for the final discharge of such debt.

ARTICLE IX.—The Republic of Haiti will not, without the assent of the President of the United States, modify the customs duties in a manner to reduce the revenues therefrom, and in order that the revenues of the republic may be adequate to meet the public debt and expenses of the Government, to preserve tranquillity and to promote material prosperity, the Republic of Haiti will co-operate with the Financial Adviser in his recommendation for improvement in the methods of collecting and disbursing the revenues and for new sources of needed income.

ARTICLE X.—The Haitian Government obligates itself, for the preservation of domestic peace, the security of individual

rights, and the full observance of the provisions of this treaty, to create without delay an efficient constabulary, urban and rural, composed of native Haitians. This constabulary shall be organized and officered by Americans appointed by the President of Haiti, upon nomination by the President of the United States. The Haitian Government shall clothe these officers with the proper and necessary authority and uphold them in the performance of their functions. These officers will be replaced by Haitians as they, by examination conducted under direction of a board to be selected by the senior American officer of this constabulary, in the presence of a representative of the Haitian Government, are found to be qualified to assume such duty. The constabulary herein provided for shall, under the direction of the Haitian Government, have supervision and control of arms and ammunition, military supplies and traffic therein, throughout the country. The high contracting parties agree that the stipulations in this article are necessary to prevent factional strife and disturbances.

ARTICLE XI.—The Government of Haiti agrees not to surrender any of the territory of the Republic of Haiti by sale, lease, or otherwise, or jurisdiction over such territory, to any foreign Government or power, nor to enter into any treaty or contract with any foreign power or powers that will impair or tend to impair the independence of Haiti.

ARTICLE XII.—The Haitian Government agrees to execute with the United States a protocol for the settlement, by arbitration or otherwise, of all pending pecuniary claims of foreign corporations, companies, citizens, or subjects against Haiti.

ARTICLE XIII.—The Republic of Haiti, being desirous to further the development of its natural resources, agrees to undertake and execute such measures as, in the opinion of the high contracting parties, may be necessary for the sanitation and public improvement of the republic, under the supervision and direction of an engineer or engineers to be appointed by the President of Haiti upon nomination of the President of the United States and authorized for that purpose by the Government of Haiti.

ARTICLE XIV.—The high contracting parties shall have authority to take such steps as may be necessary to insure the complete attainment of any of the objects comprehended in this treaty, and, should the necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian independence and the maintenance of a Government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.

ARTICLE XV.—The present treaty shall

be approved and ratified by the high contracting parties in conformity with their respective laws, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in the City of Washington as soon as may be possible.

ARTICLE XVI.—The present treaty shall remain in full force and virtue for the term of ten years, to be counted from the day of exchange of ratifications, and further for another term of ten years if, for specific reasons presented by either of the high contracting parties, the purpose of this treaty has not been fully accomplished.

In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention in duplicate in the English and French languages, and have thereunto affixed their seals.

After the ratification of this convention several agreements were made for the organization of public service, including a special Haitian constabulary and a coast-guard service; the annual compensation of these bodies and of the Financial Adviser and General Receiver was fixed; the telephone and telegraph systems were reorganized and similar financial provisions made. In the meantime the whole country was put under martial law, and order was preserved. The affairs of Haiti seemed at last to have been established upon a basis favorable for the prosperous development of the island republic.

DISAPPOINTED HOPES

As soon as the Haitian-American convention was accepted by both nations everybody in Haiti thought that a new era of peace, of industry, of freedom was at hand. But the Haitian officials, under the aegis of America's protection, took advantage of the situation to seek their personal profit. Malversations were committed. Journalists striving to discuss these questions were put in prison. Faithful to his promise to protect the existing administration, Rear Admiral Caperton took no measures to maintain the freedom of the press. Confronted with many protests and much opposition, the Haitian Government then took the decision to dissolve the Parliament. This was done on April 4, 1916. Rear Admiral Caperton gave his consent to this disloyal and criminal proceeding. And this marked the beginning of Haitian hostility to America. How can a

democratic country, white or negro, live without a Parliament in which the vital problems of a people are discussed? No democracy without a popular Parliament is possible.

Rear Admiral Caperton ordered fresh elections, and new representatives were chosen in January, 1917. At the end of the same month a part of the American Atlantic fleet, under Admiral Mayo, came to Port-au-Prince. This was a friendly visit and a demonstration of American power in the West Indies. Europe was still plunged in war against Germany. The American fleet was received with the utmost cordiality by the Haytian people, both officially and individually. Franklin Roosevelt, sub-Secretary of the Navy Department, made an eloquent speech to the President of Haiti, who answered in cordial terms. After a three-day sojourn the American fleet steamed away, bearing with it the best wishes of the Haitian people.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

In May, 1917, the new Parliament met to give a new Constitution to the country. But this Parliament also was dissolved in June, 1917. In its stead, a Council of State of twenty-one members was appointed. This council was endowed with legislative powers. At the beginning of 1918 a new Constitution was at last elaborated by the Haitian authorities. It contained 134 articles. For the first time in history one saw a Constitution of 134 articles and twenty-three pages submitted to a whole people, called upon to answer "Yes" or "No." Natives suggested it, which makes the case worse, and Americans approved it.

A special article of this Constitution said:

All acts of the Government of the United States during its military occupation in Haiti are hereby ratified and validated. No Haitian may be pursued civilly or criminally for any act executed in virtue of orders of the occupation, or under its authority. The acts of military courts shall not be subject to revision. The acts of the Executive Power, till publication of the present Constitution, are equally ratified and validated.

How can public acts be ratified in a lump by people who have no power to discuss and examine them? How can a

ratification be made by wholesale? Public acts have to be submitted to the judgment and approval of competent men; otherwise government becomes a matter of brute force.

All intelligent Haitians know that American statesmen and leaders of opinion are not aware of what is happening in Haiti. The American Nation is too great and good to tolerate such infractions of political morality. Haiti, which in July, 1918, entered the confraternity of the allied nations by declaring war on Germany, is, with the approval of American officials, in a state of anarchy, anarchy of legislation, anarchy of administration, with no Parliament to discuss the living interests of its people, with no freedom of thought, of speech, of act, deprived of justice and legality, and so undermined by disorganization of

labor and by pauperism that many Haitians are emigrating to Cuba and elsewhere to look for work.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—Major W. W. Buckley of the Marine Corps, on furlough from Haiti, reports that the native constabulary, 2,500 strong, under American officers, has attained an efficiency never dreamed of in the old days when one politician after another massacred his way to the Presidency. The constabulary, well fed and contented, dressed in khaki uniforms and wearing shoes that match, has become a well-disciplined force, and in excursions into the mountains to put down brigandage has always shown courage and resolution. Before Admiral Caperton landed marines at Port-au-Prince in July, 1915, it was not safe for white men of any nationality to go into the interior, and even in coast towns it was well to be in touch with a legation. Now white men are seldom attacked even by bandits. The treaty with the United States does not please all parties, but the people are prospering under the American "protectorate."]

Santo Domingo's Plea for Self-Government

THE other half of the island that contains the Haitian Republic is occupied by the Republic of Santo Domingo, which also is under American military occupation. United States marines were ordered to Santo Domingo on Nov. 25, 1916, because there was a threat of revolution there. The Acting President, Dr. Francisco Henriquez, took refuge in Santiago de Cuba and has been living there in exile with other ex-officials of his country. When the Peace Conference assembled in Paris he headed a delegation to present the case of Santo Domingo to that body; his plea was heard by individual delegations, but Santo Domingo was not included in the list making up the League of Nations.

On Sept. 10, 1919, a Madrid dispatch brought a brief address signed by a number of Spanish political leaders, including former Premiers Romanones and Alhucemas, suggesting that "it would be opportune at the present moment for the Spanish Government to express to the Washington Government the desire of the Dominican Government to see restored the régime annulled by the military occupation to which the country is subjected." It was noted that this ad-

dress coincided with the presence in Madrid of the Dominican diplomat, Enrique Deschamps. The next day the following statement was issued in Washington by ex-President Henriquez himself, who had returned from Paris at the head of a commission which included other former Dominican officials:

It is nearly three years now that an American military Government was established in Santo Domingo, with a military occupation by American forces and the application of military laws. This military Government supplanted the National Government of the country, which has not existed since then.

Individual liberties have been greatly diminished in Santo Domingo by the action of the American military Government. There is no freedom of the press, no right of assembly, and the people cannot take any initiative to modify the situation. Some administrative reforms of great usefulness have been introduced by the military Government, but the population desires a change in the present situation and wishes to see the National Government again in native hands. At the same time, there is a desire to reorganize national institutions in accordance with advanced ideas in order to avoid any internal disturbances and to favor economic development.

In the proclamation issued by the Amer-

ican military Government, the people of Santo Domingo were told that the military occupation was meant to be transitory; that there was no intention to put an end to the sovereignty of the Dominican Republic; but, on the contrary, the purpose was of helping the country to return to a situation of internal order that would enable it to fulfill its obligations as a member of the family of nations upon the termination of the great war.

For that reason Dr. Francisco Henriquez y Carvajal, who went recently to Paris with the object of presenting the case of Santo Domingo to the Peace Conference, has now come to Washington in order to present to the American Government some suggestions as to a general plan that will lead to the political and administrative reorganization of the country and to the restoration of the National Government. We are fully confident that the Government of the United States will give a favorable solution to the question of the Dominican Republic.

The United States had been virtually

forced to intervene by the violent disturbances and general chaos in the island. There were bandits everywhere, and the mulatto republic had become a disturber among the nations. We landed about 5,000 marines, put naval and marine officers into the chief executive posts, and took hold of the customs duties, which furnish the bulk of the revenue. Now there are less than 200 bandits left in their last refuge, Seybo, at the eastern extremity of the island. Elsewhere murder no longer stalks abroad by night and day. Military administration is strict, but the people again live in security, and honest collection of revenue has made the country again financially solvent. The United States Government has indicated a willingness to withdraw—with some reservations—whenever the Dominican Republic again produces a competent Government.

Causes of the Caporetto Disaster

Official Italian Report

THE sudden disaster which overwhelmed General Cadorna's Italian armies in the Julian Alps and along the Isonzo, beginning Oct. 24, 1917, and developing into an Austro-German invasion of Northern Italy as far as the Piave River, has since come to be known by the one word "Caporetto," the name of the town where the Italian lines first gave way. After the close of hostilities the Italian Parliament ordered an investigation into the causes of this disaster, and the committee's report was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies at Rome on Aug. 16, 1919. It lays the blame primarily upon General Cadorna and upon the Cabinet, which, it holds, should have deposed him earlier on account of serious defects in his military methods.

Dealing with Italian preparations for the war, the committee does not spare its strictures on the methods with which some classes of young officers were recruited, and, as far as arms and ammunition are concerned, it is of opinion that

the Supreme Command showed lack of foresight by not procuring adequate information about the enemy's defensive organization, which, in the initial stages, succeeded in breaking the impetus of the advance and in causing losses altogether out of proportion to the results obtained. The Supreme Command failed to make the best use of the experience gained both on the French and on the Russian fronts. And in the disaster of 1917 it failed to grasp a political and military situation that pointed to the extreme probability of an offensive by the enemy. The committee extends its criticism to the insufficient results derived from the units of machine gunners, in spite of the many instances of individual gallantry; to the deficient organization of the first-assault companies; to the defective training of the troops, due to insufficient periods of rest.

Concerning the discipline and the General's relations with the officers, the committee condemns Cadorna's policy in removing officers, a policy which he car-

ried too far, and which resulted not only in the removal of 900 high officers but also in producing a wave of fear and antagonism among a great many more. It also calls attention to the bad treatment of the troops in the way of feeding, as well as to the overtaking of their physical energy by overfrequent rounds of trench service.

It calls attention to the insufficient work of propaganda, to the lack of uniformity in discipline, and, above all, to those dreadful though short periods of harsh discipline when capital punishment was freely resorted to, often following the cruel method of decimation when individual responsibilities could not be ascertained. The committee charges Cadorna with not having properly utilized the soldiers' combative qualities, which, indeed, he depressed by keeping the men in dangerous places for too long, and by repeatedly compelling them to attack positions which had become ill-famed through the blood which they had already exacted without results. The committee maintains that, although the Italian Army had already acquired an everlasting title of glory for its valiant resistance in eleven battles, yet the dreadful impression made on the men, added to the widespread conviction of the perfect uselessness of such efforts, reached such a climax that it would have been quite sufficient by itself to determine that mental crisis which was the ultimate cause of the Caporetto disaster.

The committee recognizes that all these other causes were additional causes. Side by side with the sentimental factors, which produced a feeling of weariness and a longing for the end of the war, there were political factors, such as the

particular conditions under which the Italian intervention had taken place, the weakness of the Government toward the political parties which were opposing the war, the permission granted to supporters of the Soviet to circulate freely through Italy, the repercussion of the statement that "there should not be another Winter spent in the trenches," the effect of the Turin riots and of the papal peace note. All these causes would not alone have had great consequences. It was the fault of the Cabinet then in power not to have shown the secondary importance of these non-military factors to the Supreme Command, which was prone to exaggerate the danger of the so-called "disfattismo" ("defeatism") and not to have urged the command to adopt wiser methods in handling the troops.

To state the whole matter briefly, the committee traces the chief causes of the Caporetto disaster back to the Supreme Command. Those on whom the weight of responsibility would rest most heavily would therefore be General Cadorna, for the above-stated reasons as well as for neglecting the organization of the strategic reserves and the construction of defense lines; General Porro, vice head of the General Staff, for having disregarded the necessity of inducing General Cadorna to correct his wrong methods and for having failed in his task of gathering political and military information; General Capello, head of the Second Army, for his cruel disciplinary methods, and for his persistent prodigality in shedding blood with results out of all proportion to the losses; and, finally, the Cabinet presided over by Signor Boselli, for failing to exercise proper vigilance over the morale of the army.



INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

[Dutch Cartoon]

Spoiling the Soup



—From *De Notenkraker*, Amsterdam

Everybody wants his own bit of meat from the bottom

[American Cartoon]

Carrying the Entertainment a Little Too Far



—From The Des Moines Register

[German Cartoon]

The Peace of Versailles

(As Germany Sees It)



—From *Simplicissimus*, Munich

[Under this cartoon the Munich artist placed a passage from Carlyle calling on Germany to live her own brave life, regardless of Versailles]

[Australian Cartoon]
Still Joy-Riding



[American Cartoon] —From *The Sydney Bulletin*

It Always Happens When Company Comes



—From *The New York Times*

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

First Results of the Peace Settlement



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

[Italian Cartoon]

The Progress of Peace



—L'Asino, Rome

[Dutch Cartoon]

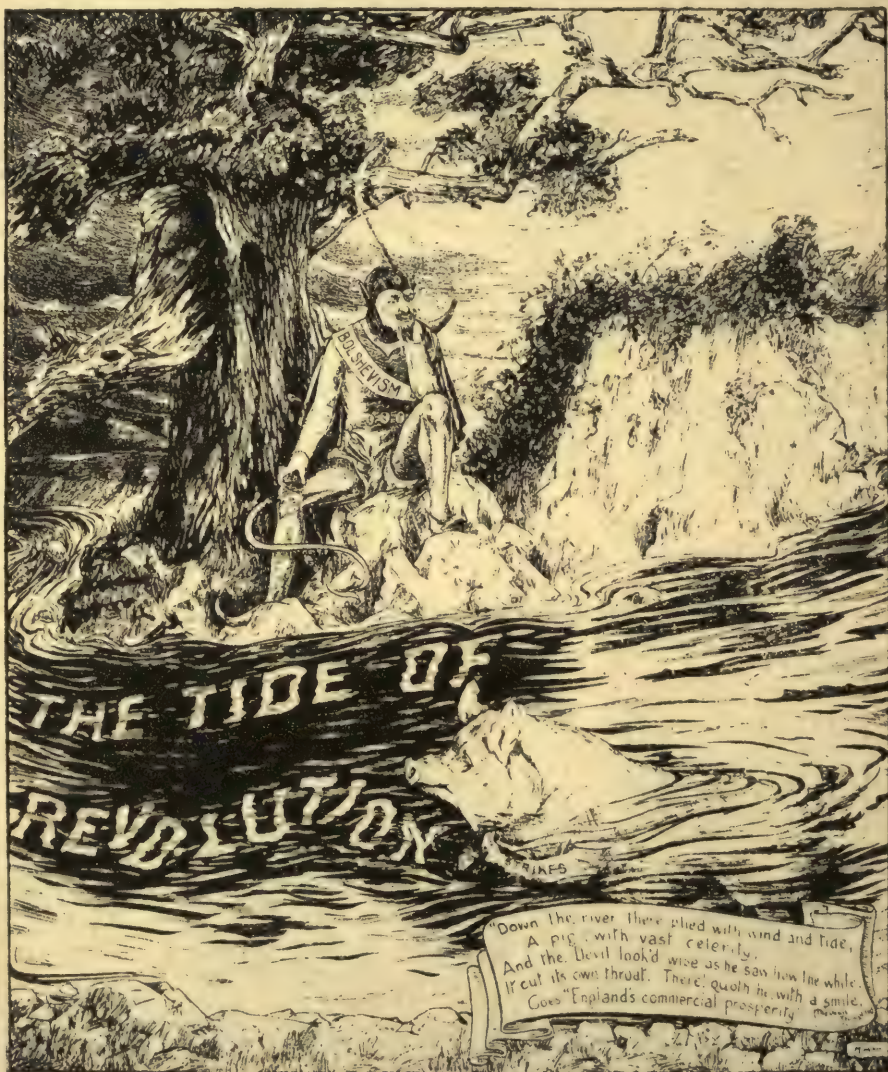
The Puppet Show



—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam
GOVERNMENT (to food prices): "For the first and last time, come down! You won't? Well, stay up, then"

[English Cartoon]

"The Devil's Thoughts"



—From *The Whitehall Gazette*, London

[A Premonition, Coleridge, 1794]

Why Not Drop a Few Bundles?



—From The Tacoma News-Tribune

[Italian Cartoon]

Italy and Fiume



FRANCE: "I'll give you Fiume thus." "ENGLAND: "And I thus." AMERICA: "And I thus."



- From 11 420, Florence

D'ANNUNZIO: "And I'll give it to you thus."

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Hero of Fiume



That's it! I'll enter Rome as Caesar. No, that doesn't suit me . . .



Then as Garibaldi. No, that doesn't suit either.



Ha! I will go as Apollo. But, no, that won't do . . .



Good heavens! The police!

From Nebelspatter, Zurich

The Peril of the Pacific



From the Russian Magazine, Solntze (The Sun)

[A Chinese editor, reproducing this cartoon, wrote under it: "Japan is rising out of the ocean. Already she has Korea by the throat. Already she has one foot on Shantung and the other on the Maritime Provinces, including Vladivostok. Russia, China, and America are ready to protect the world against the Beast. What will they do?"]

[Australian Cartoon]

"The Old Man of the Sea"



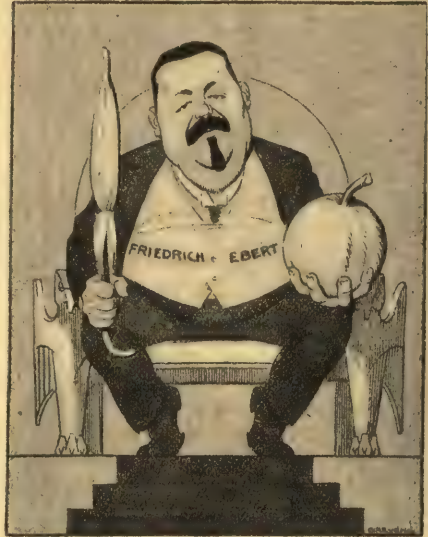
—From The Sydney Bulletin

Sinbad the Sailor (Labor) unable to shake off the Old Man of the Sea (Bolshevism)

The Prisoner's Return



Frederick the Fat



Leading the Blind



French Chivalry



Now America entered the war
[President Wilson first learned of the
secret treaties with Japan at the Peace
Conference]

CHILDREN (to grandmother, who is trying
to tell them a story of French chivalry):
"But, Grandma, such foolish and impos-
sible tales are no longer told now"

—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin

The Innocent Bystander



Self-Determination



A Meeting of the League



Why Not a Nursery of Our Own?



—From The San Francisco Chronicle

[American Cartoon]

As Senator Reed Pictures
the League

How Would You Like to
Have This Bird Wished
on You?



—St. Louis Republic



—Philadelphia Inquirer

[German Cartoon]

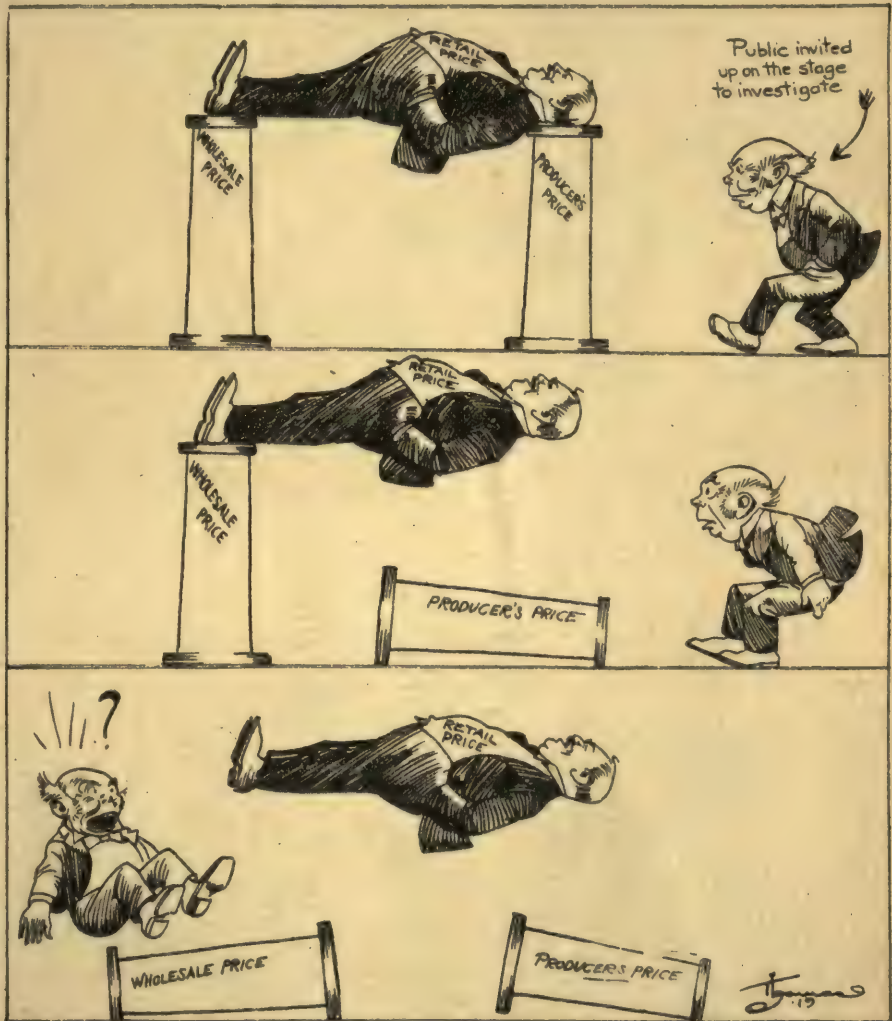
The Allies “Protecting” Themselves



—From Lustige Blätter, Berlin

[The German cartoonist shows France bagging Syria, Alsace-Lorraine, and the Sarre Basin, while Great Britain takes Egypt and Persia, and the United States tries in vain to prevent Japan from seizing China]

Defying the Laws of Gravitation and the United States



—From The Detroit News

The Human Wishbone



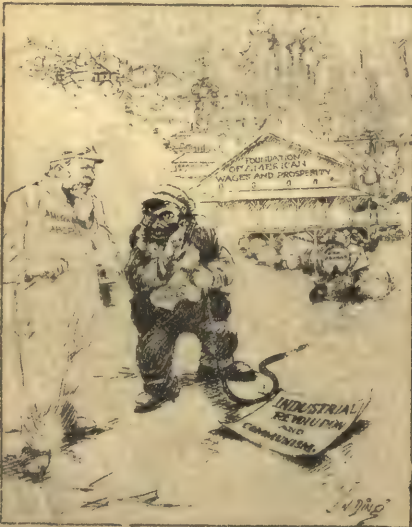
—Detroit News

How About the People in the Street?



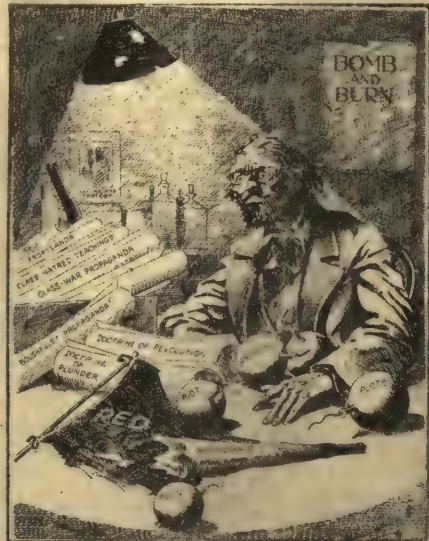
Detroit News

Got a Match?



New York Tribune

The World's Only Overproduction



—Dayton News

STRUGGLING TOWARD PEACE

Difficulties Over Complete Ratification of the Treaty With Germany—Bulgarian Treaty Signed

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 20, 1919]

THE Peace Conference started the week beginning Nov. 30 with very poor prospects of a speedy termination of its difficulties. Germany was holding up all the allied plans by refusing to sign the protocol on which the putting into force of the Peace Treaty depended; was making efforts to save her war criminals from punishment, and was adopting in general a defiant and unyielding attitude, due in great part to the failure of the American Senate to ratify the treaty and to the announcement that the American peace delegation would depart from Paris in the first week of December. The Balkan tangle was worse than ever, neither Rumania nor Serbia being willing to sign the Bulgarian treaty; the German-Russian military raid in the Baltic States was still in progress, and the fate of Fiume, Thrace, and Turkey still hung in the balance.

By the middle of December, however, the situation looked brighter. Bulgaria signed the terms dictated to her by the Entente powers; Rumania, which had long been recalcitrant, finally assented to signing the Austrian and Bulgarian treaties, as well as the special minorities treaty prepared for her, and Jugoslavia offered prospects of signing the Bulgarian and Austrian treaties within a short time.

The great stumbling block in the way of complete ratification of the German Peace Treaty was the deadlock established in the American Senate between the Democratic forces of the Administration and the Republican Senators opposed to acceptance of the document without drastic reservations. After the treaty's rejection by the Senate on Nov. 19 President Wilson was expected to resubmit it at the December session; this, however, he refused to do, and his attitude left the Republican opposition, led

by Senator Lodge, in a dilemma, as the general Republican feeling was averse to making the question of ratification with reservations an issue in the coming Presidential campaign; besides, a general desire for peace was being voiced throughout the country. Both parties were working for a compromise, and there were strong indications when these pages went to press that an adjustment on the basis of milder reservations would be reached.

Meanwhile the failure of the Senate to push the treaty through emboldened the Germans in their negotiations with the Supreme Council, whose path was beset with new and special difficulties on account of the American situation. Germany, however, finally yielded, and the possibility of securing the ratification of the whole treaty, including the special protocol articles concerned with compensation for the Scapa Flow sinkings, looked more promising by the middle of December than it had looked before.

Besides the treaty itself, and the League of Nations covenant intertwined with it, the fate of the triple pact entered into by Great Britain, France, and America was left indefinite through the Senate's failure to ratify the Versailles document. The attitude of both France and Great Britain in respect to this pact was one of waiting. Meanwhile the negotiations with Germany proceeded, uninterrupted by the departure of the American peace delegation, which left Paris on Dec. 9, and there were no signs of a definitive adjournment of the Peace Conference as long as the diplomatic issue with Germany remained acute. A supplementary conference was begun in London on Dec. 11 between the British and French Premiers and the Italian Foreign Minister, at which many subjects of great importance were dis-

cussed, including the vexed question of Fiume and the ultimate disposition of Turkey. The machinery for an international military force under Marshal Foch also was created.

AMERICAN MISSION DEPARTS

It had seemed probable in November that the Peace Conference would reach the end of its labors early in December and permanently adjourn. New complications, however, which arose over the German protocol made the continuance of the conference imperative. The American delegation, nevertheless, reiterated its intention of departing in the first week of December, and consented to remain until Dec. 9 only at the urgent request of France, supported sympathetically in this by Great Britain and Italy. The ground given for this request was the fear that the Germans would construe the Americans' departure as evidence of a lack of unity among the peace-making powers. The anticipated withdrawal of the Americans was attacked bitterly by French newspapers, including the *Paris Figaro*, which declared that America was continuing to follow her traditional policy of "jealous isolation," and that Germany was already preparing to resist the terms of the treaty, because of the attitude of the United States Senate and the withdrawal of the American delegation. Fears that the Ebert Government would be overthrown by the Pan-Germans and Spartacists, emboldened by the new turn of events, were variously expressed. Undeterred by these attacks, the delegation, headed by Frank Polk, left Paris on the last date fixed, reaching New York Dec. 20, and the allied powers were left to deal with the Germans as best they could without American assistance.

ASK REASON FOR DELAY

The Supreme Council had been greatly surprised toward the end of November by the sudden departure of the German Protocol Commission, headed by Herr von Simson, three days after its arrival. The attitude of von Simson, supported by Baron von Lersner, head of the German peace delegation, had been aggressive from the start, and he had

attempted to use the American situation as an offset to the allied demands for the expatriation of the German war criminals. Failing in this, he suddenly left Paris with his staff. Baron von Lersner on Nov. 24 sent a note to the council explaining this action of von Simson as due to the desire to put the protocol directly before the German Assembly. Meanwhile there arrived the news that the American Senate had adjourned without ratifying the Peace Treaty.

At this juncture the council dispatched a note to Germany which had been drafted on Nov. 22, and which was provided with a postscript of date Nov. 24, when it was finally sent. This note called on Germany to make known her intentions with regard to signing the protocol, pointed out that Germany's delay laid her open to the imputation of insincerity, declared that the repatriation of German war prisoners was directly contingent on the delay in signing the protocol, and expressed great surprise over the departure of von Simson. The note concluded as follows:

The Supreme Council desires to know how the German Government stands in this matter and it throws on that Government the whole responsibility for the delay caused by it in the restoration of the state of peace.

PRISONERS IN FRANCE

The subject of German war prisoners in France had been brought up by the Berlin Government on Nov. 10, when it sent a note to the council urging a speedy return of these captives, whose retention and treatment it denounced as inhumane and unjust, since Germany had done her best to comply with the hard terms of the armistice expressly on the understanding that she would thus secure favorable action in the matter of repatriation of German prisoners.

A wireless message from Berlin under date of Nov. 25 gave the text of the allied reply to this protest. The reply, signed by M. Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, was sent to the Chairman of the German delegation at Versailles, and was in substance a stern refusal to deviate from the terms of the Peace Treaty in favor of German

prisoners employed in reconstruction work in Northern France. Referring to the brutal treatment meted out to the populations of this district under the German occupation, M. Clemenceau said:

The deepest sentiments of the human heart have been so cruelly injured that French public opinion cannot agree to grant the favor you request.

The allied reply further declared that Germany had systematically delayed performance of the armistice terms, and instanced the sinking of the warships in Scapa Flow, delay in the delivery of German ships, Germany's Baltic policy, and anti-Entente propaganda in Alsace and the world at large, and concluded thus:

We owe nothing to Germany except the precise fulfillment of the provisions of the Peace Treaty accepted by Germany.

SHARP REPLY TO LERSNER

A further interchange of notes between Baron von Lersner and M. Clemenceau was made public on Dec. 1. In the German note von Lersner said that Germany had made concessions in the case of the killing of Sergeant Mannheim and in the matter of coal delivery because of promised favorable treatment on the question of prisoners. He accused France of making innocent prisoners pay for pretended derelictions on the part of the German Government, and declared that the laws of war had been applied to the prisoners with pitiless severity.

In his reply M. Clemenceau said that Baron von Lersner's letter contained a series of statements "whose incisive tone cannot mask their inaccuracy." That France had given any promises in connection with either of the two matters referred to by von Lersner, M. Clemenceau emphatically denied. The charge that the German war prisoners had received any but kind and humane treatment was denied subsequently by the French Premier, who added that Germany, by her unceasing delays, was herself responsible for the retention of the prisoners.

GERMAN WAR CRIMES

Another subject which occasioned an interchange of notes was that of the extradition of the German war criminals.

Correspondence made public on Dec. 2 expressed, on the part of M. Clemenceau, indignation at the work of destruction systematically carried out by the Germans in North France and Belgium, and inability to understand Germany's hesitation to consent to reparation for these crimes. M. Clemenceau further said:

If the same impartial observer then heard from the mouths of the inhabitants the tale of the treatment to which they were subjected for four years and the violence and abominable constraints imposed on young girls brutally separated from their families, he would be unable to restrain his indignation in face of the attitude of Germany and the arrogant tone of your letters * * * Until the German public conscience understands, as all the rest of the world does, that wrong must be righted and criminals punished, Germany must not expect to enter the communion of nations or to obtain from the Allies forgetfulness of her crimes or modification of just peace conditions.

THE SCAPA FLOW SINKINGS

A German note regarding the sinking of interned warships at Scapa Flow came before the Supreme Council on Nov. 28. It held that the Allies themselves, by interning the ships in an allied instead of a neutral port, were responsible for the scuttling, inasmuch as Admiral von Reuter had been deprived of means of communicating with Germany, and believed that the armistice ended at noon on June 21; in accordance with maritime law he had then sunk the ships in anticipation of a renewal of war. Furthermore, the note declared that as a prisoner of war von Reuter had lost his naval command, and the German Government incurred no responsibility for his actions. In conclusion, the memorandum proposed that the question be submitted to The Hague tribunal for arbitration.

Official public comment on this disclaiming by Germany of her responsibility was made by the publication by Great Britain on Dec. 3 of two striking letters, one from Admiral von Trotha, Chief of the German Admiralty, the other from Admiral von Reuter. These letters had been found in July by the British in Admiral von Reuter's safe in the salvage operations on the German flagship *Emden*. The letter from von Reuter, dated June 17, 1919, and addressed "To Com-

manding Officers," gave explicit instructions regarding the sinking. Trotha's letter, dated May 9, 1919, marked "Most Secret," and addressed to Admiral von Reuter, was said by the British Admiralty, which was preparing photographs of it, to disprove entirely the German statement that orders from the Berlin Government failed entirely to reach Admiral von Reuter during the time when his ships were at Scapa Flow. Though couched in guarded phrases, the whole import of this letter, especially one phrase, "Their surrender to the enemy remains out of question," pointed to the solution which von Reuter subsequently adopted. Its transmission to von Reuter was explained by the arrival of certain German ships bringing supplies to the crews at Scapa Flow. The letter was republished in Berlin on Dec. 5 by the German Government, with a denial that it signified that Admiral von Reuter should scuttle the ships. The British Admiralty's contention that the German Government was in communication with von Reuter before the scuttling remained unshaken.

GERMAN CRISIS BEGINS

On Dec. 1, the day on which the allied powers had expected to begin putting the Treaty of Versailles into operation, Baron von Lersner notified the Supreme Council that Germany refused to sign the protocol unless the Scapa Flow demands were eliminated from the document, and suggested arbitration. His communication also declared that the clause of the protocol authorizing the invasion of Germany was impossible of acceptance.

With this downright refusal the situation became more critical than it had been at any time since last June, when the resumption of military action against Germany hung upon the action of the Weimar National Assembly. General Foch at once called Sir Henry Wilson, chief of the British General Staff, into conference at Paris. Andrew Bonar Law, Government leader in the House of Commons, said on Dec. 4 at Glasgow that Germany, profiting by the inaction of the American Senate, was trying to evade the terms. Speaking for the British Government, he declared that the Allies

had the power, and would use it if necessary, to make it certain that the allied terms would be carried into effect by Germany. Both diplomacy and economic threats having failed, it was stated, the last recourse was to be had in the military invasion of Germany to bring her to terms.

VON LERSNER DEFIANT

Informed on Dec. 6 that the council was about to dispatch an "ultimatum" to Germany, von Lersner stated that the reply of his Government would depend wholly on the content of this communication and its tone. He further said that if the note was "reasonable" he would transmit it with a recommendation that the National Assembly consider it. Germany, he declared, on no consideration, would surrender the German officers accused of crimes. Two notes were finally delivered to him on Dec. 8 and transmitted by him to his Government.

The first of these two notes denied the German demands for modification of the treaty clauses relating to the surrender of Germans charged with crimes against the usages of international warfare and to the return of prisoners. It agreed to consider the economic effects on Germany of the indemnities required for the sinking of the warships at Scapa Flow "in a spirit of equity, after a hearing by the Reparation Commission." It warned Germany "for the last time" that denunciation of the armistice would give the allied armies all latitude for necessary military measures, and then added: "In this spirit we await without delay signature of the protocol and the exchange of ratification." It further waived the so-called coercion clauses of the protocol, on the ground that the signing and ratification of the treaty would make the latter effective, and that the execution of the protocol would be guaranteed by the general terms of the treaty and by ordinarily recognized methods. It rejected, however, the Germans' pretended right to modification of the treaty clauses as compensation for the absence of Americans from the commissions, and declared that it was "vain for Germany to seek to delay"

the treaty's effectiveness because of the position of America in respect to membership on these commissions.

The second note dealt entirely with the Scapa Flow incident. It placed the responsibility for the sinking upon the Germans, and saw in the protest only "an attempt, difficult to explain, to delay the treaty." It cited the secret message sent in May, 1919, by Admiral von Trotha to Admiral von Reuter, and quoted, among other phrases, the one telling the latter that the disposition of the ships "cannot be decided without us, it will be finished by us, and delivery to the enemy avoided." The council's proposal of arbitration regarding the Scapa Flow indemnity had been embodied in the first note.

NOSKE TRUCULENT

On the day these two notes were delivered to von Lersner, Gustav Noske, German Minister of Defense, said boldly in Berlin that the Allies' plan meant not peace, but the prolongation of war, and that it behooved Germany to resist. His country, he declared, would never sign the protocol as drawn. Acceptance of the allied terms would rouse all Germany to vengeance. The situation could not be worse if the Hohenzollerns had remained in power. He added:

If the United States stays out, the commissions established under the Peace Treaty will be taken over by the other Allies. If that means more Frenchmen, it would be most injurious to German interests and we should not agree.

The French doubtless will march into Germany. Let that come. The Allies know that Germany is without means of resistance. Allied officers are all over the country. Spies are shuffling about everywhere. All the scare talk about German armament is a deliberate press campaign to prepare public opinion for aggression.

It was in the midst of the threatening situation thus created that the American peace delegation left Paris on Dec. 9. Despite the somewhat hostile attitude of certain papers, the departure was made under good auspices. M. Clemenceau and General Foch accompanied the American delegates to the station, and bade them farewell, while large crowds shouted "Vive l'Amérique!" Before leaving, Mr. Polk, the

head of the delegation, dictated a statement to one of the leading Paris papers, expressing his regrets at the necessity for departure, likewise his conviction that Germany would sign the protocol. The French press, in bidding him farewell, voiced its belief that he and his colleagues had done everything in their power to secure ratification of the treaty.

GERMANY SURRENDERS

The German reply to the Supreme Council's note demanding the signing of the peace protocol was received in Paris on Dec. 15. After a session held the following day, the Supreme Council announced that the reply was "generally satisfactory." It was referred to the allied and German experts, who at once began the elaboration of details. Agreement was understood to be practically certain. Berlin's reply met all the allied demands unreservedly except that which concerned payment for the ships at Scapa Flow. Germany agreed to accept responsibility for payment on the warships sunk, but explained to the Allied Council that she could not at that time surrender the 400,000 tons of maritime equipment demanded. The text of the German note was as follows:

The German Government desires to dissipate the misunderstanding that, owing to the momentary absence of American delegates from the commissions provided for by the Peace Treaty, Germany claimed modifications and dispositions of the treaty concerning the extradition of persons charged with culpability in acts contrary to military law, or the repatriation of prisoners.

The German Government, previous to receiving the allied note, had already explained the reasons why it would appear necessary to modify the conditions for the execution of those clauses, but the German Government never made its assent for the putting into force of the Peace Treaty conditional upon a previous solution of that question.

The German Government maintains its opinion that the best means to reach a solution of the Scapa Flow incident would have been to submit the case to international arbitration at The Hague. Such a measure would not have delayed putting the treaty into force, or the signing of the protocol thus modified.

Desirous, however, of doing its utmost for the early re-establishment of peace, the German Government declares itself



MAP OF BULGARIA SHOWING TERRITORY LOST UNDER THE TREATY OF NEUILLY, SIGNED NOV. 27, 1918

ready to make reparations for the damages caused to the allied and associated Governments by the destruction of the ships.

But the German Government is unable to effect such reparations in the manner demanded by the protocol of Nov. 1, because the execution of the demands formulated in that protocol would compromise irretrievably Germany's economic life and also render impossible of execution the other enormous obligations which the treaty imposes on Germany.

The German Government will formulate, through experts, positive detailed propositions showing a mode of reparation which, although adding a new and heavy burden on Germany in its present situation, is not altogether incompatible with its vital interests.

So the tenseness of the international situation was relaxed, and official circles in Paris, greatly relieved, looked forward to a speedy ratification of both protocol and treaty. Further obstacles in the arrangement of details arose, however, and on Dec. 19 an official statement named Jan. 1 as the nearest probable date of settlement.

A German delegation of shipping experts had reached Paris Dec. 15 with a view to adjusting details of the protocol

settlement. It was presided over by Herr Seelinger, a member of the commercial department of the German Foreign Ministry, the other members being representatives of various steamship lines and shipyards, and one representative of three groups of seamen. The first sessions of this new delegation with the allied experts led to no result, as the Germans declared they had no power to negotiate for the handing over of more than 200,000 tons of shipping and docking materials, of the 400,000 tons demanded, in reparation for the Scapa Flow sinkings.

BULGARIAN TREATY SIGNED

The treaty of the allied and associated powers with Bulgaria was signed on Nov. 27 at Neuilly, just outside of Paris. The ceremony was wholly lacking in the pomp that attended the signing of the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain. The Commissioner who signed for Bulgaria was M. Stambulinski. It was this Bulgarian statesman, a man of peasant origin and the leader of the peasant party in Bulgaria, who, when Bulgaria turned on her

allies and joined her fortunes with the Central Powers, warned King Ferdinand that he was signing his death warrant. The signature which he affixed to the treaty was, in a way, the justification of his own judgment.

The ceremony of signing was simple. Premier Clemenceau, addressing M. Stambulinski, said: "We are here to sign the treaty between the Allies and Bulgaria. Here is the treaty you are to sign."

Stambulinski, the incarnation of the popular conception of a Bulgar, with his heavy frame, thick black hair and upturned mustache, rose and affixed his signature to the treaty. He was followed by Mr. Polk, head of the American delegation, who looked tired and worn. A puzzled murmur among the delegates was their only comment on the apparent incongruity of America's representatives signing a treaty with a country on which America had never officially declared war. The other delegates followed.

The representatives of two of the allied powers, Serbia and Rumania, were missing, though both powers were highly important for the restoration of order in the Balkan peninsula, which the Bulgarian treaty was intended to establish. Both Serbia and Rumania, themselves enemies, had refused to sign the Austrian treaty because of their objection to the provisions for the protection of racial minorities, and the signature of the treaty with Austria was made a condition of the signing of the Bulgarian treaty by the allied powers; hence the absence of the Serbian and Rumanian delegates from the Neuilly ceremony.

TERMS OF THE TREATY

By the conditions of the Treaty of Neuilly, Bulgaria is called upon to surrender all works of art and valuables taken from allied countries during the war and to pay an indemnity of approximately \$445,000,000. She is deprived of Thrace and also loses Strumitza, a small triangular section of territory, the latter being assigned to Serbia. Proposals which would give Bulgaria a corridor through Thrace to the Aegean are left to the future disposition of the allied Governments. The boundary between

Rumania and Bulgaria is changed in only minor details.

Compulsory military service in Bulgaria is abolished by the treaty terms, the Bulgarian Army being limited to 20,000 men, with a gendarmerie, or police force, not exceeding 10,000. All arms and ammunition exceeding the amounts laid down by the treaty must be turned over to the Allies. A commission composed of allied representatives has power to punish crimes committed by Bulgarians during the war, and also to deal with the repatriation of prisoners.

JUGOSLAVIA AND AUSTRIA

M. Clemenceau's intimation to the Yugoslav delegates that they would not be allowed to sign the Bulgarian treaty unless they first signed the allied treaty with Austria provoked an outburst of indignation in the Belgrade newspapers, some of which even counseled the Government to refuse definitely to sign the Bulgarian treaty rather than accept the humiliating minority clauses of the treaty with Austria. Some of the comment was extremely bitter, recalling the Yugoslav victories and asserting that the minority clauses were inserted in the Austrian treaty at the instance of Italy, whose ambitions in the Adriatic were well known; by signing the treaty with these clauses, it was insisted, Yugoslavia would lay herself open to constant interference from Italy in internal affairs.

Nevertheless it had been agreed by the Yugoslav delegates that they would sign the Austrian treaty on Nov. 26, but when the day came they failed to do so on the ground that, after examination of the various annexes, they found that they did not possess the requisite powers. They were then given eight days to secure this authorization, which they expected to receive within the limit set. The annexes in question provided for the protection of racial minorities, reparations concerning Italy, and a financial arrangement regarding the sharing of the expense of liberation from the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Prince Alexander of Serbia, Prince Regent of Yugoslavia, arrived in Paris on Dec. 1 to discuss the difficulties in the way of his

country's signature of the treaty with Austria.

RUMANIA AT THE CROSSROADS

The innumerable notes that passed between Rumania and the allied powers regarding her whole attitude of defiance of the Supreme Council have been reproduced or analyzed from month to month in these pages. Regarding Rumania's signing of the treaty with Austria, the council on Nov. 20 sent a note to the former country, which, after praising the services rendered by Rumania during the war, brought up anew the difficulties which Rumania had placed in the way of signing that treaty. The communication also asked whether Rumania intended to follow or to abandon the policy of the Allies; if the former, she must sign the Austrian treaty at once; if the latter, she would be considered as having withdrawn voluntarily from the alliance. Both this note and a previous note of Nov. 15 (the ninth) asked that Rumania declare her intentions regarding the withdrawal of her troops from Hungary, and the deduction of the value of the material requisitioned by her in the latter country from the total reparation due her.

Having received no reply to either of these communications, the Supreme Council on Dec. 3 dispatched a new communication, in the nature of an ultimatum, reviewing Rumania's repeated failures to comply with the allied desires in the various matters involved, and giving her a further time limit, to expire Dec. 8, in which to make full and satisfactory reply, with a strong implication that noncompliance would mean a definitive severing of relations.

RUMANIA FINALLY SIGNS

Rumania's consent to sign came as a dramatic incident of the departure of the American peace delegation from Paris on Dec. 9. It was after 7 o'clock in the evening. Outside waited the automobiles that were to take Mr. Polk and his staff to the station. There came a telephone message, saying that the Rumanians were willing to sign the minority treaty, and asking whether he would sign it before his departure. He replied

in the affirmative. The treaty, which had been completed by noon, had been printed and bound; it was brought to the Hotel Crillon, and Mr. Polk, Mr. White, and General Bliss signed it. The Rumanian delegates affixed their signatures to the minority treaty on the following day, as well as to the Austrian and Bulgarian treaties. At the same time the Bucharest delegates declared their country's willingness to withdraw from Hungary to the boundary line laid down by the Peace Conference last June.

This decision of Rumania to recede from her defiance of the Peace Conference removed one of the ugliest problems of European politics, and one of the most protracted and vexatious inter-allied conflicts which the Supreme Council had had to face.

THE LONDON CONFERENCE

A series of conferences between Premier Clemenceau, Premier Lloyd George, and the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Signor Scialoja, took place in London beginning Dec. 11. Matters discussed were the situation in Russia, America's position in respect to ratification of the German treaty, and problems of European reconstruction, including Fiume and Turkey, the coal famine in France, and France's financial situation, which was considered critical. The results of the conferences were not officially given out, but semi-officially the main issues were divulged in Paris on M. Clemenceau's return. In an inspired article in the French governmental organ, *Le Temps*, the subjects discussed were listed one by one, and it was plainly intimated that none of these problems could be solved without the aid of America. The United States, it declared, was involved in European affairs in general, whether the Senate wished it or no, and hence possessed the right to take all the precautions necessary to protect American interests.

One definite result of the London conference was the decision to create an inter-allied army, under the direction of General Foch as Chief of the General Staff at Versailles. It will be remembered that when the League of Nations covenant was taking shape, France

fought for such an international police force, and President Wilson opposed it. Later, at the Peace Conference, France sought the establishment of an international force to compel Germany to live up to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Again this project was opposed by the Americans, and it was temporarily abandoned. That the scheme was finally put through at London, in connection with the discussion of American participation in the Peace Treaty as the one big issue, was regarded as significant of the

adoption of a middle-of-the-road policy, enabling the Allies to meet the possibility either of America's co-operation or of America's refusal to co-operate. Every indication pointed, however, to an earnest desire for the ratification of the treaty by the United States, with or without reservations; as *Le Temps* expressed it: "All the problems of peace are dominated by one prime necessity, and that is to obtain the ratification of the Versailles Treaty by the United States."

D'Annunzio's Adventure Drawing to an End

Fiume Problem Near Settlement

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 20, 1919]

THE Fiume situation had reached a point at the close of the second week in December where a final agreement seemed to be within reach. Gabriele d'Annunzio and his irregular forces continued to hold the disputed Adriatic port, but after his raid on Zara the "poet-soldier" had refrained from further exploits and had shown a willingness to listen to the proposals of the Italian Government. At length it was announced, though not officially confirmed, that d'Annunzio and his followers had consented to evacuate Fiume and allow the city to be occupied by regular Italian Army forces pending an agreement with the Entente.

Attempts to solve the knotty problem continued both before and after this tentative step toward a solution. Premier Nitti and Foreign Minister Tittoni had formulated what they regarded as Italy's maximum concessions regarding Fiume, and had transmitted them to President Wilson at Washington. These terms were stated unofficially to provide that Italy should receive the part of Istria forming a triangle with its extreme point at Velossa, the line running through the Alps to Monte Maggiore, thence to Fisona. Fiume, with some territory to the north, together with some of the islands in the Gulf of Quarnero, was to become a buffer State, with a special status; Italy was

to have no jurisdiction over its foreign affairs, but Fiume's Italianity was to be recognized and guarded. Zara was to be constituted a free city and port, represented in its foreign affairs by Italy.

This proposal failed to receive the indorsement of President Wilson, and Fiume continued to be a debated question at the important conference of Premiers and Ministers held in London in the middle of December, when the new Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Signor Scialoja, was present to aid in the discussion of this subject.

A clear idea of the American proposal and of how it differs from the line laid down by the secret treaty of London in 1915 is furnished by the accompanying sketch-map. The map was submitted to *The London Times* by a committee of the Serbian Society of Great Britain and was accompanied by an open letter stating that the society had passed resolutions to the effect that "the territorial solution advocated by President Wilson is the only equitable compromise between Italian and Yugoslav claims and should be upheld at all costs by the Supreme Council." Referring to the map, the communication stated:

It will be seen that the Wilson line assigns to Italy Gorizia, Trieste, and Pola, Central Istria with the railway connecting the two latter towns, and the island of

Lussin, which has an Italian majority. On the other hand, it leaves to Yugoslavia the port of Fiume-Susak (which contains a Yugoslav, not an Italian, majority), the railway from St. Peter to Fiume (Slovenia's only direct access to the sea), and the overwhelming Yugoslav province of Dalmatia (in which the Italians form 3 per cent. of the population), while the town of Zara, on its isthmus, receives special autonomy.

This line has been reached as the result of exhaustive inquiry on the part of the American experts at the conference, and represents the only fair compromise



between ethnography and strategy. It has the great advantage of reducing to a minimum the possibilities of aggression on either side. As it assigns over 300,000 Yugoslavs to Italy, and less than 45,000 Italians to Yugoslavia (24,000 of these in Fiume itself), it will be seen that a very severe sacrifice is being demanded of the Yugoslavs.

On Nov. 24, following the action of the United States on the Italian proposals, the resignation of Foreign Minister Tittoni had been announced in Rome, and Vittorio Scialoja had been named to take his place. Two days later

the Supreme Council in Paris received a note from the Yugoslav delegation stating that the Adriatic situation was likely to oblige Yugoslavia to take military measures against further encroachments. In Yugoslav official circles it was declared that war between Yugoslavia and Italy was unavoidable if d'Annunzio attempted further advances. In Laibach a large body paraded carrying banners inscribed: "D'Annunzio must be hanged!" and "Down With Italians!" In London, however, it was said that the British Government had given Yugoslavia assurances that Great Britain's influence would be used to obtain a just settlement of the Adriatic question.

At a meeting in Milan, at which all the Socialist Deputies of Italy participated, resolutions were passed calling upon the Government to suppress d'Annunzio's enterprises in Dalmatia.

On Dec. 7 it seemed that the Fiume question was approaching a satisfactory settlement when it was stated in Rome that d'Annunzio had assured the Italian Government that he would undertake no new expeditions, and would not go beyond the armistice line. Major Giuriati, Chief of the Cabinet of d'Annunzio, accompanied by Commander Rizzo of the poet-soldier's naval forces, arrived in Rome bearing d'Annunzio's suggestions for a settlement of the Fiume and Zara questions.

Although Premier Nitti refused to make any statement regarding the Adriatic situation, it was announced in Trieste on Dec. 13 that an agreement with the Italian Government had been reached, and that d'Annunzio would leave Fiume with his troops, which were to be replaced by Italian regulars under General Caviglia, a former Italian Minister of War. The formal transfer of the city was planned for an early date, but, according to Washington advices, this occupation was to be merely in the nature of an Italian trusteeship pending a final decision by the Entente powers.

D'Annunzio was quoted as stating that all his ambitions in regard to Fiume had been attained, and that an agreement signed with Premier Nitti was a full guarantee. The poet's troops, according

to the agreement, were to return to the ranks of the Italian Army. Their departure from the city was delayed, however, by appeals from the Italian citizens of Fiume, and the question of fulfilling

the agreement was at length referred to a plebiscite—which was postponed and abandoned. It was generally understood, however, that the end of d'Annunzio's adventure was in sight.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 18, 1919]

THE FOURTEENTH CENSUS.

THE following interesting proclamation by President Wilson regarding the Fourteenth Decennial Census, which is to begin Jan. 2, 1920, was signed by him on Dec. 10:

Whereas, By the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1919, the Fourteenth Decennial Census of the United States is to be taken beginning on the second day of January, 1920; and

Whereas, A correct enumeration of the population every ten years is required by the Constitution of the United States for the purpose of determining the representation of the several States in the House of Representatives; and

Whereas, It is of the utmost importance to the interests of all the people of the United States that this census should be a complete and accurate report of the population and resources of the nation;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby declare and make known that, under the law aforesaid, it is the duty of every person to answer all questions on the census schedules applying to him and the family to which he belongs, and to the farm occupied by him or his family, and that any person refusing to do so is subject to penalty.

The sole purpose of the census is to secure general statistical information regarding the population and resources of the country, and replies are required from individuals only to permit the compilation of such general statistics. No person can be harmed in any way by furnishing the information required. The census has nothing to do with taxation, with military or jury service, with the compulsion of school attendance, with the regulation of immigration, or with the enforcement of any national, State, or local law or ordinance. There need be no fear that any disclosure will be made regarding any individual person or his affairs. For the due protection of the rights and interests of the persons furnishing information every employee of the Census Bureau is prohibited, under heavy penalty, from disclosing any information which may thus come to his knowledge.

I therefore earnestly urge upon all persons to answer promptly, completely, and accurately all inquiries addressed to them by the enumerators or other employees of the Census Bureau, and thereby to contribute their share toward making this great and necessary public undertaking a success.

* * *

PROHIBITION IN THE UNITED STATES

PROHIBITION was substantially strengthened by a unanimous decision handed down by the United States Supreme Court sustaining the constitutionality of wartime prohibition. By this decision the sale of liquor, which had been resumed at a few points on account of decisions of District Federal Judges, became illegal everywhere in the country, and the prohibition regulations were rigidly enforced.

The Supreme Court held that Congress did not intend the wartime act to terminate on the conclusion of the war, but at the end of the period of demobilization. The "conclusion of the war clearly did not mean cessation of hostilities," the court said: "Congress, therefore, provided that the time when the act ceased to be operative should be fixed by the President's ascertaining and proclaiming the date when demobilization had terminated."

Had the President on Oct. 28, when he vetoed the Volstead act, believed that demobilization had terminated, the court says, "he would doubtless have issued then a proclamation to that effect, for he had maintained a strong conviction that restriction upon the sale of liquor should end. Only by such proclamation could the purpose of Congress be attained and the serious consequences attending uncertainty be obviated."

"In view of facts of public knowl-

edge," the opinion reads, "some of which have been referred to, that the treaty of peace has not yet been concluded; that the railways are still under national control by virtue of the war powers; that other war activities have not been brought to a close, and that it cannot even be said that the man power of the nation has been restored to a peace footing, we are unable to conclude that the act has ceased to be valid."

The liquor interests suffered another severe disappointment on Dec. 16 when the House Agricultural Committee, by a vote of 16 to 3, tabled a resolution to recommend repeal of wartime prohibition.

In consequence of these decisions it seemed unlikely that there would be any "wet" period before the constitutional prohibition amendment went into effect on Jan. 16, 1920, unless the Peace Treaty was ratified and peace formally proclaimed by the President before the latter date.

The liquor interests instituted suits to obtain a ruling by the United States Supreme Court on the prohibitive constitutional amendment. It was stated that the value of whisky in bond in the United States exceeded \$300,000,000. Suits for compensation were announced by some distillers. It was announced that if the wartime ban was not lifted by proclamation before the end of the year the stocks of liquor in this country would be exported to Cuba for storage, exports being also forbidden after Jan. 16, 1920.

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GERMAN INTELLECTUALS RECANT

THE famous declaration made by ninety-three German University professors, literary men, artists, and musical composers, on Oct. 14, 1914, addressed to the learned men of other countries as a sweeping denial of the stories of atrocities charged against Germany in France and Belgium, has been refocused into public notice in Germany by the activities of Dr. Hans Wehberg, one of the best known German pacifists, who has communicated with all the signers still living to ascertain their attitude toward that manifesto after the close of the war. The essence of the original document was

contained in six paragraphs, beginning with the words: "It is not true." The charges so categorically denied were that Germany had caused the war; that it had criminally violated Belgium's neutrality; that any Belgian citizen's life or property had been touched except in direct self-defense; that the German soldiers had proceeded brutally at Louvain, that the German conduct of the war had infringed the law of nations, and that "a fight against Germany's so-called militarism was not also a fight against German Kultur." This manifesto was prepared by a small group of men at Berlin, among whom were Professors Harnack, von Liszt, Emil Fischer, and Gustav Schmoller, the last three now dead; the author, Ludwig Fulda; the painter, Max Liebermann; the composer, Humperdinck, and Burgomaster Reicke.

Of all the signers, no less than 15 have died. Some of the others were ill, and could not answer Dr. Wehberg on this account, but the 23 from whom no response was received included also a number who preferred to maintain absolute silence. In all Dr. Wehberg received 55 answers to his inquiries. Of that number only 16 defended their signature of the manifesto. These included Professors Eduard Meyer, the historian, now Rector of Berlin University; Professor Lenz of the new university at Hamburg, Professor Dorpfeld, and Siegfried Wagner, the composer and son of the greater Wagner. The 39 others heard from admitted that they would now by no means stand by everything in the address. Herbert Eulenberg, the writer, declared that he was willing to withdraw his signature entirely. Carl Hauptmann, brother of Gerhart Hauptmann, declared: "In view of my deviation at that time from personal trustworthiness, for the rest of my life I take warning against the rash herd-instinct which has made fools of men for thousands of years."

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PRESIDENT WILSON IN PARIS

RAY STANNARD BAKER, head of the United States Official Press Bureau, has published a small book, "What Wilson Did at Paris," giving an inside view of the President's struggle

against the tortuous methods of European diplomacy. In this book he cites at least five separate crises which the President dominated, showing how Mr. Wilson waged a grim fight against hostile French criticism in the press, against all the discouragements of almost irreconcilable national interests in such matters as the disposal of the German colonies, of Fiume, and of the Shantung Peninsula, and against repeated opposition to the incorporation of the League of Nations covenant in the Peace Treaty with Germany. Ever grimmer and grayer, with nervous twitchings of his face after many hours of daily interviews and discussions with committees and deputations, he stuck to his task, deprived of all exercise, all recreation, the centre of universal attack, and attained the idealistic objects, as far at least as they could be obtained, for which he had striven. In the course of his study Mr. Baker says:

He worked everybody else to a standstill. Sometimes he would have two meetings going on at the same time. Once I found a meeting of the council of the Big Four going on in his study, and a meeting of the financial and economic experts—twenty or thirty of them—in full session upstairs in the drawing room, and the President oscillating between them.

It was he who was always the driver, the initiator at Paris; he worked longer hours, had more appointments, granted himself less recreation than any other man, high or low, at the Peace Conference. For he was the central figure there. At the same time he continued to live with a simplicity that was almost rigorous; although he occupied the very centre of the world's great stage, with the eyes of all humanity watching every move he made, he lived almost the life of an anchorite. Sometimes in the evening I used to find him in the study of his house, a dark, richly furnished room looking out upon a little patch of walled garden, with an American sentinel pacing up and down the passageway. Mrs. Wilson's sitting room was opposite this study. Some day there will be written an account of the incalculable help and comfort that Mrs. Wilson was to the President in those trying days.

The President went to Paris the great moral leader of the world, and throughout the conference he never for a moment lost sight of the ideals he came to fight for; he kept his vision clear, but he was willing to face the world as it is, a real world of imperfect human beings, torn by

passion and fear, and yet a world in which, after all, we have to live.

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BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDA IN EAST

THE Bolshevik-Turco-Afghan combination in the Near East has met with a check in the case of Bokhara. Its principal emissary, the Turk Kazim Beg, barely escaped from Bokhara with his life in November, and fled to Tashkent, the capital of the Turkestan Soviet Republic, after urging the Emir of Bokhara to join the combination mentioned in bringing pressure to bear upon Persia to enter a pan-Islamic Democratic Union.



WHERE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKI ARE CARRYING ON AN ACTIVE PROPAGANDA

After the flight of Kazim Beg, the requests were changed virtually to threats, and the Emir on Nov. 14 was said to have torn up the railway twelve miles on both sides of Bokhara as a measure of self-protection. The Bolsheviks, meanwhile, who were firmly established at Kizil Arvat, on the Trans-Caspia Railway, threatened the road to Krasnovodsk, the terminus of the Caspian Railroad. The leading newspaper of Teheran, which had previously praised the Indian Government's action in relaxing control of Afghan foreign policy, sharply criticised the reported intention of the Afghan Mission at Moscow to go through Germany to Paris, saying:

If the Afghans are going to use their freedom in foreign relations for these purposes their diplomats are not to be congratulated. If they intend to introduce themselves as the Bolshevik vanguard in

Central Asia they will lose the friendship of their co-religionists and neighbors.

According to an account published in The London Times on Nov. 21, relating the experiences of a traveler through Turkestan and Trans-Caspia, who spent several weeks at Tashkent, the people of Turkestan were for the most part heartily sick of Bolshevism, but the Soviets were strong in the towns, and the railway to Merv and the Caspian was strongly garrisoned by Red troops. The Turkestan Bolsheviks were rejoiced at the reopening of direct communication with Soviet Russia, whence they expected to receive large supplies of food. Over the Trans-Caspian line the trains were not infrequently stopped in the middle of the desert while the Bolshevik train staff robbed the passengers. Five Indian merchants from Merv were robbed of 2,000,000 rubles, and two of these were brutally murdered. In Bokhara and Khiva conditions were better, owing to the repudiation of the Bolshevik doctrines by both the people and their rulers. The Reds, however, were conscripting Turcomans and other Mussulmans by force. To avoid this many thousands of Turcomans had fled with their families into Persia and Northwest Afghanistan. In their propaganda campaign the Bolsheviks were trying to prove that the theories of Bolshevism were in accord with the teachings of the Koran. Kazim Beg, who accompanied the German Mission to Afghanistan in 1913, was one of the chief promoters of this propaganda.

Incidentally Lenin and other leaders of the Central Soviet are also intriguing in the Far East. A Korean delegation was on its way to Moscow toward the end of November, and hopes of support for Bolshevism in China were being entertained. The activity of the Reds on the Siberian-Mongolian frontier has long been known. According to Peking reports the Bolsheviks had asked the provincial authorities of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan, Kulja, and Kashgaria) to send them an accredited envoy. They also proposed to open negotiations with the Peking authorities, holding out the prospect of the return of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

ENGLAND-AUSTRALIA FLIGHT

CAPTAIN ROSS SMITH, the Australian aviator, began a transcontinental flight from England to Australia on Nov. 12, in competition for a prize of £10,000 offered for the first aviator who made the flight of 11,500 miles within thirty days. In this flight Captain Smith reached Cairo on Nov. 18; arrived at Delhi on Nov. 23, and thereafter touched at Rangoon, and at several points along the Malay Peninsula and the islands of Oceania. He arrived at Bima, on Sunbawa Island, near Java, on Dec. 8. Cruisers and steamers kept watch at sea on the last stage of the airman's journey, vessels patrolling between Timor and Port Darwin, which is near the northernmost tip of Australia. Elaborate preparations were made for the landing at Fannie Bay, three miles from Port Darwin, where the aviator completed his long flight on Dec. 10. The Australian Premier, William Morris Hughes, sent a congratulatory message to Captain Smith after news of his safe arrival.

Lieutenant Etienne Poulet, the French military aviator, left Paris for a similar flight to Australia on Oct. 14, nearly a month before Captain Smith's departure. The Englishman caught up with Poulet in India, and both left Bangkok on the same day. No reports have since been received from the French aviator.

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THE AUSTRALIAN ELECTION

VIRTUALLY complete election returns received at Melbourne on Dec. 14 showed that the Liberal and Nationalist Labor Parties, who support the Government, had won 35 seats in the House of Representatives, and the Farmers' Party, also a supporter of the Government, 11 seats, while the anti-governmental factions and the laborites had secured only 29. William M. Hughes, the Premier, had been re-elected to the House. This result was regarded as highly significant, for the elections were virtually a test of strength between the Nationalist Party, led by Premier Hughes, and the Labor Party, under the leadership of Frank Tudor and former Premier Ryan of Queensland. In an-

other sense the elections were also an expression of public opinion favoring the development of the country along the lines of private enterprise, as opposed to State socialism, advocated by Mr. Ryan and his party.

The Prime Minister thus confirmed and supported first gained prominence in Australia because of his forceful attitude favoring conscription, which was defeated by a very small majority, and soon became an outstanding figure due to the large part he played in the Peace Conference at Paris. The slogan of the Coalition Cabinet formed by him was "Win the War!" Mr. Hughes is a small, slender man, weighing about 100 pounds, but in mental aggressiveness no man in Australian political life can be said to equal him. This attitude of mind was said to have been frequently displayed in differences of opinion between himself and President Wilson, who found in the Australian Prime Minister a foeman worthy of his steel.

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HELIGOLAND DISMANTLED

WHEN the war broke out, the whole population of Heligoland (some of whom had never before left the island) were expelled by the Imperial Government on six hours' notice and sent to Hamburg and Altona, where they were put under police supervision. A London Times correspondent who visited the island to witness the dismantling of its forts recalls the foregoing fact and continues:

Strict orders had been issued by the Island Commandant that all keys to houses, rooms, and cupboards were to be left in their locks, and only such luggage was allowed as each one could carry. And these were German citizens! It is significant that in the days of crisis they were treated as semi-English. The only two actual British subjects resident on the island, one a sailor with twenty-three years' service in the British Navy, were flung into prison three days before war was declared. "'Tain't no catch being under Prussian rule," says the sailor, still lean from his long bondage.

The people eventually returned to find their houses occupied by German naval officers, who had brought their families to share their rest cure, or ransacked by the garrison of artillerymen who had spent the war in comparative luxury—"stupefied with contentment." For from start to finish not a salvo was fired by the bat-

teries, though their erection cost Germany £2,250,000. They found, too, their local Government still further undermined by the 600 Prussian officials and employees retained on the island. Party political conspiracy is forthcoming even here, and the autonomy stipulated by the Anglo-German Treaty of 1890 is more mythical than ever.

Meantime the islanders have reminded the Supreme Council of the years when, "under the long and blissful administration of the great British nation, all our rights and customs were always most loyally upheld." The petition adds:

"We seek neither wealth nor ostentation, but desire and hope to live our lives in our lonely home upon the rocks in peace and contentment, as our forefathers did before us."

The correspondent relates that the work of dismantling the forts is proceeding. In November several hundred workmen were employed in dismounting the batteries and shipping the displaced material to Wilhelmshaven. Stores of metal and timber lie littered about the tableland, but instruments, gun sights, and fittings of all kinds are taken as souvenirs by the departing naval garrison. Light guns, anti-aircraft batteries and searchlights have all gone, and only a few machine guns remain about the island and harbor.

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GAS IN WAR HUMANE

GENERAL MARCH, Chief of the General Staff of the United States Army, on Nov. 25, authorized an announcement that, contrary to popular belief, gas was now regarded by responsible American Army officers as one of the most humane weapons of war. This conclusion had been reached only after a critical study and analysis of official figures compiled by the office of the Surgeon General of the army. In an official statement General March said:

While the number who died on the battlefield from gas cannot be separated from those who died from bullets and high explosives, it is known that in the case of the A. E. F. it was very small. This is attributed to the fact that the high concentration of gas necessary to cause death before men can be gotten to a hospital is obtained by cloud gas and projector attacks, with only an occasional death on the battlefield.

The number of deaths in the hospitals from gas was 1,194, which, added to the 206 deaths in battle, gives a total of 1,400 deaths from gas out of the total gas

casualties amounting to 74,779. The total number of deaths from all battle causes is given as 48,059. Subtracting the 1,400 deaths attributed to gas gives 46,659 deaths from all other battle causes. Deducting the 74,779 gas cases from the 274,217 total battle casualties leaves 199,438 for battle casualties due to causes other than gas. The percentage of deaths from such causes is therefore 23.4 per cent.

Thus it is deduced that, while gas produced 27.3 per cent. of all battle casualties, accomplishing the prime object of all weapons of war, which is to put men out of action, the deaths were only 1.87 per cent., compared with 23.4 per cent. of deaths from other battle causes. In other words, based on the statistics, the claim is advanced that a man gassed has twelve times as many chances to recover as the man put out of action by other causes.

The casualties in the A. E. F. caused by various kinds of gas were as follows:

Asphyxiating Gas—3 officers, 124 men.
Poisonous Gas (kind not stated)—1,201 officers, 34,812 men.
Chlorine—32 officers, 1,890 men.
Mustard Gas—822 officers, 27,046 men.
Phosgene Gas—415 officers, 6,698 men.
Yperite Gas—30 officers, 901 men.
Areine Gas—30 officers, 569 men.
Total—2,583 officers and 72,040 men.

* * *

BRITISH OLD-AGE PENSIONS

IN accordance with the recommendations of a report laid on the table of the House of Commons on Nov. 8, a new scale of old-age pensions to cost £41,000,000 was offered for adoption. This report proposed that every citizen of the kingdom, irrespective of means, should become qualified to draw a State pension of ten shillings a week after attaining the age of 70. Failure to reduce this maximum age to 65 was explained on the ground that this would have cost an additional total of £70,000,000. A minority report modified the £41,000,000 outlay to the extent of £9,000,000.

* * *

TANK DESIGNERS REWARDED

THE British Royal Commission on Inventions appointed to decide what royalties and awards should be paid to the inventors of war instruments, has given credit for designing and producing the tank in a concrete, practical war shape to Sir William Tritton and Major Wilson, who claimed it jointly, and has

awarded them £15,000. The commission devoted several weeks to hearing evidence in support of the various claimants. In the commission's report, issued on Nov. 27, special praise was paid to Winston Churchill for his receptivity, courage, and driving force, which made it possible to convert the idea of the use of the tank as an instrument of warfare into an effective reality, potent in the winning of the war. Mr. Churchill, it was stated, had declined reward, on the ground that all his thought and time belonged to the State.

* * *

LADY ASTOR WINS A SEAT IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

LADY ASTOR was elected a member of Parliament for the Sutton Division of Plymouth, England, in the balloting held on Nov. 15, the vote standing as follows:

Lady Astor, Unionist.....	14,495
W. T. Gay, Labor.....	8,292
Isaac Foot, Liberal.....	4,139

So ended one of the most picturesque and unprecedented campaigns for a seat in Parliament ever conducted in England, and Lady Astor, formerly Nancy Langhorne of Virginia, noted for her vivacity and wit, both in America and England, thus brought to its climax a most unusual career. Married to Robert Gould Shaw, 2d., of Boston, a Harvard graduate, and son of an aristocratic New England family, in 1897, she secured a decree of divorce on the ground of desertion in 1903, obtaining the custody of her child. After her divorce she went to England with Mrs. John Jacob Astor, with whom she maintained a hunting establishment in the High Shires. Her success in British society was immediate, and in 1906 her engagement to Waldorf Astor, son of William Waldorf Astor, was announced.

In 1908 Waldorf Astor took his seat in the House of Commons, and since that time Lady Astor has had an intimate knowledge of British politics. The Astor residences in London and other parts of England have been meeting places for many of England's most important statesmen, including Arthur J. Balfour, Herbert Asquith, Winston Churchill, Sir

Horace Plunkett, and the late Lord Beresford. After the death of her father-in-law, Viscount Astor, her husband succeeded to the peerage and a seat in the House of Lords.

Lady Astor then decided to become the coalition Unionist candidate to succeed her husband as a member of the House of Commons. An invitation was extended to her, after announcing her intention, to stand for Parliament from Plymouth, which offer she accepted on Oct. 25.

The campaign, which she conducted personally, was most unusual by reason of its unconventionality and the flashing wit with which Lady Astor countered all attempts at heckling. No political candidacy has stirred the interest of England so much for many years. News that she had won her seat caused a sensation in the House of Commons, all of whose venerable traditions had been shattered by this election. The tone of newspaper comment was favorable in the extreme, and Lady Astor's portrait, her history, her unique campaigning methods, and her sayings were given extended space. When finally, on Dec. 1, the first woman member of Parliament took her seat, she was greeted with cheers. She went through the ceremony of taking oath and signing her name with great composure, and was then escorted beyond the bar by Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour. The first vote which the new member cast was against premium bonds. Tickets to the public gallery of the House were in great demand, and hundreds showed their desire to see the first woman member presented to the House.

* * *

CANADA'S WAR CONTRIBUTION IN MEN

IN the February, 1919, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE a statement to this effect appeared: "Canada, with a contribution of nearly 1,000,000 men, 200,000 of whom went overseas, lost a total of 220,182, with a mortality of 60,383." These figures are now known to be inaccurate, and have been officially revised by the Canadian Government.

The following total is compiled by the

Director of Records from official Canadian sources. It shows the casualties reported up to and including Nov. 30, 1919. The figures were supplied by the Director of Records Dec. 3, 1919, and were issued by the Canadian Bureau of Information, New York:

	Other Officers. Ranks.		Total.
Killed in action and died of wounds.....	2,559	48,557	51,116
Accidentally killed.....	5	8	13
Died of disease.....	292	4,613	4,905
Wounded	5,349	143,510	148,859
Presumed dead.....	187	4,915	5,102
Missing .....	..	57	57
Deaths in Canada.....	..	2,633	2,633
	8,392	204,293	*212,685
Total prisoners of war.	236	3,493	3,729
Repatriated	204	3,086	3,290
C. E. F., Siberia Forces: 4 accidentally killed, 13 died of disease, 1 wounded.			
Enlistments up to Nov 15, 1918.....	†595,441		
Sailings for England.....	418,052		
Sailings to Siberia.....	4,214		

Total that went overseas.....‡222,266

*Represents nearly 3 per cent. of Canada's total population of 8,000,000. †Over 7 per cent. of population. ‡Five per cent. of population.

* * *

SCIALOJA A LEAGUE DELEGATE

IT was announced from Rome on Nov. 25 that Senator Vittorio Scialoja had been appointed Italian delegate to the Council of the League of Nations. The career of Signor Scialoja has been an interesting one. He has been Professor of Roman Law in the University of Rome, is a member of the Accademia dei Lincei, was for twelve years a Senator, was Minister without portfolio in the Boselli Cabinet in 1916, Minister of Justice in the second Sonnino Cabinet, Minister without portfolio in the Nitti Cabinet, and was appointed on Nov. 24 to succeed Tommaso Tittoni as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Last July he was made a member of the Commission for the Execution of the Versailles Treaty. Signor Scialoja took an important part in the council of Ministers held in London in mid-December for the settlement of certain Peace Conference problems, including that of Fiume.

American Developments

With Emergency Armies Disbanded, the Country Seeks Settlement of Industrial War

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 18, 1919]

THE Sixty-sixth Congress met in its first regular session on Dec. 1. Many important domestic questions had been left unsolved when the special session adjourned ten days before. The bituminous coal mine strike had been called off, but the miners were slow in obeying. Railroad legislation was needed to protect the lines after their release by the Government. A strike was threatened by railway employees. Radicalism was rampant and existing laws were confessedly inadequate to deal with the situation.

The nation's great armies, returned from overseas, were disbanded, but the records of the years of war still remained to be completed in many details. Thus the director of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, R. G. Cholmeley Jones, reported to Congress on Dec. 8 that the total expenses of this bureau for the year ended June 30, 1919, had been \$269,500,000, including \$191,128,900 paid as allowances to families of soldiers and sailors and \$43,798,000 as insurance. Insurance premiums paid to the bureau for the year aggregated \$172,557,215. Congress had appropriated \$126,183,500.

A detailed report of operations of the bureau was asked for in a resolution by Senator Poindexter, Republican, Washington, adopted Dec. 8 by the Senate. The Secretary of the Treasury was requested to advise whether the bureau should be continued or its work distributed among other Federal agencies.

The following official announcement in answer to the renewed request of the American Government for the return of its fallen soldiers was published in Paris on Nov. 24:

It has been definitely decided that the Allies who fell together for the same cause should remain together in death until circumstances permit of the returning of the bodies to the families for whom they sacrificed themselves.

The proposed law forbidding the ex-

humation of the soldier dead for three years did not pass at the last session of the Chamber of Deputies, but the Foreign Office intimated that it would be adopted soon. Though this bill provided for a delay of three years dating from the promulgation of the law, it was stated at the Foreign Office that the exhumation would begin considerably before January, 1922. The French Government, it was explained, was anxious to hasten matters, as French families also were pressing for their dead, but there were many thousands of unidentified bodies, and transportation facilities were quite inadequate to move the 1,500,000 dead interred in French cemeteries. The British and Belgian Governments were also asking for the return of their dead soldiers, but they, together with the 65,000 American dead in France, must be left in the graves they now occupy until the French are ready to exhume their own. General March also gave formal notice on Dec. 16 that no individuals would be allowed to bring back their dead; the Government alone would bring back the American dead from abroad.

It was announced from Washington on Dec. 11 that plans for the disinterment of the bodies of American soldiers in England had reached the point where two officers and a detachment of fifty-eight men of the Graves Registration Service of the Quartermaster Corps would sail from New York on the transport Martha Washington Dec. 16 for Southampton, England, to start this work. The officer in charge is Captain W. E. Robertson of the Quartermaster Corps. Second Lieutenant Frazier McIntosh of the same corps is assisting him. The detachment consists of five masters of sections, seven supervising embalmers, ten technical assistants, sixteen inspectors, and twenty convoys.

Major Gen. Enoch Crowder, Judge Advocate General of the Army, in his

annual report on Nov. 27 gave detailed statistics covering military courts-martial. During the last fiscal year 16,547 persons were tried before general courts-martial and 85 per cent. were convicted. Of the charges against officers, more than one-third comprised drunkenness, absent without leave or conduct unbecoming an officer; in the case of enlisted men, one-half the total charges recorded were for desertion, absent without leave, disobedience and sleeping on post.

The report made public for the first time an official summary of the "capital" cases occurring in the army since April 6, 1917, the beginning of the war period. Death penalties were adjudged in 145 cases from that date to June 30, 1919, and execution was consummated in thirty-five cases, ten in France and twenty-five in the United States. Murder was charged in two of these cases, murder and mutiny in nineteen, assault in eleven, and assault and murder in three.

"In no case," according to the report, "was a capital sentence for a purely military offense carried into execution."

Desertions from the army from March 1 to Nov. 17, 1919, averaged more than 800 a month, with less than 15 per cent. of the men apprehended, it was announced by the War Department. The average period of confinement in army disciplinary cases was reduced from 6.63 years to 1.85 years, clemency having been recommended in 81 per cent. of the 7,027 cases reviewed. In 2,075 cases the entire unexecuted portion of the sentence was remitted.

PEACE ARMY OF 260,000

A standing army of about 260,000 men, backed by a universal military training system to supply reserves, was advocated by General Peyton C. March, Chief of Staff, in his annual report made public on Nov. 22. So far as purely naval operations are concerned, he added, the United States had nothing to fear from "any conceivable combination" of naval powers, but must be prepared to prevent seizure of bases by an enemy controlling the sea and intent on landing troops.

"Without the possession of such bases in France," the report said, "we could not have landed our army, irrespective of the fact that the Allies had control of the sea."

General March recommended fixing the strength of the regular army at five army corps, maintained at half strength in peace times. The proposals the department presented tentatively to Congress during the special session called for 509,000 men, and the statement of the Chief of Staff was taken to indicate that this would be scaled down to 260,000.

The war produced new practices but not new principles, the report said, and "was not won, as some predicted, by a new and terrible development of modern science," but by "men, munitions, and morale." The American military achievement was possible "only because of the assistance of our allies," General March said, and in urging an adequate military policy, he added:

Surely we can never expect to prepare for defense against the attack of a powerful and determined agency again under such favorable conditions to ourselves.

Military experts are agreed that the bulwark of American power is its ability for self-sustenance. This, involving, as it does, our unlimited resources of man power and wealth, constitutes our greatest national military asset, provided, and only provided, we are prepared to prevent the landing on our shores of an enemy of the size which our own performance has demonstrated to the world can be landed by a first-class power under certain conditions. These conditions are that it shall have control of the sea and control of proper bases for debarkation.

It is, accordingly, one of the very important lessons of this war that reasonable provision and a sound military policy demand that there shall be at all times available for immediate use a sufficient trained and organized force to insure, in connection with our fixed coast defenses, that no probable or possible enemy can ever seize a great strategic base on our coast. With such a base in his possession it is not inconceivable that he could, within a short time, land a sufficient number of fully equipped troops to seize and hold, by establishing a line of defense not incomparable in length with that held by the Germans on the western front, an area including such an appreciable portion of the resources and wealth of the country as to result in consequences of incalculable moment to the nation.

SURPLUS ARMY STOCKS

The Government realized from 73 to 80 cents on the dollar during the last year on the sale of surplus army stocks held in the United States, Acting Secretary Crowell reported Dec. 2 to Congress. The total received for materials sold in this country was \$476,727,874, exclusive of \$61,985,421 of stocks transferred to other Government departments. The largest amount for any one commodity was \$201,810,000 for wool. Other sales included textiles, other than wool, \$44,540,000, railway rolling stock \$70,157,000, subsistence \$26,613,200, chemicals \$23,045,000, and animals \$21,169,000.

THE MARINE CORPS

Major Gen. Barnett, Commandant of the Marine Corps, in his report of Nov. 23 recommended a permanent enlisted strength of 27,467 men for the Marine Corps. This is approximately double the pre-war force. Opportunity to qualify for permanent commissions should be given all present temporary officers eligible for transfer, the report said, adding the recommendation that such commissions be made probationary for one year.

Attributing much of the success of the Marine Corps in the war to the system of drawing its commissioned personnel from the ranks, the Commandant said the "highest efficiency" would be served by adherence to this policy, which attracts the highest class of recruits.

General Barnett recommended that the present two, three and four year enlistment terms be made permanent, as being more attractive than the rigid pre-war term of four years, and asked increased pay for both enlisted men and officers.

Great difficulty being experienced in replacing the temporary enlisted personnel of the aviation section of the corps, now completely demobilized, General Barnett recommended that special grades be provided in order to place the three aviation services on a parity, and asked for sixty additional officers for aviation.

The report declared the taking of Mont Blanc Ridge during the war by the 2d Division, to which the marine brigade was still attached, was an

"achievement the brilliancy of which rivals the record of the marines in Belleau Wood." The Commandant also paid tribute to the fighting of the marines in the Aisne-Marne offensive of 1918, declaring their early morning surprise attack in the Bois de Rit, near Soissons, on July 18, to have been one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. Their operations in the St. Mihiel offensive, he said, proved the same invincible spirit.

Four members of the corps received the Medal of Honor, four the Distinguished Service Medal, 349 the Distinguished Service Cross, 1,237 were awarded the French Croix de Guerre, and fifteen the French Legion of Honor. Total Marine Corps casualties in France, the report showed, were 11,968, with 1,514 killed.

The report described operations of Marine Corps aircraft co-operating with ground troops in Haiti and Santo Domingo. A squadron of seven water planes and six land planes now is working with the expeditionary brigade in Haiti, while six land planes are stationed in Santo Domingo.

LOSSES IN RAILROAD OPERATION

It was stated in Washington on Dec. 1 that the net loss to the Government in the operating expenses of the railroads for the ten months of 1919 ending with October amounted to \$269,678,158. In July, August, September, and October, it is estimated, the net gain over expenses was more than \$23,000,000. The greatest gain was in August, when it reached \$16,397,112, while in October the gain was estimated at \$2,000,000. In the other months of the year the report made by Director General Hines shows that heavy losses were sustained, the greatest loss being \$65,430,850, in February.

The Senate devoted most of its time before the holiday recess to discussing the Cummins bill to restore the railroads to their owners. President Wilson was petitioned on Dec. 17 by a delegation representing the Federation of Labor, the four railroad union brotherhoods, and some farm organizations to defer action on the return of the roads for two years, in order to test Government ownership

under peace conditions. In their petition the delegation said:

Director General Hines and members of the Interstate Commerce Commission have shown clearly that the return of the railroads will involve an increase in freight revenue of close to a billion dollars, the rates being increased 25 to 50 per cent. This increase in rates, according to these same authorities, will be reflected in an increased cost of living of at least \$4,000,000,000 a year, possibly \$5,000,000,000. The American people can not and should not stand such increases.

Government operation as reported by Director General Hines showed a net profit at the rate of \$168,000,000 a year for the three months prior to the coal strike.

The Senate is now being asked to investigate serious charges against certain officials of railroads during the period of Federal control, that they had committed sabotage and had willfully and purposely attempted through unfair methods, while presumably serving the Government, to discredit Government operation.

We respectfully request, Mr. President, on behalf of the farmers, the American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods, as well as the general public, that you stop the rumors that you plan to return the roads to private control, and that in view of the changed conditions and the prevalent industrial unrest you re-establish public confidence by advocating that the period of Government operation be continued for at least two years, so that under peace conditions there may be a more thorough and more consistent trial of Government operation, and that carefully considered plans for the ultimate disposal of the railroads may be worked out and adopted.

FIVE-BILLION BUDGET

Secretary Glass, on Dec. 1, in presenting the annual estimate, proposed appropriations of virtually \$5,000,000,000 for conducting the peace-time activities of the Government during the fiscal year 1921. The greatest individual estimates for expenditures go to the army and the navy. The yearly interest on the war debt is \$1,017,500,000, which sum alone is greater than all the appropriations for all purposes whatsoever of any peace-time Congress.

All in all, the estimates justify the predictions made on the floor of Congress during consideration of the War Tax bills, that the present generation would not see the Government conducted at an

expense of less than \$4,000,000,000 a year.

The estimated appropriations for the principal Government departments were presented as follows:

Legislative (Congress)	\$9,025,297.25
Executive (White House and Government departments) ..	149,111,463.77
Judicial	1,634,190.00
Army	989,578,657.20
Navy	542,031,894.80
Pensions	215,030,000.00
Public works	283,921,810.17
Miscellaneous	833,717,637.96
Foreign intercourse	11,243,250.91

The total of all estimates, including some comparatively minor items not included in the foregoing, is \$4,865,-410,031.62, the greatest sum ever asked of any Congress when the country was not actually at war.

The billion-dollar estimate for the army includes some \$85,000,000 for the National Guard. The normal peacetime estimate for the army before the war was between ten and fifteen millions. The \$542,000,000 estimate for the navy includes provision for the program of increase and is comparable to an annual estimate of some \$15,000,000 before the war. The \$283,000,000 public works estimate includes the Panama Canal, reclamation projects, rivers and harbors improvement, public buildings, and also military works, arsenals, and fortifications.

An item of more than \$391,000,000 for postal services is reimbursable from postal revenues.

The estimates for miscellaneous expenditures contain some tremendous sums. For the Treasury Department more than \$247,000,000 is asked, which goes largely to the enforcement of prohibition and the collection of income, corporation and excess profits taxes. For the Shipping Board nearly \$448,000,000 is asked to wind up its program of restoring the American flag to the seas. Nearly \$40,000,000 is asked for the Federal Board of Vocational Education, which, besides being expended in co-operation with the States for civilian education as the law provides, will be used in large measure for the reconstruction of disabled soldiers of the world war.

Settlement of the Coal Strike

How the Six Weeks' Conflict Between the Miners and Operators Was Ended by President Wilson

[PERIOD NOV. 23 TO DEC. 18, 1919]

REPRESENTATIVES of the bituminous coal miners and operators, in their efforts to reach a compromise which would put an end to the strike, which had begun on Nov. 1, and which threatened the comfort and security of the whole nation, struggled for several hours on Nov. 21 and 22 to find some common basis of settlement. The point on which they disagreed was the proposal of Secretary Wilson for a 31 per cent. increase of wages, which the workers accepted on the basis of a seven-hour day, but which the operators rejected. At the request of the operators, Dr. Garfield, Fuel Administrator, Director General of Railways Hines, and Attorney General Palmer conferred on Nov. 23 on behalf of the Government, with the object of finding a solution that would break the deadlock. Certain principles of settlement, reached by Nov. 24 and read before a joint session of the conflicting parties, laid down as essential that the public should not be asked to pay more than it was already paying for coal unless a reasonable labor wage or a reasonable operating profit demanded it. This program, however, was a disappointment to both parties because it contained no specific recommendations, and the situation remained in statu quo while awaiting the Cabinet's ultimate proposals.

For several hours on the following day the Cabinet discussed the situation, while the miners and operators "marked time." In a statement issued in the evening, the operators of the Central Competitive Field declared that the wage increases for miners proposed by Secretary Wilson would amount to an average increase of 111.3 per cent. over 1913 wages, as compared with an increase of only 77 per cent. in the cost of living during the same period. The operators asserted that their offer of a 20 per cent. increase

over the rate obtaining would mean a wage increase of 80.1 per cent. since 1913.

MR. McADOO ANSWERED

The operators also made public a copy of an open telegram to William G. McAdoo replying to the latter's charges under the same date of enormous profits made by the operators in 1917, reaching allegedly in some cases to 2,000 per cent., and to his telegraphed declaration to Administrator Garfield that the miners' demands were fair, and that no part of any eventual wage increase should be borne by the public. In this reply the operators asserted that it was "exceedingly poor taste" for a former Cabinet member to inject himself into the coal situation, charged Mr. McAdoo with ignorance of conditions in 1918-19, and asked him upon what "current facts and figures" he held that the increases for the miners were just and reasonable. This reply elicited a further statement from Mr. McAdoo, in which he reiterated his former charges and demanded that the operators' income tax returns for 1918 and 1919 be published.

To this the operators made no official reply, but on Nov. 26 the United States Treasury Department made public an official statement containing estimates of the income tax returns of the operators. This statement showed that the coal profits in 1917 had ranged from 15 to 800 per cent., that they had been less in the East in 1918, and still less in 1919, when some operators even stated that they were working at a loss.

THE GARFIELD PROPOSAL

Fuel Administrator Garfield, representing the Government, on Nov. 26 read to a joint session of miners and operators at the Red Cross Building in Washington a decision granting the coal miners of the Central Competitive district an

average wage increase of 14 per cent., and announcing that the price of coal to the public would not be increased and that the Government would continue provisionally in control of prices. He also urged that a permanent advisory body, headed by Secretary Lane, with an equal representation of miners and operators, be formed to get information regarding the industry to govern future disputes.

The operators at once accepted this decision, and agreed to carry out its terms, but the miners, headed by John L. Lewis, Acting President of the United Mine Workers of America, refused to consider the offer, and stood firmly behind the 31 per cent. increase proposed by Secretary Wilson. Opposition to the Garfield proposal was at once voiced by Acting President Lewis and Frank Farrington, who said that acceptance of the plan would mean starvation wages for many miners. Laughter and jeering came from among the representatives of the miners. The attacks upon the offer were couched in bitter terms, and Administrator Garfield was asked if this new decision meant an open repudiation of Secretary Wilson's proposal. Dr. Garfield declined to answer this, simply saying that questions to that effect misrepresented the situation. He pictured the situation rather as one in which there had been a difference of opinion, and where the stand taken by the Fuel Administrator had prevailed, pending further investigation, and intimated that the new proposal was one behind which the Government would stand firmly. The situation appeared more critical than ever after the session had adjourned.

DEADLOCK ESTABLISHED

A spirited joint meeting of operators and miners was held on the following day, which had no definite outcome, the miners rejecting the operators' proposal to accept the Government's offer, the operators rejecting the miners' demand that Secretary Wilson's offer be accepted. Afterward President Lewis, in stating the position of the miners, pointed out that though the operators ostensibly accepted the Garfield proposal, they also stated that they would be unable to run many of their mines under it, which

made the conclusion of any agreement futile. The miners' position, he declared, was unchanged; they held that the United States Government could not break its word, pledged by Secretary Wilson, to grant a 31 per cent. increase in wages. Dr. Garfield's proposal he characterized as a "colossal blunder." Meanwhile Mr. Lewis remained in the capital to await developments, but many of the other delegates on both sides returned home.

On the side of the miners, Frank Farrington, President of the Illinois District of the United Mine Workers of America, was arrested in Springfield, Ill., Dec. 6, on charges of violating the injunction. His bond was fixed at \$10,000. Farrington's attorney announced that a writ of habeas corpus would be asked to obtain his release.

So the situation reached a crisis, in which no prospect of compromise or agreement seemed immediately possible. It was at this time that President Wilson himself intervened with a new offer, which brought fresh negotiations and a hope of agreement.

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFER

Attorney General Palmer announced on Nov. 7 that President Wilson had made the coal miners a definite concrete proposal looking to a speedy termination of the strike and an adjustment of the entire controversy, and that Acting President Lewis and Secretary Green of the miners would urge its acceptance at a meeting of the Scale Committee, called to meet in Indianapolis on Dec. 9. The President's terms had been submitted to Mr. Lewis and Secretary Green at a meeting held the previous day and attended by Joseph Tumulty, Secretary to President Wilson. Mr. Palmer had previously gone over the whole situation with the President.

The nature of the new offer was not disclosed at this time. The text of Mr. Palmer's statement as well as the general attitude of the Government officials, indicated clearly, however, that acceptance by the miners was anticipated. The announcement came more in the nature of a surprise, because Fuel Administrator Garfield had declared emphatically that

there would be no compromise on the Government's part. In regard to this announcement Dr. Garfield refused to make any comment, except that, so far as he personally was concerned, there would be no compromising.

Attorney General Palmer issued this further statement on Dec. 9:

The President, Saturday, was about to issue a statement to the country reciting the facts in relation to the strike situation and making an appeal to the miners to go back to work. Mr. Lewis and Mr. Green called on me that day and I showed them the President's statement. They finally agreed to its terms as far as they were concerned and called a meeting of their official boards to consider it, at which time they agreed to urge its acceptance.

A memorandum was prepared, its form being agreed to by Mr. Lewis and myself, embodying in brief the President's proposal and the action which should be taken by the miners. The President's statement will be presented to the miners this afternoon and I am assured that the action indicated will be taken.

The memorandum referred to by Mr. Palmer reads:

In accordance with the request of the President, as contained in his statement of Dec. 6, the miners will immediately return to work with the 14 per cent. increase in wages which is already in effect.

Immediately upon a general resumption of operations, which shall be in all districts, except as to wages, upon the basis which obtained on Oct. 31, 1919, the President will appoint a commission of three persons, one of whom shall be a practical miner and one of whom shall be a mine owner or operator in active business, which commission will consider further questions of wages and working conditions as well as profits of operators and proper prices for coal, readjusting both wages and prices if it shall so decide, including differentials and internal conditions within and between districts.

Its report will be made within sixty days if possible and will be accepted as the basis of a new wage agreement, the effective date and duration of which shall also be determined by the commission.

TEXT OF PROPOSAL

On the same date the full proposal of President Wilson was made public, following presentation to the Miners' Scale Committee. It was as follows:

I have watched with deep concern the developments in the bituminous coal strike and am convinced there is much confusion in the minds of the people generally and possibly of both parties to this

unfortunate controversy as to the attitude and purposes of the Government in its handling of the situation.

The mine owners offered a wage increase of 20 per cent. conditioned, however, upon the price of coal being raised to an amount sufficient to cover this proposed increase of wages, which would have added at least \$150,000,000 to the annual coal bill of the people. The Fuel Administrator, in the light of present information, has taken the position, and I think with entire justification, that the public is now paying as high prices for coal as it ought to be requested to pay, and that any wage increase made at this time ought to come out of the profits of the coal operators.

In reaching this conclusion, the Fuel Administrator expressed the personal opinion that the 14 per cent. increase in all mine wages is reasonable because it would equalize the miners' wages on the average with the cost of living, but he made it perfectly clear that the operators and the miners are at liberty to agree upon a large increase provided the operators will pay it out of their profits so that the price of coal would remain the same.

The Secretary of Labor, in an effort at conciliation between the parties, expressed his personal opinion in favor of a larger increase. His effort at conciliation failed, however, because the coal operators were unwilling to pay the scale he proposed unless the Government would advance the price of coal to the public, and this the Government was unwilling to do.

The Fuel Administrator had also suggested that a tribunal be created in which the miners and operators would be equally represented to consider further questions of wages and working conditions, as well as profits of operators and proper prices for coal. I shall, of course, be glad to aid in the formation of such a tribunal.

I understand the operators have generally agreed to absorb an increase of 14 per cent. in wages, so that the public would pay not to exceed the present price fixed by the Fuel Administrator, and thus a way is opened to secure the coal of which the people stand in need, if the miners will resume work on these terms pending a thorough investigation by an impartial commission which may readjust both wages and prices.

The Government on Nov. 28 officially warned bituminous coal miners and operators that it would not tolerate any interference with the production of coal. Judge Ames announced for the Department of Justice that instructions had been sent to all United States Attorneys in the coal districts to prosecute conspirators on either side. He further stat-

ed that 100,000 troops were to be held available, and would be called in if the situation should justify it.

Meanwhile the operators posted the new scale order at their mines, and President Lewis, after an interview with Secretary Wilson and Samuel Gompers, went home to Indianapolis tired out by the exhausting dispute of which he had borne the brunt. Before his departure he stated that he had been given to understand by Secretary Wilson that Mr. Garfield's offer was definite, final, and supported by the Government. His conference with Mr. Gompers resulted in an arrangement to have the federation's lawyers assist counsel for the miners in perfecting their appeal from the ruling of Federal Judge Anderson, ordering the coal strike order canceled. The Special Assistant District Attorney, Dan W. Simms, declared in Indianapolis on Nov. 29 that the coal must be mined, and that if the miners did not return to work after the posting of notices by the operators the mines would be operated in compliance with the decision of the Government, and many men would be brought before Judge Anderson to face charges of contempt.

Meanwhile the Government rested on its arms. Fuel Administrator Garfield, before leaving Washington for a few days, firmly upheld his proposal, declaring that it would cover increases in the cost of living, and would mean an increase of \$107,000,000 yearly. Any effort on the part of the operators to take advantage of the coal crisis to break down the labor unions would be resisted, he declared. Protection, however, would be given to all who wished to work, regardless of their affiliations.

Soft coal operators to the number of 150 assembled for conference in Philadelphia on Nov. 30. They were the employers of about 75,000 union men on strike in the bituminous fields of thirteen counties surrounding Johnstown, Pa., and represented an annual production of 60,000,000 tons of coal. They voted to accept Mr. Garfield's proposal.

COURT CHARGES CONSPIRACY

The warning of the Government that it would institute court proceedings against the leaders of the miners for

contempt was backed up by deeds on Dec. 3, when information charging criminal contempt of court was filed in the United States District Court of Indianapolis against eighty-four international and district officers of the 400,000 United Mine Workers of America named in the injunction issued by Judge Anderson. It was charged that all the officers had conspired to keep the strike in force, and had thus violated the terms of the injunction. Among those served with *capias* summonses were Acting President John L. Lewis, Secretary-Treasurer William Green, Percy Tetlow, Statistician, and Ellis Searles, editor of The United Mine Workers Journal, all of Indianapolis, who agreed to appear in court the following day and furnish bond, fixed at \$10,000 by Judge Anderson. Other officials of the mine workers resident outside were also served with summonses to appear.

One of the specific charges made was that of having paid benefits to the striking workmen and their families to enable them to continue the strike. On this charge officials of two local United Mine Workers' Unions at Clinton, Ind., were cited for contempt of court on Dec. 5, and summoned to appear at the same time with the other officials mentioned above. All appeared together and furnished bonds for their appearance. Meanwhile seventy-eight other charges were printed and certified, and copies mailed to all court districts in which the accused resided.

NATION-WIDE INVESTIGATION

It was announced at this time that the scope of the Grand Jury investigation would be extended to cover all phases of the controversy in the coal industry, and would be nation-wide in scope, including investigation of alleged violations of the Lever Fuel act and the Sherman anti-trust law by miners, operators, and others, and prosecutions under the Lever law, which carried a penalty of \$5,000 fine or imprisonment not to exceed two years in the penitentiary. This extension was due to certain information gained that the operators, as well as the miners, had transgressed the provisions of this law. The Operators' Committee

on Dec. 5 issued a statement characterizing as "vicious and misleading" published reports to the effect that they were considering proposals to compromise with striking mine owners by paying more than the 14 per cent. increase suggested by Dr. Garfield and increasing the price of coal correspondingly. They further sent a dispatch to Indianapolis urging the District Attorney to expedite the investigation of their actions.

By the acceptance of such a plan, the miners are assured immediate steady employment at a substantial increase in wages and are further assured prompt investigation and action upon questions which are not now settled to their satisfaction. I must believe that with a clear understanding of these points, they will promptly return to work. If, nevertheless, they persist in remaining on strike they will put themselves in an attitude of striking in order to force the Government to increase the price of coal to the public, so as to give a still further increase in wages at this time rather than allow the questions of a further increase in wages to be dealt with in an orderly manner by a fairly constituted tribunal representing all parties interested.

No group of our people can justify such a position, and the miners owe it to themselves, their families, their fellow-workmen in other industries, and to their country to return to work.

Immediately upon a general resumption of mining I shall be glad to aid in the prompt formation of such a tribunal as I have indicated to make further inquiries into this whole matter and to review not only the reasonableness of the wages at which the miners start to work, but also the reasonableness of the Government prices for coal. Such a tribunal should within sixty days make its report which could be used as a basis for negotiation, for a wage agreement. I must make it clear, however, that the Government cannot give its aid to any such further investigation until there is a general resumption of work.

I ask every individual miner to give his personal thought to what I say. I hope he understands fully that he will be hurting his own interest and the interest of his family and will be throwing countless other laboring men out of employment if he shall continue the present strike, and, further, that he will create an unnecessary and unfortunate prejudice against organized labor which will be injurious to the best interests of workingmen everywhere. WOODROW WILSON.

Hopes that this solution would be accepted forthwith, and that the long-pro-

tracted strike would finally be settled, ran high among the officials of the United Mine Workers, despite the holding of four extended "caucuses" in Indianapolis in which radicals of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Western Pennsylvania made plans for continuing the fight against adoption of the strike settlement plan proposed by the President, which, they held, a convention alone would have the authority to accept or reject. It was stated semi-officially by high officials of the mine workers, however, that the conservative element was in the ascendancy in the conference, which went into closed session on Dec. 9 at 2 o'clock to consider the President's proposal.

It was stated subsequently that the determined opposition that arose was mainly over the method of making the action effective and sending the men back to work, some contending that it would be necessary to reconvene the Cleveland convention, which voted for the strike last November, to pass on the matter, otherwise many of the miners would not go back to work, on the theory that action by the Executive Board and other members of the conference would not be authoritative. In answer to this it was pointed out that in order to relieve suffering the situation demanded immediate action, and that approval by the body assembled would be sufficient. The opposition was so strong, however, that adjournment was judged necessary as the only proper way to save the situation, thus giving the officials time to win over the objectors. Some of the opposition speeches were violent in the extreme, accepting a fight to the finish with the coal operators, pending the suspension of the Lever act, and the ability to fight without "the Government on our backs." To return to work, it was declared, would demoralize the miners' organization and the entire country.

The operators, on their part, according to a statement made by Thomas T. Brewster, Chairman of the Scale Committee of the Coal Operators of the Central Competitive Field, had given their unqualified approval to the President's solution.

SECRETARY WILSON MAKES APPEAL

Into the swaying balance of interests was cast the weight of Secretary of Labor Wilson's personal influence, in this letter sent by him to the United Mine Workers' committee on the same date:

Scale Committee, United Mine Workers of America, Indianapolis.

Gentlemen: I cannot too strongly urge you to accept the basis of settlement proposed by the President. I have been associated with him for more than six years, and I know that every fibre of his strong nature has been devoted toward securing fair play for everybody, and particularly the under dog in the fight. Every blow he has had to bear—and he has had to bear many of them—has been brought about by his intense earnestness in that direction. You can rely thoroughly upon every promise he makes.

But, aside from that, as a result of the stoppage of work in the mines, we are facing the most difficult situation that ever confronted the country. It threatens the very foundation of our social life. In this emergency the President has pointed a way out with honor to the Government and honor to yourselves. If my judgment and experience are of any value to you, let me use them in advising you for the welfare of yourselves and the country as a whole to accept the way out that is proposed by the President.

W. E. WILSON, Secretary of Labor.

PRESIDENT'S OFFER ACCEPTED

President Wilson's terms of settlement were accepted on the following day (Dec. 10) by the officials of the United Mine Workers of America at Indianapolis. The President was advised of the fact immediately. The news came to the White House over a special wire connected with the hall at Indianapolis, where the final action was taken.

Fuel Administrator Garfield declared subsequently that immediate removal of regulations on soft coal consumption was not to be considered, and Director General Hines, in a formal statement, asserted that the dislocation created by the strike could not be remedied immediately.

One of the two statements issued by the mine workers' officials after the taking of the decision was as follows:

The conference of members of the International Executive Board, the Scale Committee of the central competitive field, the Presidents and associate representatives of all districts in the United States

agreed with only one dissenting vote to accept the President's proposition of settlement as recommended by Secretary Green and myself.

We have taken this action conscious of our responsibilities to our nation during this acute industrial crisis and firm in the conviction that the word of the President of the United States will secure for the mine workers just consideration of their merited claims.

An immediate telegram will be sent out to all of our 4,000 local unions advising our membership of this action and instructing them immediately to resume work in the mines. This telegram will be later followed by an official order fully explanatory and carrying the signatures of the international officials and the Presidents of all the districts in the organization.

We have confidence that immediate compliance will be given this order; that our men will forthwith return to work and furnish an adequate supply of fuel.

After the mines all resume normal production the international convention will be reconvened in Indianapolis, when a supplemental explanation will be given the delegates from all local unions which will enable them to see the justification for this action.

The action taken today should demonstrate to the people of our country that the United Mine Workers of America are loyal to our country and believe in the perpetuity of our democratic institutions. No greater demonstration of such fact could be given than our action in accepting the proposal of the President of the United States.

We hope and shall expect that the public-spirited citizens of our nation will recognize the importance of the sacrifices that the miners have made and will lend their influence to the end that justice and consideration in wages and working conditions shall be given to the miners who produce the coal upon which is predicated our entire social structure.

The miners everywhere will await with such patience as is possible the award of the President's commission.

MR. PALMER'S STATEMENT

Attorney General Palmer also issued a statement, which read as follows:

The coal strike is settled as the Government wanted it settled. When Messrs. Lewis and Green came to see me Saturday I restated what the Government's position had been from the beginning and insisted on their acquiescence. They finally agreed to it. They have now persuaded the officers of their organization that the situation calls for compliance with the court's order and the Government's wishes, and I am certain that all the miners in the country will cheerfully

acquiesce in the decision of their leaders. I desire to publicly commend the wise and patriotic action of Mr. Lewis, Mr. Green, and their associates. I am, of course, gratified at the outcome, which is one the entire country will approve. Mining will be fully resumed at once, the danger of distress and suffering during the Winter is passed, the authority of the Government has been recognized and upheld, the supremacy of the law has been established and a precedent of incalculable value has been set for the peaceful, orderly and lawful adjustment of industrial disputes.

The operators, finally, representing all the larger bituminous fields of the country, gathered in Indianapolis issued a statement on their own part, which said:

We are pleased that the miners have voted to return to work and that the public can be promptly supplied. Realizing the imperative need of coal in large quantities, the operators stand ready now, as in the past, to bend all their energies toward a maximum production, beginning at once.

So, at last, the coal strike was brought to an end, and one of the greatest industrial battles in the history of union labor in the United States reached its climax in a Presidential intervention. This strike had reached far beyond the confines of the coal mining industry, paralyzing business, manufacturing, and transportation, and causing suffering in many localities. It left the country with an acute shortage of coal, and the fuel authorities were obliged to adopt stringent measures to conserve light and heat energy. Many trains were taken off between West and East, car service was limited in various cities, shops were closed down at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Many of these measures were eliminated after the settlement of the strike. The need of coal conservation, pending the continuance of production, was declared by the authorities, however, to be great, even though mining had begun again.

Meanwhile the 400,000 striking miners began to return to work after receiving the proper orders from their union officials; many resumed their labors on Dec. 11, and a further influx followed on the 14th. By Dec. 15 practically all the men were back in the Indiana mines, but the showing in Ohio and Pennsylvania was only about 60 per cent. of normal, while in the important bituminous fields of

Illinois only about 10 per cent. of the miners had returned. In the Central Pennsylvania field, one of the largest, about 40 per cent. of the men had gone back to work. At that time President Wilson was still withholding the announcement of the settlement commission, which was to be appointed after all the miners had returned to their labors.

DR. GARFIELD'S RESIGNATION

The President's method of settling the strike, which in part set aside the Fuel Administrator's plan, resulted in the resignation of Dr. Garfield. His resignation, he told the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee on Dec. 13, was due to the fact that, according to his view, the terms on which President Wilson brought an end to the strike meant transfer of the rights of the Fuel Administrator to a commission of three men, which was so composed that it guaranteed no protection to the public. The principle, he declared, was fundamentally wrong. He further informed the committee that his resignation had been accepted by the President on that day. Two of his chief assistants, it was learned on Dec. 14, had similarly resigned.

It was stated at about this time that the Government still intended to proceed with the Grand Jury investigation of charges of violation of the Lever act and anti-trust laws through conspiracy to limit the production of coal. These charges involved both miners and operators. It was indicated, however, that charges of contempt made against the eighty-four officials of the mine workers for alleged violation of the Federal Court injunction against the strike would be dropped.

One echo of the great controversy just ended was heard in Washington on Dec. 13, when representatives of 119 national and international unions, including the four railway brotherhoods, who had been summoned by Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, issued a "bill of rights," which upheld the right of labor to strike, approved the coal and steel strikes, and denounced Government "by injunction," which action was combined with an attack on the I. W. W. and Bolshevism.

VICE PRESIDENT AND MRS. MARSHALL



New photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas R. Marshall taken during a brief Thanksgiving rest at Old Point Comfort, Va.

(Times Wide World Photos)

JOSHUA W. ALEXANDER



Congressman from Missouri, appointed Secretary of Commerce to
succeed Mr. Redfield, retired

(© Harris & Ewing)

LADY NANCY ASTOR



The American-born peeress who has the honor of being the first woman to be elected to the British House of Commons

(© Underwood & Underwood)

EARL CURZON OF KEDLESTON



New British Minister of Foreign Affairs, who exchanged Cabinet positions with Mr. Balfour

MAXIM LITVINOV



One of the Bolshevik leaders of Russia, who made peace proposals
to Balkan States and allies at Dorpat and Copenhagen

(Central News Photo Service)

THE SHAH OF PERSIA



Ahmed Shah, Persia's new ruler, who recently visited England, is here seen with Prince Albert at Aldershot.

(© Central News Service)

BARON KURT VON LERSNER



German peace representative at Paris, who has conducted the later negotiations regarding fulfillment of the treaty

(International Film Service)

MAJOR GEN. CHARLES S. FARNSWORTH



Commander of the 37th Division, A. E. F., which helped to drive the Germans out of Belgium
(Press Illustrating Service)

MAJOR GEN. W. T. JOHNSTON



Commander of the 91st Division, A. E. F., which, with the 37th, fought in Flanders under King Albert

JOHN G. MASARYK



Son of President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia and Chargé d'Affaires of the Czechoslovak Legation at Washington
(Times Wide World Photos)

PRINCE REGINALD DE CROY



Secretary of the Belgian Legation at Washington, who was associated with Edith Cavell and almost shared her fate

(© Harris & Ewing)

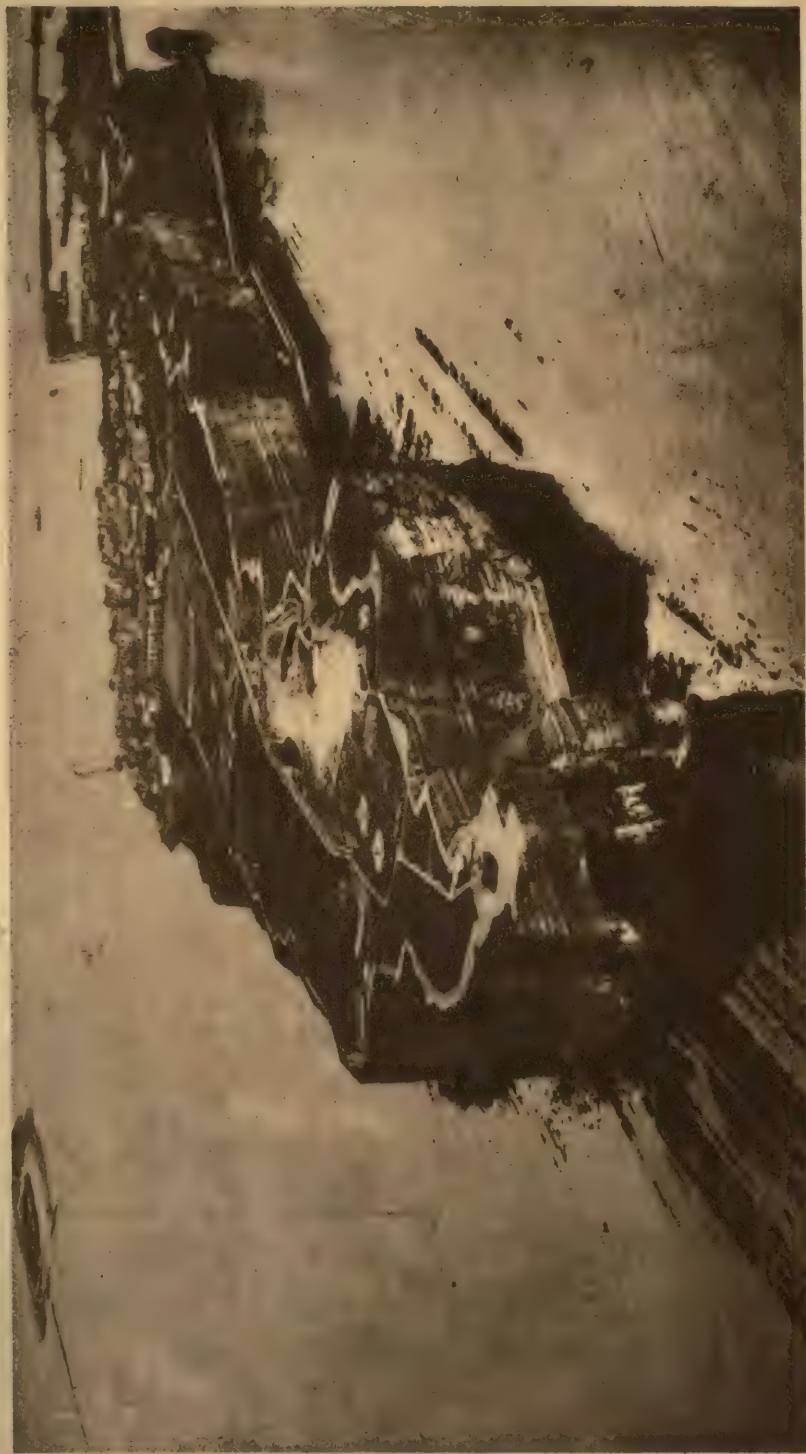
SECOND INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE CALLED IN WASHINGTON BY THE PRESIDENT



Seated, left to right: Julius Rosenwald, ex-Governor's Stuart of Virginia, and McCall of Massachusetts; Thomas W. Gregory, Stanley King, and Secretary of Labor Wilson, Chairman. Standing, left to right: Owen D. Young, ex-Governor Glynn of New York, Richard Hooker, Herbert Hoover, W. O. Thompson, Oscar S. Straus, George W. Wickersham, Henry M. Robinson, Henry J. Waters, and Professor Frank W. Taussig

(© Underwood & Underwood)

GERMANY'S NORTH SEA STRONGHOLD DISMANTLED



Airplane view of Heligoland, the island whose fortifications are being destroyed under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Two white circles in the foreground show where 13-inch naval guns formerly stood

(© International Film Service)

PRINCE OF WALES AT WASHINGTON'S TOMB



The British heir apparent visited Mount Vernon Nov. 13, 1919. He is here seen receiving his hat from a colored attendant

(© Harris & Ewing)

SIGNING THE BULGARIAN PEACE TREATY



Premier Stambulewski, head of Bulgarian delegation, signing the Treaty of Neuilly, Nov. 27, 1919

(International Photo)

VENUSTIANO CARRANZA



General Carranza, de facto President of Mexico, and First Chief of
the Mexican Army

FIGURES IN THE MEXICAN CRISIS



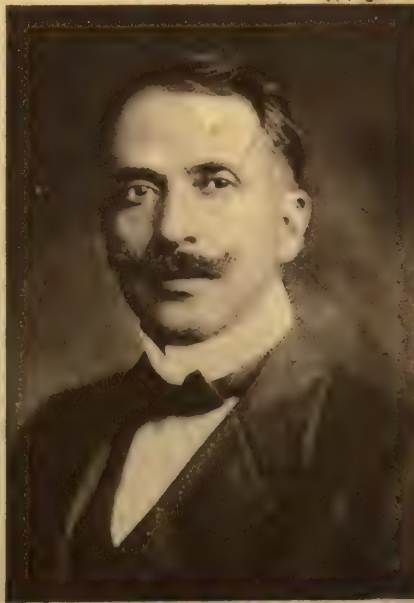
WILLIAM O. JENKINS
American Consular Agent, who
was imprisoned



GENERAL OBREGON
Candidate for the Mexican Presi-
dency



IGNACIO BONILLAS
Mexican Ambassador at Washing-
ton
(International Film Service)



GENERAL FELIPE ANGELES
Anti-Carranza leader, who was
executed
(© Underwood & Underwood)

BEGINNING LIFE AGAIN IN RUINED CITIES



Street in the new quarter of Péronne, France, showing temporary homes one year after the armistice



Children coming out of a temporary schoolhouse in Lens, a mining city ruined by the war

International Labor Conference

Other Labor Meetings

THE first International Labor Conference held under the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles ended at Washington Nov. 29. It was understood generally that the next meeting would be late in 1920 at the seat of the League. Delegates from all countries representing labor and employer groups as well as the Governments attended the conference sessions, which continued exactly one month. In that time the members perfected their organization, created a governing body, appointed a Director General of the labor office and agreed upon a great volume of identic legislation to be recommended to their respective Governments.

A protest against the preponderance of European influence in the governing body made by William Gemmill, employers' delegate from South Africa, marked the closing session. The body had twenty-four members, twenty of whom were from European countries and two from the Americas. Mr. Gemmill pointed to the injustice of such organization and asked for an expression on his protest, which was supported by a vote of 44 to 39.

Arthur Fontaine, Director of the Labor Department of the French Ministry of Labor and President of the governing body, said that no unfairness was intended, and indicated the expediency of having the majority from European countries. The board will meet every two months at the seat of the League, and because of that, Mr. Fontaine pointed out, it would be more convenient for members from European countries to attend than for those in far-away countries.

The chief function of the governing body will be to carry on organization work connected with the conference, and on that account it was agreed that the agenda for the next meeting should be prepared by it. An effort was made by some of the delegates to pledge the conference to a discussion of certain subjects at the next meeting, but it failed.

The first meeting of the governing body will be held Jan. 26, probably in London, the temporary headquarters of the League of Nations.

The draft conventions and recommendations adopted by the conference will find their first lodgment at the International Labor Office, of which Albert Thomas, the French labor leader, is the Director General. To the five draft conventions, including that providing for the general adoption of the eight-hour day and the forty-eight-hour week, and that looking to the alleviation of the unemployment problem, there was added, as virtually the last act of the conference, the proposed convention providing for the indemnification of wage-earning mothers at the time of childbirth. It provides for the granting of a six weeks' leave of absence prior to the birth of the child and an equal period immediately afterward, and the payment, either by the State or by some form of insurance, for the time lost.

Before the conference adjourned Secretary Wilson, the Chairman, expressed to the delegates the regret President Wilson felt that he had been unable to meet with them. Various delegates spoke briefly of their appreciation of the courtesy that had been extended to them by the United States.

SECOND INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE

The second conference called by President Wilson to consider remedies for the industrial situation met in the Pan-American Building at Washington on Dec. 1. The meeting was held behind closed doors, and Mr. King declared that there was a unanimous decision to continue these secret sessions until further notice. Just before the meeting began all newspaper men were asked to leave the room. In opening the meeting Secretary Wilson read the President's letter calling the conference together, and detailed the outcome of the first industrial conferences, which ended so disastrously.

The high cost of living and collective

bargaining were discussed, but merely academically, so it was declared. No mention was made of either the recent steel strike or the coal strike, inasmuch as the President's letter specifically stated that the conference was not asked to "deal directly with any conditions which exist today," but to try to find remedies that would prevent a repetition. Those present were:

Secretary of Labor Wilson.

Thomas W. Gregory and George W. Wickersham, former United States Attorneys General.

Herbert Hoover, former Food Administrator.

Oscar S. Straus, former Secretary of Commerce.

Henry M. Robinson, lawyer, of Pasadena, Cal., a member of the economic group of advisers at the Peace Conference.

Professor Frank W. Taussig, former Chairman of the Tariff Commission.

Former Governors Samuel W. McCall of Massachusetts, Martin H. Glynn of New York, and Henry C. Stuart of Virginia.

Dr. W. O. Thompson, President of the Ohio State University.

Richard Hooker of the Springfield (Mass.) Republican.

Julius Rosenwald, President of Sears, Roebuck & Co., Chicago.

Owen D. Young, Vice President of the General Electric Company of New York.

Henry J. Waters, President of the Kansas State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kan.

Stanley King, Secretary of the W. E. McElwain Shoe Company of Boston.

No further announcements of its proceedings were made up to Dec. 20.

LABOR'S "BILL OF RIGHTS"

The representatives of 119 national and international unions, including the four railroad brotherhoods, in a conference held at Washington Dec. 13, issued a "bill of rights," setting forth in detail the principles for which they intend to stand. The program contained some but not all of the planks which the more radical elements in organized labor desired.

That the followers of Mr. Gompers were prepared for open warfare upon members of the Industrial Workers of the World who might attempt to inject their extreme policies into the national conference was plain, and the climax came just before adjournment, when resolutions denouncing Bolshevism and I. W. W. principles were adopted by ac-

clamation. These resolutions were as follows:

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor is an American institution believing in American principles and ideas; and

Whereas, An attempt is being made to inject the spirit of Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism into the affairs of the American Federation of Labor; and,

Whereas, The American Federation of Labor is opposed to Bolshevism, I. W. W.'ism and the irresponsible leadership that encourages such a policy; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this conference of representatives of trades unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and other organizations associated in this conference repudiate and condemn the policy of Bolshevism and I. W. W.'ism as being destructive to American ideals and impracticable in application; be it further

Resolved, That this conference reiterate the action of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor in the advocacy of the principles of conciliation and voluntary arbitration and collective bargaining.

The keynote of the "bill of rights" is that capital has received too many of the good things of life and that the laws now on the statute books do not insure justice to all.

The steel strike is indorsed and the use of the injunction in the case of the coal miners is attacked. The United States Steel Corporation is denounced for its "autocratic attitude and destructive action." The right of Federal, State, and municipal employes to organize is defended. Congress is urged to keep the railroads under Federal control "at least two years after Jan. 1, 1920." Fixing of wages on a cost-of-living basis is strongly disapproved as "pernicious and intolerable." The declaration states labor's desire that "increased productivity be used for service and not alone for profits."

The Peace Treaty, with the League covenant, is indorsed, and the Senate is asked to ratify, in order that "peoples may know to whom they owe allegiance, boundaries may be fixed, and credit and exchange may regain the lost voltage," and in this same connection the labor section of the Peace Treaty is strongly indorsed.

When the conference ended it was with the understanding that the co-operative

committee named at the recent Atlantic City Convention would consult later with representatives of farm organizations with a view to bringing about a co-operative movement. A report would then be made to the Executive Committee of the Federation of Labor and plans laid for the future.

FARMERS' LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Representatives of the farm organizations attending the Washington conference of labor unions submitted, on Dec. 14, a legislative program which they believed would meet the views of their constituents. Their program included the following planks:

1. Passage of the Kenyon bill to regulate the packing industry.
2. Government ownership of railways and Government control of the merchant marine.
3. Nationalization of natural resources.
4. Financing the war cost by the retention of the income and excess profits taxes and a higher tax on land held for speculative purposes.
5. Change in the credit system to take it out of the hands of private interests and conduct the credit system on a co-operative basis, so that the small merchant and the farmer may obtain the same credit as is now available to financiers.
6. Ratification of the suffrage amendment.
7. Passage of the bill submitted by Congressman Sabbath of Illinois for the removal of the tax on oleomargarine!

NATIONAL LABOR PARTY

The work of organizing a new National Labor Party was completed in Chicago on Nov. 25 by the adoption of a declaration of principles and the election of a National Committee to consist of one man and one woman from each State.

The organization will call a national convention next Summer to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. A monthly tax of 2 cents per capita will be levied on the membership.

Included in the declaration of principles are:

- Abolition of the United States Senate.
- Election of Federal Judges by popular vote for terms not exceeding four years.
- International solidarity of labor.
- Maximum hours of labor for men and women to be eight hours a day and forty-four hours a week.
- Minimum wage for workers to be fixed by law.
- Old age, unemployment, and sick pensions.
- Government to own and operate the banking business.
- Nationalization of unused lands.
- Incomes of individuals to be limited by law.
- National initiative, referendum, and recall.
- Application of the "home rule" principle in State, county, and city governments.
- Condemnation of universal military training and conscription.
- International disarmament to prevent future wars.
- Immediate release of all political and industrial prisoners.
- Nationalization of all public utilities and basic industries.
- Criminal prosecution of profiteers and exploiters of labor.
- Free speech, free press, and right of free assembly.
- All Government work to be done by day labor instead of by contract.
- Equal pay for men and women.
- Woman suffrage.

A resolution condemning the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations covenant was adopted on the ground that they do not conform to President Wilson's Fourteen Points and are not in the interest of the working classes.

Anarchist Activity in the United States

Steps Toward Deportation

DISCOVERY of widespread anarchista plotting in the United States stimulated the Government to energetic preventive measures. The House of Representatives Committee on Immigration, which visited Ellis Island on Nov. 25, was told by the Acting Com-

missioner of Immigration, Byron S. Uhl, that the immigration system at New York, where the largest shifting of races since the Middle Ages had taken place, was at present "largely a farce." Mr. Uhl added that with the limited forces of inspectors boarding incoming ships

the effort to weed out dangerous immigrants was futile. These inspections were to a considerable extent "a checking up of names."

In a raid on the headquarters of the Union of Russian Workers in New York on the 26th by agents of the Department of Justice and local detectives, a large quantity of explosives, together with acids and chemicals used in the manufacture of bombs, was discovered in a secret chamber in rear of the main parlor. Among the explosives was a large container marked TNT, the abbreviation commonly used for trinitrotoluol, the most powerful agent of the kind developed by the war. Three books of membership names were also taken over as evidence.

Seventy-three radicals awaiting deportation on Ellis Island, and calling themselves The First Socialist Community of America, began a hunger strike on Nov. 25 to compel the officials to remove a wire screen separating them from visiting friends. When informed of the strike, Commissioner Uhl said they could go without food as long as they liked. The strike came to an inglorious end on the morning of the fourth day.

Meantime a general roundup of radical agitators went on in various parts of the country. In New York the police were reported to have tabulated the names of 500 radical sympathizers, both men and women; and the Extraordinary Grand Jury indicted the Irish agitator, James Larkin, and ex-Assemblyman Benjamin Gitlow for criminal anarchy, due to their connection with manifestoes of the Communist Party published in *The Revolutionary Age*. Larkin and Gitlow were subsequently released by Supreme Court Justice Weeks on \$15,000 bail. From Sacramento, Cal., Governor William D. Stephens announced that no further clemency was to be expected on behalf of William J. Mooney, convicted of murder in connection with the San Francisco Preparedness Day bomb explosions, since he was "convinced Mooney had a part in one of the most atrocious crimes involving treasonable purpose ever perpetrated in the history of the country." A trial of thirty-three members of the I. W. W. was opened before

Judge John C. Pollock in the Kansas Federal Court on Dec. 1; the prisoners were charged with attempting to overthrow the United States Government.

Department of Justice agents and Deputy United States Marshals in Detroit raided sixteen places and took 150 prisoners on Dec. 3, and on the same day Federal officials in Toledo arrested 100 persons on criminal charges. The Merchants Association of New York protested to Attorney General Palmer their concern over disclosures that the arrest of anarchists and alien radicals in different parts of the country had resulted in their transfer to New York and their release upon that community, where they renewed their propaganda.

The Lusk Committee in New York, investigating seditious activities, continued its hearings of the case of the so-called Russian Embassy, which was raided in June by the committee's agents. On Dec. 4 Supreme Court Justice Samuel Greenbaum refused the temporary stay of an order restraining the committee from prying into the affairs of the "embassy" pending a final court decision demanded by Dudley Field Malone, representing "Ambassador" Martens. Mr. Martens was under subpoena to appear as a witness before the committee, and to produce his correspondence with the Lenin-Trotsky Government, which he had refused. On the same date Dr. Michael Mislig, recently Treasurer of the Russian Socialist Federation of America, was declared in contempt by the Lusk Committee when, as a witness, he declined to divulge who were the members of the Executive Committee. From Dr. Mislig's testimony it was gathered that the Russian Socialist Federation had gone over to the Communist Party and was in thorough accord with the principles enunciated by Nikolai Lenin, but had transferred its activities underground.

Attorney General Palmer said in his annual report to Congress on Dec. 8 that the Department of Justice was confronted with "increasingly dangerous radical activities." He added that of the total of 365,295 index record cards, 71,000 Bertillon records, and 262,712 fingerprint records now in the depart-

ment, some 60,000 represented data concerning "Reds" and their work.

Announcement was made in Washington on Nov. 29 by Commissioner General of Immigration Caminetti that the Department of Labor had ordered the deportation of Emma Goldman, anarchist and radical. A few days previously the department had affirmed a similar order in the case of Alexander Berkman. These two radicals arrived at Ellis Island on Dec. 6 and at once began a legal battle to stay the deportation order. On Ellis Island they found eighty-two fellow-anarchists awaiting deportation, thirty of whom had been arrested in New York and New Jersey in the previous week. The most aggressive of these was a 17-year-old boy, who had been educated in the New York public schools. He said he had been converted to anarchy by reading anarchist works in one of the New York public libraries.

Writs of habeas corpus on behalf of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were issued by Federal Judge Julius M. Mayer. On the 9th Judge Mayer dismissed these writs, but allowed a short stay of deportation to make possible an appeal to the United States Supreme Court. In the brief of appeal to that court Harry Weinberger, counsel for Emma Goldman and Berkman, admitted that his clients were anarchists, but contended that there was insufficient evidence to warrant deportation. The constitutionality under which the order was issued was also attacked. On Dec. 11 the Supreme Court refused to interfere with the deportation of Berkman, but granted Emma Goldman a stay of one week to determine certain legal aspects of her case. In response to this decision Mr. Weinberger, on behalf of Miss Goldman, asked leave to withdraw the appeal on the ground that his client preferred jail or deportation to detention on Ellis Island.

A bill introduced in the House on the 11th by Representative Johnson, Republican, Washington, Chairman of the Immigration Committee, proposed extension of exclusion and deportation laws to aliens affiliated with "any organization

which writes, prints, or distributes" matter advocating the overthrow of the Government by violence, sabotage, or assassination of public officials. Another bill, sponsored by Representative Siegel, followed the New York State law almost word for word, except that it made it a Federal act and provided also for the punishment of those who might plot in Mexico or elsewhere to bring about the overthrow of the United States Government. When Mr. Siegel's attention was drawn to Attorney General Palmer's annual report, he said:

I fail to see the result. Since May, 1917, they have actually deported sixty alien anarchists out of a total of 697 for whom warrants have been issued. In two years and seven months they have got rid of only sixty. During that period warrants were issued for a total of 697, but in the last three weeks, since the Congressional Investigation Committee has been at work, they have issued warrants for 400 more.

Commissioner General of Immigration Caminetti, in his annual report, published on Dec. 15, stated that only two aliens were excluded from the United States during the fiscal year on anarchistic grounds, while thirty-seven aliens in the same class were expelled from the country and fifty-five awaited deportation. The Commissioner was opposed to the suggestion that immigration be suspended completely for the reason that it would have "an injurious effect upon our efforts to further American commerce and enterprise in foreign countries." In proceeding to point out that deportation of an anarchist was not punishment for crime, but merely removed him from one field of activity to another, the Commissioner recommended changes in the laws whereby both aliens and citizens would be brought within more certain control of the Government in respect of attempting its overthrow by anarchistic activity, by the enactment of punitive statutes, and the exercise of correctional influences. He further recommended making the anarchist a universal outlaw by international agreement.

Strained Relations With Mexico

Rupture of Diplomatic Intercourse Threatened in Connection With Jenkins Case

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 18, 1919]

THE Mexican Government under General Carranza and the Government of the United States came very near to a diplomatic rupture in December over Mexico's treatment of William O. Jenkins, the American Consular Agent at Puebla. Mr. Jenkins had been kidnapped by bandits on Oct. 19, and held for \$150,000 ransom, and had finally been released upon payment of a large portion of that sum. After his release, instead of receiving redress from the Mexican authorities, he was arrested at the instance of the Carranza Government on the charge of having been implicated in his own abduction, and upon his refusal to furnish \$500 bail was confined in jail.

Mr. Lansing, the American Secretary of State, met this action by dispatching a vigorous note to the Carranza Government on Nov. 20, calling for the immediate release of Mr. Jenkins. The Mexican Government replied to this note a week later, declining to release Jenkins, taking the ground in a prolonged argument that the Executive could not order the release of a foreigner on trial before a State tribunal in Mexico. On Dec. 1 Secretary Lansing sent a severe reply to this, bringing the relations of the two countries to a most acute stage. He said in part:

What conclusion is to be drawn from such a reply of the Mexican Government other than that there has been a studied effort on the part of Mexican authorities to ensnare Jenkins in the intricacies of legal proceedings by alleging the commission of technical offenses and by bringing unsupported charges against him, for a purpose? In the first place, to divert the attention of the American public and the American Government, and, indeed, of Mexicans themselves, from the actual situation, namely, that Puebla, the capital of the State of Puebla, and perhaps the second largest city in Mexico, is without adequate protection from outlaws who infest the immediate neighborhood and who are accustomed openly and freely to visit

the city without hindrance; that by the failure to furnish adequate protection in this district the Mexican authorities have, through their negligence, made possible the abduction of Jenkins, and that in harmony with such an attitude on the part of the Mexican authorities they have failed to carry out the duty and obligation incumbent upon them to apprehend and punish the bandits concerned in the crime of which Jenkins was the victim.

And, in the second place, it appears to have been the purpose of the Mexican Government to assume a willful indifference to the feelings of the American people that have been aroused to the point of indignation by the exposure, hardships, and physical suffering endured by Jenkins during his abduction and his subsequent treatment at the hands of Mexican authorities.

In view of the considerations which have been set forth and in view, particularly, of the belief of my Government that the charge against Jenkins of deliberate false swearing is unfounded, the Government of the United States must renew its request for the immediate release of Consular Agent Jenkins from further imprisonment.

LANSING.

The position of our Government was later confirmed by the statement of Federico Cordova, the brigand who had kidnapped Jenkins, in which he stated that the kidnapping was done "to combat in this manner the dictatorial Government of Carranza, which, unfortunately for Mexico, has established itself in power," and that the deed was done by himself, accompanied by four subordinates, "without outside intervention."

The main object of the kidnapping, said Cordova, was political. He expressly denied the truth of statements made in the Carranzista newspapers that Jenkins was seen with him on friendly terms four days after the kidnapping and warmly denounced their attempts to make it appear that Jenkins was therefore a willing victim.

On Dec. 3 a formal resolution in favor of breaking off diplomatic relations with Mexico was introduced in the

Senate by Senator Fall of New Mexico, who charged the Carranza Government with fomenting revolution in this country and trying to overthrow the American Government. The resolution gave the support of Congress to the State Department's action in the Jenkins case and requested President Wilson to withdraw the recognition accorded Carranza's Government and to sever all diplomatic relations with it.

Senator Ashurst of Arizona, Democrat, introduced a resolution directing the Secretary of War to use the nation's armed forces to protect Americans in the border States from raids by Mexican bandits.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ATTITUDE

The resolutions were referred to committees. Meanwhile it was decided by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate to appoint a committee, consisting of one Democratic and one Republican Senator, to confer with President Wilson and obtain his views on the Mexican situation. Senator Hitchcock, the Democratic leader, and Senator Fall (Rep.) were selected for the purpose. A conference was arranged through the President's Secretary, with the approval of his physicians. The President received the Senators in his bedroom in the White House at 2:30 P. M., Dec. 5.

This personal interview disposed of rumors that President Wilson was in no condition to direct American action in the perturbing state of affairs that has developed between the United States and the Carranza Government. The Senators came away from the White House convinced that his mind was vigorous and active.

A dramatic touch was given to the interview by the sudden appearance of Rear Admiral Grayson, the President's physician, with the announcement that Jenkins, around whose imprisonment the Mexican crisis centred, had been freed the preceding night. The message had come to the State Department while the conference was on. Secretary Lansing had telephoned to the White House that he desired the information to be given to the two Senators immediately.

Both Senators reported the President

to be fully able to handle the situation. On Dec. 8 President Wilson gave documentary evidence to the same effect in a letter to Senator Fall acknowledging some data on Mexican matters and referring to the Fall resolution, which was then pending in the Senate, in these words:

I should be gravely concerned to see any such resolution pass the Congress. It would constitute a reversal of our constitutional practice, which might lead to very grave confusion in regard to the guidance of our foreign affairs.

I am convinced that I am supported by every competent constitutional authority in the statement that the initiative in directing the relations of our Government with foreign Governments is assigned by the Constitution to the Executive and to the Executive only.

Only one of the Houses of Congress is associated with the President by Constitution in an advisory capacity, and the advice of the Senate is provided for only when sought by the Executive in regard to explicit agreements with foreign Governments and the appointment of the diplomatic representatives who are to speak for this Government at foreign capitals.

The only safe course, I am confident, is to adhere to the prescribed method of the Constitution. We might go very far afield if we departed from it.

As a result no action was taken by the Senate on the resolution.

ANOTHER MEXICAN NOTE

The Carranza Government replied on Dec. 16 to Secretary Lansing's last note. The reply rejected the claim of the United States that its State Department could determine the guilt or innocence of Jenkins, but added that, as bail had been furnished for him by an American, his case was being further considered. The note ended with the words: "The Government of Mexico expects that the case will not disturb the harmony which it sincerely desires to exist between Mexico and the United States."

It developed that the release of Jenkins was apparently not in response to our Government's demand, but was brought about through the deposit of a cash bond by J. Salter Hansen, an American residing in Mexico, who was regarded as an agent for Carranza.

An American named James Wallace, an employe of the Aquila Oil Company, was killed by Mexicans in the Tampico

district early in December. This provoked another note of protest from Washington. On Dec. 13 a band of Villistas raided a ranch near Muzquiz, State of Coahuila, and held an American named Frank Hugo for \$10,000 ransom. Hugo was released a few days later without payment of the money.

AMERICANS KILLED IN MEXICO

An official compilation submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Dec. 13 showed that since the Madero revolution of 1910 in Mexico 551 Americans had been killed in Mexico and along the international border. Eighteen American women and children were on the death list, and thirteen American men were listed as having been killed in their effort to protect women. In connection with the deaths listed, eight American women were outraged.

Bandits who shot down Mrs. Mortensen at Guadeloupe, Chihuahua, in 1912, attempted to ravish her 10-year-old daughter. A neighbor who came to the girl's rescue was killed. After Villistas had killed Edward J. Wright and Frank Hayden at Colonia Hernandez, on March 1, 1916, they carried off Mrs. Wright, and for nine days abused her horribly. She escaped while the Villistas were raiding Columbus, N. M. When bandits raided the ranch of John W. Correll at Colonia, near Tampico, Correll sought to defend his wife, and was shot down before her eyes. She was repeatedly outraged by the bandits, who were thought to be Carranza soldiers. On July 22 of the present year rebels kidnapped an unidentified American girl from a train at Baradon, Puebla. She was carried off and died as the result of outrage.

Sixteen of those listed were victims of the Cumbre Tunnel horror, on Feb. 4, 1914. Bandits under Castillo set fire to the timber lining of the railroad tunnel by running a blazing freight train into it. A passenger train crashed into the burning freight train in the centre of the tunnel, and not a single passenger escaped. Some of the bodies never were

identified, but it was established that Mrs. Lee Carruth and her five small children, with ten other Americans, perished.

MANY CASES OF TORTURE

In many of the murders the victims were tortured, or mutilated in a horrible manner after they had been killed. William Bishop, Carl Eck, and William Spencer, who were killed by bandits under Posé Perez at Temosachic, Chihuahua, on Nov. 8, 1914, were dragged to death by wild horses. After robbing and murdering John Glenn Parmenter at Guadalajara, Jalisco, on May 26, 1913, the bandits tore the victim's teeth from his head to secure the gold fillings.

Maurice McDonald, an American soldier of fortune who followed Villa, was captured by Carranzistas at San Pedro de las Colonias, Coahuila, in April, 1914. The soles of his feet were cut off and he was forced to walk about the plaza. He was then burned at the stake until his legs had been completely consumed, and finally was shot.

In many cases the authorities cited asserted that the men were killed "because they were Americans," or because the murderer "wished to show that he could kill an American."

During the period from April 7, 1917, to Nov. 11, 1918, while the United States was engaged in the world war, with the Carranza Government in power in Mexico, forty-eight Americans met death.

General Felipe Angeles, who was tried by the Carranza authorities and convicted of aiding the Villista rebellion, was executed by a firing squad on Nov. 27. He was one of the most prominent military men in Mexico and aided the French Government in the production of munitions in 1917 to such an extent that he was decorated by that Government. His wife, an American—formerly Clara Krause of San Francisco—died in New York on Dec. 8 of illness due to worry over her husband, though his tragic fate was concealed from her to the last.

Among the Nations

Survey of Important Events and Developments in Various Nations Great and Small

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1919]

THE BALKANS

BULGARIA signed the Treaty of Neuilly on Nov. 27. The Allies signed with the exception of Serbia and Rumania, which had declined to sign the Treaty of St. Germain—the Austrian treaty—on account of the clauses providing for the protection of minorities, and were consequently forbidden to sign peace with Bulgaria. However, Rumania signed the Treaty of St. Germain on Dec. 9. The head of the Bulgarian delegation was the Premier, Stamboulinski (also spelled Stambulevski and Stamboliisky), leader of the Agrarian Party, who had recently formed a Ministry of pro-Entente statesmen for the purpose of accepting the treaty and bringing to justice the members of ex-Czar Ferdinand's régime, who were declared to be responsible for Bulgaria having sided with the Central Powers.

The Treaty of Neuilly had been presented to the Bulgar delegation on Nov. 3. The Sofia Government expressed its willingness to sign on Nov. 14 after having taken exception to the loss of the Dobrudja and the districts of Vidin, Tzaribrod, Bossilegrad, Strumitza and Thrace, asserting that a plebiscite conducted by the principal allied and associated powers could easily have established the fact of Bulgar majorities in these places.

The effect of the event of Nov. 27 was an attempt in Bulgaria itself to raise its prestige in the Balkans, where, while Rumania was suffering from a Ministerial crisis and the National Assembly of Serbia was attempting to put the monarchy of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in working order, Bulgaria took steps to negotiate commercial treaties with Greece and in other ways to make the best of the treaty Stamboulinski had

signed. On Nov. 27 a Bulgar-Greek convention was also signed at Paris.

The object of this convention was to prevent in both countries the tyrannous coercion of minority races by the predominant majority, which had caused ceaseless trouble in the past in these countries, where the population, as is well known, consists of inextricably mixed nationalities. The document, which consisted of sixteen articles, permitted free emigration for a period of two years, and instituted a mixed Greco-Bulgar commission, whose duty it was to supervise and facilitate voluntary emigration, to liquidate the property of the emigrants, and to make advances to intending emigrants equal to the value of their real property.

BULGARIA—Bulgarian propaganda having passed through various phases calculated to arouse the sympathy of the Peace Conference reached a new stage censuring Rumania and Serbia for declining to promise protection to minorities, and calling upon the authorities to make short work of all pro-Germans while emphasizing the utter innocence of the people in being led into the war by Ferdinand and the Government of Radoslavoff.

The new Government of M. Stamboulinski reached the following decision, which went into effect on Nov. 4:

All ex-Ministers of the Cabinet of Radoslavoff, ex-members of the Sobranje, statesmen and journalists, officers, functionaries and Macedonian leaders who by their conduct have given Germanophile tendencies to Bulgarian politics and who have contributed toward the catastrophe of the country which involved Bulgaria in war, to be arrested and judged of their conduct and crimes.

Order for arrest had been issued for 400 persons. Early this morning the order began to be executed. The dwellings of ex-Ministers were surrounded by policemen and one by one they were ar-

rested. Up to the present are arrested P. Peshoff, the actual chief of Radoslavoff's party and ex-Minister of Education; D. Toncheff, ex-Minister of Finances; P. Dimtchoff, ex-Minister of Agriculture; D. Petcoff, ex-Minister of Public Buildings, and the chief of Stamboulloff's party; G. Bakaloff, ex-Minister of Commerce; N. Apostoloff, ex-Minister of Railroads; N. Popoff, ex-Minister of Justice; Koznitchki, Minister of Railways after Apostoloff. The deputies: Dr. Georgieff, the son-in-law of Dr. Radoslavoff; Dr. Provdalleff, brother-in-law of Dr. Radoslavoff; K. Rankoff, T. Usounoff, N. Altimirski, Milan Maroff, Dr. Toshkoff, General Protogheroff, ex-Director of Socials Livelihood and Macedonian leader, and General Koutintcheff, the chief of the army during the war. The journalists: Atanass Damyanoff, director of the newspaper Dnevnik and Utro; Chrusto Stantcheff, director of the newspaper Kambana; Spass Iconomoff and Ivan Colaroff, the editors of the newspaper Narodni Prava, organ of Radoslavoff.

On his return from Paris to Sofia on Dec. 15, Premier Stamboulinski declared at a Cabinet meeting that it would be necessary to bring ex-Czar Ferdinand to trial, and for that purpose steps would immediately be taken to extradite him and other refugees. The Mir of Sofia stated that undoubtedly Bulgaria would try Ferdinand before the Allies tried Kaiser William.

GREECE—On Nov. 20 the press of Athens gave prominence to two pieces of news, which, however, as yet have not been confirmed by the Peace Conference. One stated that an Italo-Greek agreement had been reached in regard to the Dodecanese Islands, off the coast of Asia Minor, Italy to surrender the islands, retaining a coaling station and receiving territorial concessions on the mainland south of Smyrna; the other announced a similar agreement in regard to Epirus, the region lying in the Western Balkan Peninsula, between Greece and Albania, comment on which was as follows:

In accordance with the Italo-Greek agreement, Hellenic troops have begun to occupy the region of Northern Epirus as far as the line set by the protocol of Florence. The Italian troops withdrew to the frontier established by that protocol. The Greek and Italian authorities exchanged reciprocal sentiments of good-will.

Censorship both of mail and press increased its vigilance, letters, unless spe-

cially registered, taking thirty days between Athens and New York. Papers coming from the loyalists of ex-King Constantine, with headquarters at Berne, were severely dealt with on reaching Athens. All attacked M. Venizelos, the Prime Minister, not because he had failed to get more from the Peace Conference for Greece, but because, it was affirmed, Greece would have been in a position of predominance in the Near East if she had remained neutral and Constantine been allowed to remain King. An Athens dispatch announced on Nov. 24 that a plot to assassinate Venizelos and restore Constantine had been discovered in the capital and many arrests made.

On Dec. 1 the ex-King denied the existence of any plot in an interview published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Zurich, Switzerland), adding:

M. Venizelos only remains in power by terrorism and by using martial law against his opponents. From 90 to 95 per cent. of the people are opposed to him, and if there were any truth in the story of the attempt against him it would be an expression of the will of the people not to be ruled by force. I wish emphatically to deny that I have ever been in favor of the Central Empires; I only desire to remain neutral, but France distrusted me and plotted against me.

In Athens the most violent anti-Venizelos journal was *Politia*, which was rarely published without at least a page censored out.

RUMANIA—Previous to the signing of the St. Germain treaty on Dec. 9 Rumania had already, Nov. 25, expressed herself as willing to comply fully with the demands of the Peace Conference concerning the protection of national minorities in newly acquired territorial regions and would submit as soon as possible legislative proposals in this respect to the Rumanian Chamber; the Rumanian Government was also willing to give way in connection with the Bessarabia language question; it was pointed out, however, that popular opinion was against Rumania evacuating the left bank of the Theiss.

On the same day that Rumania signed the treaty a new Cabinet was formed, taking the place of the Bratiano Admin-

istration, called the "Generals' Ministry," because all the portfolios, save that of Justice, were held by Generals on the active list. As was stated last month, the Opposition declined to take part in the election thus managed by a military Government under the dictatorship of M. Bratiano to give the latter a parliamentary majority.

The only candidates were those of the Liberal Party (M. Bratiano), those of the Germanophil Party (M. Marghiloman), and a number of candidates of the Nationalist and Peasants' Parties. In spite of the large number of absentions—70 per cent., it was reported—M. Bratiano's supporters, who expected to elect every one of the 240 Deputies, only succeeded in seating 100 as against 120 members of the Nationalist Party, the Peasants' Party, and other independent groups, and even among the 100 were thirty or forty dissenters on important points. The Germanophil Party secured only five seats, and M. Marghiloman was personally defeated in the domain of Buzeu, as was M. Bratiano's brother Dinu in that of Muscal.

The new Ministry of Dec. 9 was made up in part as follows, led by the head of the peace delegation then in Paris:

Alexander Vlada	
Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs	
General Fofzo Averescu.....	Interior
General Respanau	War
Ansel Vlada	Finance

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

Revised, official returns of the Belgian elections held on Nov. 16 gave the result as follows for the new Chamber:

Catholics	71
Socialists	70
Liberals	34
Christian Democrats	4
Front Party	3
Combatants	2
Renaissance Nationale	1
Middle-class Party	1

186

The Catholics lost 24 seats, the Socialists gained 30, and the Liberals lost 11. With 27 Senators still to be elected by provincial councils, the new Senate showed 59 Catholics, 36 Liberals, and 25 Socialists.

A revised list of party totals gives:

Socialists	644,924
Catholics	619,911
Liberals	309,976
Front Party	44,426
Christian Democrats	44,386
Renaissance Nationale ..	29,028
Middle-class Party	18,516
Various	50,937
	<hr/> 1,762,104

Voters on register2,101,210

According to the debates of the Executive Council of the Socialist Party, while a purely Socialist program was advocated, Bolshevik doctrine was denounced, and members were advised to take part in a Coalition Government and to support a collaborated policy.

For a fortnight after the elections party groups indulged in prolonged and animated discussions in order to arrive at a common program, no party being willing to participate in a Coalition Government without its own special reservations being accepted, at least in principle. The Socialists finally gained a promise for the suppression of Article 310 of the Penal Code, dealing with picketing and sabotage, and for bills dealing with housing and pensions, and the Liberals gained the Socialist support of a bill regulating the liberty of labor unions. All agreed to reform the election laws.

M. Delacroix, who had resigned when the first results of the elections became known, was thus able to form a Coalition Government. It was the same as the last, except that M. Pouillet, formerly President of the Chamber, became Minister of the Interior instead of Count de Broque, and the post of Minister of Science and Art was accepted by M. Des-trée. The new Government will thus consist of five Catholics, four Socialists, and three Liberals.

For the year ending Dec. 1 Belgium imported from the United States goods valued at \$283,417,698 and sent to this country goods valued at \$2,901,644.

Holland, in spite of the reassurances of Belgian Socialists and the defeat of that party in France, paid more attention to the victory of the extremists in Italy and their subsequent demonstrations. A number of Governmental measures were

taken to keep out the Reds and to stop Bolshevik propaganda. Consuls abroad were ordered to be particularly careful whose passports they visé'd and frontier guards received special instructions. On Dec. 5 the Dutch-German frontier was closed with 9,220 persons held up at Heerenberg. In the Second Chamber, on Nov. 20, the Dutch Premier, Jonkheer Ruijs de Beerenbruck, said that he would like to see incorporated in the covenant of the League of Nations a clause against Bolshevism.

EGYPT, INDIA, AND IRELAND

For several quite pertinent reasons Egypt, India, and Ireland are grouped together this month—all are attached to the British Empire, all are seeking to modify that attachment or to rupture it entirely, all are revolting against the constituted authorities, constitutions have been promised to all, and in all encouragement is given to conspirators, as some claim by a policy of concession and surrender and as others claim by a policy of delay and prevarication. All claim international instead of British intervention.

EGYPT—Amid the Nationalist uprisings of last Spring the British Government decided to send out a commission under the Presidency of Lord Milner. In September the personnel of the commission was made up. On Nov. 18 the following communiqué was issued at the British Residency at Cairo:

The policy of Great Britain in Egypt is to preserve the autonomy of that country under British protection and to develop the system of self-government under an Egyptian ruler.

The object of Great Britain is to defend Egypt from all external danger and interference by any foreign power, and at the same time to establish a constitutional system in which, under British guidance, the Sultan, his Ministers, and the elected representatives of the people may in their several spheres and in an increasing degree co-operate in the management of Egyptian affairs.

His Majesty's Government have decided to send to Egypt a mission which has as its task to work out the details of the Constitution, to carry out this object, and, in consultation with the Sultan, his Ministers, and representative Egyptians, to undertake the preliminary work which

is requisite before the future form of government can be settled.

It is no function of the mission to impose a Constitution on Egypt. Its duty is to explore the ground and to discuss, in consultation with the authorities on the spot, the reforms that are necessary and to propose, it is hoped in complete agreement with the Sultan and his Ministers, a scheme of government which can subsequently be put into force.

A Cabinet crisis and Nationalist demonstrations, ultimately taking the attitude of rebellion, at once ensued. Both were based on the objection of the Moslem Egyptian to co-operate with the British Government until the fate of Turkey had been decided by the Peace Conference. The Ministry resigned, and on Nov. 26 another was constituted, as follows, being more Egyptian than any of its predecessors:

Premier and Minister of Finance—YOUSSEF WAHBA PASHA.

Public Works, War, and Marine—SIR ISMAIL SIRRY PASHA, K. C. M. G.
Communications — A H M E D ZIWER PASHA.

Justice—AHMED ZULFICAR PASHA.
Interior—TEWFIK NESSIM PASHA.
Agriculture — MOHAMED SHAFIK PASHA.

Education—YEHLA IBRAHIM PASHA.
Wakfs (Pious Foundations)—HUSSEIN DARWISCHE BEY.

Revolutionary demonstrations and riots in which both civilians and soldiers had been killed had already given emphasis to the increasing objections to the Milner Commission, and on Nov. 24 Lord Allenby, the British High Commissioner, had issued the following proclamation:

Whereas certain evilly disposed persons recently endeavored, and are now endeavoring, by means of publications in the press, by the distribution of printed matter, and by public speeches and other means to promote demonstrations and disturbances calculated to endanger public order and public security, I hereby give warning that all acts of incitement to participation in disorderly or unlawful demonstrations and all other acts subversive of authority or endangering public order and security, constitute offenses under martial law and render offenders liable to arrest and prosecution by a military court.

In the British House of Lords on Nov. 25 Earl Curzon, the Foreign Secretary, announced that Great Britain could not possibly give Egypt entire liberty of action, as the country, standing as it did at

the door of Africa and the highway to India, was incapable of maintaining either a stable government or of protecting its own frontiers.

INDIA—Three phases of the India question came into prominence—a revival of fighting on the Afghan frontier, exchange of amenities between the

der Herr Suritz, organized at Tashkend, Turkistan, reached Kabul. The aim of the former was to establish commercial relations between Afghanistan and Soviet Russia; the aim of the latter was to draft as much of the Bolshevik doctrine on the Koran as the precepts of Islam would stand. Both were anti-British.

In the way of this Bolshevik-Afghan combination stood the Emir of Bokhara, who was approached by a combined Bolshevik-Afghan mission which urged the Emir to join it in bringing pressure upon Persia to enter a Pan-Islamic democratic union, but the Emir as a measure of self-protection ordered torn up the railway twelve miles on both sides of Bokhara. The Bolsheviks became firmly established at Kizil Arvat, on the Trans-Caspian Railway, and threatened the road to Krasnovodsk, the terminus of the railway on the Caspian.

The report of the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India bill was presented to the British Parliament on Nov. 19. It drew its authority from his Majesty's Government's declaration of Aug. 20, 1917, and was based on the subsequent Montagu report. Aside from the establishment of a Council of Princes, which has merely advisory functions, little change has been made in the relations between the Government of India and the India Office, between the people of India and the British Crown. The more important changes are the following:

Increased financial powers to be given to the Legislatures and adjustments to be made with a view to equitable provision as between transferred and reserved subjects.

The President of each provincial Legislature to be not the Government, but a specially selected officer. The President of the Indian Legislature to have Parliamentary experience.

The Governor of the province will depart from the advice of Ministers on transferred subjects only under exceptional circumstances.

Free consultation between the two halves of Government to be fostered in every way without obscuring their separate distinctive responsibilities.

Two Ministers to be appointed in each province.

The franchise as settled by the rules not to be altered for the first ten years. The rules to give greater weight than under



SCENE OF RECENT FIGHTING ON NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA

Afghan Court at Kabul and the Bolshevik administration at Moscow, and the report on the Government of India bill in the British Parliament.

Although the Indian Government had made peace with Kabul on Aug. 8, it fell to the former to enforce the terms on the frontier tribes, two of which, the Waziris and Mahsuds, 200 miles south-east of Kabul, attacked British outposts in the middle of November and were in turn bombed by airplanes into partial submission. The Afghan force of Shah Doula was said to be ready to aid the tribesman, but the Emir forbade their movement.

Meanwhile an Afghan Extraordinary Mission reached Bolshevik headquarters at Moscow, and a Bolshevik Mission un-

the Southborough scheme to the rural vote and artisan representation.

The Council of State to be reshaped as a true second chamber for the central authority, and not to be the instrument of securing essential legislation.

Three members of the Governor General's Executive to continue to be public servants of not less than ten years' Indian experience; three to be Indians, and one to have definite legal qualification, which may be gained in India as well as in the United Kingdom.

The Indian Council to be reduced in numbers, and membership to be for five instead of seven years.

The cost of the India Office for other than "agency" services to be paid out of British and not Indian revenues.

Agency functions for India to be carried out by a High Commissioner in London.

The Secretary as far as possible to avoid interference when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement, especially in respect to fiscal policy.

The Joint Select Committee to be reappointed to advise Parliament in respect to the rules to be made under the act.

IRELAND—All through October and November Irish Nationalists and Unionist Ulsterites were both optimistic in regard to the new Home Rule bill which the Cabinet Committee on the Irish question was preparing. As the day approached for the presentation of the bill to Parliament, opinion gradually became pessimistic and there were said to be serious differences in the Cabinet over certain of its articles. As the situation stood on Dec. 18 the Government may or may not present the bill before the end of the year.

The essence of the scheme is the creation of two State Legislatures with a Council of Ireland as an indispensable link. The largest possible unit is proposed for the Ulster Legislature. It is to consist not of the four northeastern counties nor of the six by the inclusion of the debatable ground of Fermanagh and Tyrone, but of the whole province. There is to be no voting into one Legislature or out of the other. The second Legislature is to consist of the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. The Council of Ireland will consist of delegations of equal strength drawn from the two State Legislatures. The Council will possess not only the obvious functions of co-ordination and unification, but will have potentialities of a

far-reaching character—similar to those enjoyed by the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

In Ireland more drastic measures were taken against the Sinn Fein, calculated to prevent acts against law and order and to visit the delinquents with more severe penalties.

FRANCE

The municipal elections of Nov. 30 gave the Socialists of France a supplementary defeat to the one they had received in the national election of a fortnight before. In Paris seven Conservatives, thirteen Progressives, thirteen Republicans, thirteen of the Republican Left, and finally four Radicals and Radical Socialists who were not extremists were elected. Elsewhere, in 125 prefectures and sub-prefectures, the returns showed fifty-one Republican Leftists, fifty Radicals and Radical Socialists, ten Progressives, eight Conservatives, two Republican Socialists, and only four extreme Socialists.

Aside from the overwhelming Socialist defeat on Nov. 16, the old bloc of Radicals and Radical Socialists (although neither faction was Socialist) was practically dissolved. This was the combination, made up of 249 Deputies in the late Chamber, which enabled M. Caillaux and, after him, his lieutenants, to manipulate French national and international politics for a number of years.

Many causes were assigned for the great swing of all parties toward the Right, or Conservative, which, although inherently Republican, will permit a greater tolerance for religion, greater respect for existing institutions, and a stronger determination to conserve the existing social order. The direct defeat of the Socialists was charged to defections among the party itself after the revelations that came from Soviet Russia and the repudiation by Socialist soldiers on account of Defeatism, and by the peasants on account of the Soviet land scheme. Added to these elements was the constant appeal of all but the anarchist press to kill Bolshevism in France.

That remarkable paper, *La Presse de Paris*, a composite journal of practically

all the Paris papers which were obliged to suspend publication on Nov. 11 on account of a strike of linotypers and typographers, was published daily from Nov. 11 till Nov. 30, inclusive. It was a four-page folio sheet and a model of its kind at 10 centimes a copy, of which over 5,000,000 were daily issued. The first page was devoted to local news, the second to editorial comment under captions showing its origin—*L'Homme Libre*, *Le Gaulois*, *Le Journal*, &c.—the third to telegraphic dispatches and theatrical and other announcements, and the fourth to advertisements. Although it was said that the strike was made in order to embarrass the press at election time, the defeat of the Socialists at the polls may have contributed not a little to the ultimate victory of the proprietors, who promised to take back the strikers as they had need of them.

On Nov. 27 three Cabinet Ministers who had been defeated at the polls were replaced by newly elected Deputies, of whom there were 339 who had never been seated before. Léon Bérard succeeded Louis Lafferre as Minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts; Louis Dubois, Etienne Clémentel, as Minister of Commerce, Industry, Posts and Telegraphs; and Yves Le Trocquer, Louis Morel, as Under Secretary for Finance. The post of Under Secretary for Demobilization was abolished and its incumbent, Louis Deschamps, was appointed Under Secretary for Posts, Telegraphs, and Telephones. It was expected that M. Shuman, Deputy from Moselle, would succeed M. Colliard as Minister of Labor.

French customs returns for the first three-quarters of 1919 were published. The imports showed an advance of \$755,000,000 over the same period for last year; the exports \$182,500,000. Owing to the present rate of exchange the international value of these figures is reduced nearly one-half. French foreign trade in million dollars at the nominal rate of exchange was as follows:

Countries	Impts.	Expts.
United States.....	1,020	11.9
Great Britain.....	900	26.5
Belgium	75	21.4
Spain	140	4.15
Switzerland	45	5.55

Countries	Impts.	Expts.
Italy	97	6.5
Brazil	101	1.25
Argentina	134	2.75
Russia	3	.35
Algeria	119	9.40
Morocco	32	1.30

According to French law, as soon as the state of war ceases and has so been announced by Presidential decree, the French railways revert automatically to pre-war conditions. But it was found that the roads were not prepared to revert in this way, and so the President decreed a number of transition provisions which will be in force till Dec. 31, 1920, unless earlier abrogated:

The principal railroads must give priority in the following cases:

To the transportation of goods destined for the reconstitution of the liberated regions, along the lines of the program laid down by the Ministry for the Liberated Regions.

To slow freight, in carload lots, along the lines recommended by the Ministries of Revictualing and Industrial Réconstitution in regard to the supply of fuel and revictualing of the whole country.

A provisional committee will be formed to decide upon the necessary measures to insure the proper compliance with these provisions and the satisfactory working of the great railroad systems. Its decisions are final and obligatory for all the systems.

Another committee will be appointed to deal with questions relating to railroad supplies and rolling stock and to co-ordinate the action of the railroads in respect to such matters.

This latter committee will include among its members three manufacturers of railroad material designated by the Ministry of Public Works. Its decisions are final, with the exception of measures relating to closing stations, suppression of trains, or limiting shipments. In such cases its decisions are subject to revision by the Ministry.

ITALY

The estimate of the results of the Italian Deputorial elections on Nov. 16, made in CURRENT HISTORY for December, were confirmed by the official figures issued on Nov. 21 as follows:

Socialists	156	Democrats	23
Catholics	101	Republicans	9
Liberals	161	Discharged Soldiers.....	23
Reformist Socialists	16	Independents	8

Although the Liberals led, theirs was not an organized party, being governed

by individuals rather than by measures. The organized parties were the Socialist, the Popular Party (the Catholic), and the Republican. The Socialist gain was seventy-nine seats. At first it was believed that the Nitti Government would be unable to persuade the Socialists to co-operate with other parties on vital questions, when the alternative would have been resignation for the Government or dissolution with a new election and a special appeal to the absentee bourgeoisie.

There were Socialist and anti-Socialist demonstrations, with loss of life and a general strike, but after a fortnight tranquillity prevailed, and on Dec. 13 the Chamber voted approval of King Victor Emmanuel's speech from the throne made on Dec. 1, and rejected by a vote of 289 to 124 an amendment calling for the recognition of Soviet Russia.

Geography played a larger part in this vote than political principles, for the Socialists of the north differ from the Socialists of the south, just as the Catholics do—on all but Vatican questions. A comparative table of the Socialist victories at the polls showed how great was the difference between the industrial north and the agricultural south. While Northern Italy selected 85 and Central Italy 60 out of the 156 Socialist Deputies, the continental south elected only 11 and Sicily and Sardinia not one. The same was true of the Catholics. Of their 101 Deputies 52 were elected in the north, 25 in the centre, 17 in the continental south, and 7 in the islands.

It was thus calculated that 73 per cent. of the total representation of the industrial north was either Socialist or Catholic, and 71 per cent. of that of Central Italy. The vote of 124 cast for the recognition of Soviet Russia was entirely made up of northern Socialists. On many reform measures the Socialists and Catholics promised cohesion.

On Nov. 26 Signor Tittoni resigned as Foreign Minister and head of the Italian delegation at Paris, and was succeeded in both posts by Vittorio Scialoja, a professor of Roman law and the holder of several learned titles, who had been Minister without portfolio in the short-lived

Boselli Cabinet of 1916-17 and once Minister of Justice, back in 1909. He had also been Signor Tittoni's lieutenant at Paris.

On Nov. 26 the Government published its financial program. The forced loan at 2 per cent. and the 3½ per cent. loan on capital were abandoned, and one of 5 per cent. issued at 87½ proposed, but with drastic increases of taxation. The measures were divided into the following categories:

- (1) A progressive tax on increase of capital due to war profits.
- (2) An extraordinary progressive tax on all capital.
- (3) A revision of the present tax on incomes by the institution of a comprehensive income tax.
- (4) An increase of the special tax on bearer bonds.
- (5) An increase of the various existing taxes on bicycles and motors.
- (6) A tax on the sale of all articles except food and fuel.
- (7) A special luxury tax on silk gloves, &c.

The tax on increase of capital due to war profits will vary from 10 to 60 per cent. The tax on capital will be payable in annual quotas for 30 years, and a new valuation will be taken from time to time during this period. Property below the value of £800 will be exempt from the tax. Above that sum the amount taken varies from 5 per cent. to 25 per cent., the latter in the case of estates of £4,000,000. The annual quota payable varies from .167 per cent. in the case of estates of £800 to .833 per cent. in the case of the maximum. In practice the new tax amounts to an increase of income tax.

LATIN AMERICA

The Brazilian Government, through the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, informed Berlin on Nov. 22 that German immigrants would be admitted to Brazil "without restrictions of any kind." The same invitation was extended to Italians through the Brazilian Ambassador at Rome, Dr. L. Martins de Sousa Dantas. In a recent interview in *La Tribuna* of Rome he declared that "relations between Brazilians and Italian immigrants have become an indestructible force for prosperity and fraternity." He also spoke of the prosperity of Sao Paulo as depending upon Italians.

Papers of Southern Chile called attention to the fact that a Japanese syndi-

cate had obtained an option on some coal mines at the head of Concepcion Bay. A Santiago paper stated that copper and iron properties along the Northern Railway had been purchased by a Japanese syndicate for \$5,000,000.

The Colombian Senate adopted and issued a motion reciting the guaranties under which foreigners live in Colombia, and ending with this declaration:

The Senate of the Republic of Colombia proclaims to the world that for the sake of her own honor Colombia does now and always will maintain her respect of all alien rights with a firmness equal to that with which she will sustain her independence and sovereignty and demand her rights.

MONGOLIA

The Kiachta Treaty of 1912 practically placed Mongolia, formerly a Chinese protectorate, under the protection of the Czar of Russia, although affirming its



AS THE RUSSO-MONGOLIAN CONVENTION OF 1912 IS NO LONGER OPERATIVE, AND AS THE JAPANESE ARE PENETRATING WESTWARD FROM MANCHURIA, THE MONGOLIANS WISH TO REVERT TO THEIR PROTECTION UNDER PEKING

internal autonomy. Since the rise of Bolshevism the treaty had become ineffective, and Mongolia, menaced from the north by Russian bands operating from the Trans-Siberian Railway, from the east by the Japanese, while from the south 4,000 Chinese troops had moved on Urga, the capital.

In these circumstances the Government at Urga, on Nov. 20, called the attention of the Peking Government to the ineffectiveness of the treaty, and to the men-

ace from the north and east, announced its intention to cancel its autonomy and requested that Mongolia be allowed to come under the wing of China "as in the time of the Manchu dynasty," hoping that the Mongolian people would be permitted to retain some of their rights and privileges, "so that they may happily attach themselves to the Republic of China."

On Nov. 23 a Presidential mandate, issued at Peking, repudiated all the Russo-Chinese and Russo-Mongol agreements concluded since the declaration of Mongolian independence, accepted the Mongolian proposal, and promised to the Mongols cordial treatment and the blessings of the republic forever.

In the week following the Chinese General at Urga brought north more troops, and General Semenov, with the Russians, advanced south, sending a proclamation to the Urga Government that the Government of Siberia considered the treaty of Kiachta still operative, and warning against a surrender to China.

SCANDINAVIA

Irrespective of what might be the result of the Schleswig plebiscite the Danish press started an opposition campaign to secure the important port of Flensburg. There were also demonstrations to this effect in Copenhagen. M. Zahle, the Premier, announced that should the occasion arise he would refer the matter to a Danish plebiscite and resign if the vote were for Flensburg.

On Nov. 30 elections for the new Advisory Council of the North Schleswig Electors' Associations resulted in a victory for the party which had hitherto been the Minority group and which opposed the Government's policy. It demanded the absorption of the second zone, including Flensburg, in Denmark. This minority, who had twenty-three votes in the old Council, thereby gained a total of thirty, while the party which was formerly the majority, thirty-four strong, was reduced to twenty-two seats.

In the course of a debate in the Rigsdag Premier Zahle said in reference to the Schleswig plebiscite:

Reunion with our lost brothers is an epoch-making event in the history of our

country. A heavy responsibility rests upon the generation to whose lot it has fallen to experience this great event. A responsibility before history and the idea of political justice. We cannot evade this responsibility. Ours may be the joy of knowing that all Danes are once more united under a single sway, but ours, too, would be a heavy responsibility if in the critical hours we lose our balance, if we forget the grave lessons of our history and the bitter teaching of defeat and spoliation and aim at the solution incompatible with the principle upon which our claims have rested for more than half a century—I mean the right of self determination on the basis of nationality.

An important commercial event in the history of Sweden was the opening of the new free harbor of Stockholm at Lindarängen, work on which was begun on Aug. 6, 1917. Up to the opening, \$1,230,750 had been expended in construction work on the new harbor, but much more must be spent before the great enterprise is completed. Two enormous new quays are already in use.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

The lockout inaugurated by Barcelona employers against the General Federation of Labor on Nov. 4 spread throughout Catalonia, and thence to Madrid, where, by Dec. 15, 30,000 employes were out of work. (The purpose of the lockout and the character of the federation were described last month.)

The Toca Government went out of office on account of opposition to the budget, and on Dec. 12 Manuel Aliende Salazar, as Premier, arranged a new Cabinet:

Minister of the Interior—FERNANDEZ PRIDA.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—MARQUIS DE LEMA.

Minister of Finance—COUNT DE BURGALLAL.

Minister of War—GENERAL VILLALBA.

Minister of Marine—ADMIRAL FLORES.

Minister of Instruction—NATALIO RIVAS.

Minister of Justice—SEÑOR GARNICA.

Minister of Public Works—AMALIO GIMENO.

The budget, which did not allow for extraordinary expenditure in its estimates, showed a deficit of 400,000,000 pesetas. It did not produce a favorable

impression in financial circles, and the distribution of taxation caused unfavorable comment among the masses.

The question of the return of Olivenza by Spain to Portugal came up in the Senate of the latter on Nov. 21, and became the subject of a reply by the Spanish Government on Dec. 1. Olivenza is the capital of a district in the Province of Badajoz, fourteen miles southwest of Badajoz and six miles from the Portuguese frontier. It is a walled town and was formerly strongly fortified. In the war of the Spanish Succession of 1709 it was besieged by the French and Spaniards, and was stormed by the French under Soult in 1811. The Treaties of 1815 assigned the town to Portugal, but the Spaniards refused to surrender it, and have remained in possession of it ever since.

Senhor Bernardino Machado, former President of Portugal, insisted in the Senate that a demand should be made for the restitution of Olivenza upon the declaration of the Foreign Minister that the question was outside the scope of the Paris Peace Conference to adjust. The demand was made and the Spanish Government replied by declaring that for historic reasons the request of Senhor Machado was impossible of fulfillment, and by regretting that a former President of Portugal should have reopened a question which had been closed for years.

TURKEY

The whole aim and method of the Turkish Nationalist movement was revealed in a proclamation issued by Mustapha Kemal Pasha in the name of the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia. Mustapha at about the same time (Nov. 24) informed the new Turkish Grand Vizier that the Nationalist movement would no longer interfere in public affairs, and that the orders of the Constantinople Government would be carried out without any restrictions. Mustapha's proclamation read:

The Entente Powers will pursue their project of depriving our nation of the fairest portion of its country. They are working to balance their interests by partitioning our country. The massacres and

atrocities committed in the Aidin vilayet, which Greece was allowed to occupy in order to pave the way to a partition of Turkey, were identical with those now committed in the Adana vilayet occupied by the French, using the Armenians as their instrument. We protest with all our energy against the illegal acts committed up to the present by the Entente



KURDISTAN AND THE REGION OVER WHICH ENVER PASHA SEEKS TO RULE

Powers and we hope that they will learn to cherish juster sentiments toward our nation. The result which will be brought about by the inhuman methods embarked upon by those powers without consenting to listen to the legitimate voice of our nation may be very fatal. It would not be fatal only to a few countries, but possibly also to two worlds.

There was no change in the situation in Smyrna, occupied by the Greeks, or in Syria, from which the British withdrew in favor of the French, but the foregoing proclamation was believed to have fixed the origin of the propaganda, which told stories of both Greek and French atrocities in the newly occupied territories, and that this propaganda was not remote from that importuning the United States to assume the mandate of all Turkey, but far remote from that other propaganda

asking this country to become the mandatory for Armenia alone. It was announced in Nationalistic circles in Constantinople that with the United States as Turkey's guardian angel the Committee of Union and Progress would be able to achieve in peace what it had failed to win by war.

Meanwhile, Mustapha's trend toward the east was emphasized on Dec. 12, when it was announced from Constantinople that Enver Pasha, the former Turkish Minister of War, had made himself Dictator of Kurdistan, the region surrounded by Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Persia. This report was not confirmed, but the British War Office had announced on Nov. 22 that the revolt of Sheik Mahmud having been put down by the British at Sulemaniyeh, pilgrim traffic from Tabriz to Bagdad had begun to pass through that place closed to the faithful for many years.

THE VATICAN

Seven new Cardinals were nominated at a secret consistory on Dec. 15, and the conferment of the Cardinalate on Mgr. Bertram, Archbishop of Breslau, reserved in petto at the consistory of 1916, was announced. The others named were:

Monsignor Valfre di Bouzo, former Nuncio at Vienna.

Monsignor Camassel, former Patriarch of Jerusalem.

Monsignor Sili, Vice Chamberlain of the Church.

Monsignor Soldevila y Romeo, Archbishop of Saragossa.

Monsignor Kakowski, Archbishop of Warsaw.

Monsignor Dalbor, Archbishop of Posen.

At a public consistory on Dec. 18, with the court assembled in full pontificals, all the new Cardinals except the Archbishop of Saragossa took the oath. To him the biretta was dispatched by Mgr. Somma, the papal ablegate.

The Rev. John G. Murray, Chancellor and Secretary of the Diocese of Hartford, Conn., was appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Hartford and Titular, Bishop of Flavies.

General Pershing's Final Report

Complete Official Story of the American Operations in the World War

[FIRST HALF]

General John J. Pershing, Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe, submitted his final report to the Secretary of War late in November and it was made public Dec. 13, 1919. The complete text of the report is printed in this magazine in two installments. The first part, covering all the military operations of the First Army, appears below:

THE War Department planned as early as July, 1917, to send to France by June 15, 1918, twenty-one divisions of the then strength of 20,000 men each, together with auxiliary and replacement troops, and those needed for the line of communications, amounting to over 200,000, making a total of some 650,000 men. Beginning with October, six divisions were to be sent during that quarter, seven during the first quarter of 1918, and eight the second quarter. While these numbers fell short of my recommendation of July 6, 1917, which contemplated at least 1,000,000 men by May, 1918, it should be borne in mind that the main factor in the problem was the amount of shipping to become available for military purposes, in which must be included tonnage required to supply the Allies with steel, coal, and food.

SITUATION REVIEWED

On Dec. 2, 1917, an estimate of the situation was cabled to the War Department, with the following recommendation:

Paragraph 3. In view of these conditions, it is of the utmost importance to the allied cause that we move swiftly. The minimum number of troops we should plan to have in France by the end of June is four army corps of twenty-four divisions in addition to troops for service at the rear. Have impressed the present urgency upon General Bliss and other American members of the conference. Generals Robertson, Foch and Bliss agree with me that this is the minimum that should be aimed at. This figure is given as the lowest we should think of and is placed no higher because the limit of available transportation would not seem to warrant it.

Paragraph 4. A study of transportation facilities shows sufficient American tonnage to bring over this number of troops, but to do so there must be a reduction in the tonnage allotted to other than army needs. It is estimated that the shipping needed will have to be rapidly increased, up to 2,000,000 tons by May, in addition to the amount already allotted. The use of shipping for commercial purposes must be curtailed as much as possible. The Allies are very weak and we must come to their relief this year, 1918. The year after may be too late. It is very doubtful if they can hold on until 1919 unless we give them a lot of support this year. It is therefore recommended that a complete readjustment of transportation be made and that the needs of the War Department as set forth above be regarded as immediate. Further details of these requirements will be sent later.

A SECOND REPORT

Again on Dec. 20, 1917:

Understood here that a shipping program based on tonnage in sight prepared in War College Division in September contemplated that entire First Corps with its corps troops and some 32,000 auxiliaries were to have been shipped by end of November, and that an additional program for December, January, and February contemplates that the shipment of the Second Corps with its corps troops and other auxiliaries should be practically completed by the end of February. Should such a program be carried out as per schedule and should shipments continue at corresponding rate, it would not succeed in placing even three complete corps, with proper proportion of army troops and auxiliaries, in France by the end of May. The actual facts are that shipments are not even keeping up to that schedule. It is now the middle of December and the First Corps is still incomplete by over two entire divisions (The First, Forty-second, Second, and Twenty-sixth Divisions had arrived but

not the Replacement and the Depot Divisions), and many corps troops. It cannot be too emphatically declared that we should be prepared to take the field with at least four corps by June 30. In view of past performances with tonnage heretofore available such a project is impossible of fulfillment, but only by most strenuous attempts to attain such a result will we be in a position to take a proper part in operations in 1918. In view of fact that as the number of our troops here increases a correspondingly greater amount of tonnage must be provided for their supply, and also in view of the slow rate of shipment with tonnage now available, it is of the most urgent importance that more tonnage should be obtained at once as already recommended in my cables and by General Bliss.

SUBDIVISION PLAN

During January, 1918, discussions were held with the British authorities that resulted in an agreement which became known as the subdivision plan and which provided for the transportation of six entire divisions in British tonnage, without interference with our own shipping program. High commanders, staff,

infantry, and auxiliary troops were to be given experience with British divisions, beginning with battalions, the artillery to be trained under American direction, using French material. It was agreed that when sufficiently trained these battalions were to be united for service under their own officers. It was planned that the period of training with the British should cover about ten weeks. To supervise the administration and training of these divisions the Second Corps Staff was organized Feb. 20, 1918.

In the latter part of January joint note No. 12, presented by the military representatives with the Supreme War Council, was approved by the council. This note concluded that France would be safe during 1918 only under certain conditions, namely:

(a) That the strength of the British and French troops in France be continuously kept up to their present total strength and that they receive the expected reinforcements of not less than two American divisions per month.

Critical Situation, March, 1918—Allied Agreement

The first German offensive of 1918, beginning March 21, overran all resistance during the initial period of the attack. Within eight days the enemy had completely crossed the old Somme battlefield and had swept everything before him to a depth of some fifty-six kilometers. For a few days the loss of the railroad centre of Amiens appeared imminent. The offensive made such inroads upon French and British reserves that defeat stared them in the face unless the new American troops should prove more immediately available than even the most optimistic had dared to hope. On March 27 the military representatives with the Supreme War Council prepared their joint note No. 18. This note repeated the previously quoted statement from joint note No. 12, and continued:

The battle which is developing at the present moment in France, and which can extend to the other theatres of operations, may very quickly place the allied armies in a serious situation from the point of view of effectives, and the military

representatives are from this moment of opinion that the above-detailed condition can no longer be maintained, and they consider as a general proposition that the new situation requires new decisions.

The military representatives are of opinion that it is highly desirable that the American Government should assist the allied armies as soon as possible by permitting in principle the temporary service of American units in allied army corps and divisions. Such reinforcements must, however, be obtained from other units than those American divisions which are now operating with the French, and the units so temporarily employed must eventually be returned to the American Army.

The military representatives are of the opinion that from the present time, in execution of the foregoing, and until otherwise directed by the Supreme War Council, only American infantry and machine-gun units, organized as that Government may decide, be brought to France, and that all agreements or conventions hitherto made in conflict with this decision be modified accordingly.

ASSIGNMENT OF FIRST ARRIVALS

The Secretary of War, who was in France at this time; General Bliss, the

American military representative with the Supreme War Council, and I at once conferred on the terms of this note, with the result that the Secretary recommended to the President that joint note No. 18 be approved in the following sense:

The purpose of the American Government is to render the fullest co-operation and aid, and therefore the recommendation of the military representatives with regard to the preferential transportation of American infantry and machine-gun units in the present emergency is approved. Such units, when transported, will be under the direction of the Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, and will be assigned for training and use by him in his discretion. He will use these and all other military forces of the United States under his command in such manner as to render the greatest military assistance, keeping in mind always the determination of this Government to have its various military forces collected, as speedily as their training and the military situation permit, into an independent American army, acting in concert with the armies of Great Britain and France, and all arrangements made by him for their temporary training and service will be made with that end in view.

While note No. 18 was general in its terms, the priority of shipments of infantry more especially pertained to those divisions that were to be trained in the British area, as that Government was to provide the additional shipping according to the six-division plan agreed upon even before the beginning of the March 21 offensive.

On April 2 the War Department cabled that preferential transportation would be given to American infantry and machine-gun units during the existing emergency. Preliminary arrangements were made for training and early employment with the French of such infantry units as might be sent over by our own transportation. As for the British agreement, the six-division plan was to be modified to give priority to the infantry of those divisions. However, all the Allies were now urging the indefinite continuation of priority for the shipment of infantry and its complete incorporation in their units, which fact was cabled to the War Department on April 3, with the specific recommendation that the total immediate priority

of infantry be limited to four divisions, plus 45,500 replacements, and that the necessity for future priority be determined later.

The Secretary of War and I held a conference with British authorities on April 7, during which it developed that the British had erroneously assumed that the preferential shipment of infantry was to be continuous. It was agreed at this meeting that 60,000 infantry and machine-gun troops, with certain auxiliary units to be brought over by British tonnage during April, should go to the British area as part of the six-division plan, but that there should be a further agreement as to subsequent troops to be brought over by the British. Consequently, a readjustment of the priority schedule was undertaken on the basis of postponing "shipment of all noncombatant troops to the utmost possible to meet present situation, and at the same time not to make it impossible to build up our own army."

FIRST UNITS WITH BRITISH TROOPS

The battleline in the vicinity of Amiens had hardly stabilized when, on April 9, the Germans made another successful attack against the British lines on a front of some forty kilometers in the vicinity of Armentières and along the Lys River. As result of its being included in a salient formed by the German advance, Passchendaele Ridge, the capture of which had cost so dearly in 1917, was evacuated by the British on April 17.

The losses had been heavy and the British were unable to replace them entirely. They were, therefore, making extraordinary efforts to increase the shipping available for our troops. On April 21 I went to London to clear up certain questions concerning the rate of shipment and to reach the further agreement provided for in the April 7 conference. The result of this London agreement was cabled to Washington April 24, as follows:

(a) That only the infantry, machine guns, engineers, and signal troops of American divisions and the headquarters of divisions and brigades be sent over in British and American shipping during May for training and service with the

British Army in France up to six divisions, and that any shipping in excess of that required for these troops be utilized to transport troops necessary to make these divisions complete. The training and service of these troops will be carried out in accordance with plans already agreed upon between Sir Douglas Haig and General Pershing, with a view at an early date of building up American divisions.

(b) That the American personnel of the artillery of these divisions and such corps troops as may be required to build up American corps organizations follow immediately thereafter, and that American artillery personnel be trained with French material and join its proper divisions as soon as thoroughly trained.

(c) If, when the program outlined in paragraphs (a) and (b) is completed, the military situation makes advisable the further shipment of infantry, &c., of American divisions, then all the British and American shipping available for transport of troops shall be used for that purpose under such arrangement as will insure immediate aid to the Allies, and at the same time provide at the earliest moment for bringing over American artillery and other necessary units to complete the organization of American divisions and corps. Provided that the combatant troops mentioned in (a) and (b) be followed by such Service of the Rear and other troops as may be considered necessary by the American Commander in Chief.

(d) That It is contemplated American divisions and corps, when trained and organized, shall be utilized under the American Commander in Chief in an American group.

(e) That the American Commander in Chief shall allot American troops to the French or British for training them with American units at his discretion, with the understanding that troops already transported by British shipping or included in the six divisions mentioned in paragraph (a) are to be trained with the British Army, details as to rations, equipment, and transport to be determined by special agreement.

INDEPENDENT AMERICAN ARMY

At a meeting of the Supreme War Council held at Abbéville May 1 and 2, the entire question of the amalgamation of Americans with the French and British was reopened. An urgent appeal came from both French and Italian representatives for American replacements or units to serve with their armies. After prolonged discussion regarding this question and that of priority generally the following agreement was reached, committing

the council to an independent American army and providing for the immediate shipment of certain troops:

It is the opinion of the Supreme War Council that, in order to carry the war to a successful conclusion, an American army should be formed as early as possible under its own commander and under its own flag. In order to meet the present emergency it is agreed that American troops should be brought to France as rapidly as allied transportation facilities will permit, and that, as far as consistent with the necessity of building up an American army, preference will be given to infantry and machine-gun units for training and service with French and British armies; with the understanding that such infantry and machine-gun units are to be withdrawn and united with its own artillery and auxiliary troops into divisions and corps at the direction of the American Commander in Chief after consultation with the Commander in Chief of the allied armies in France.

Subparagraph A. It is also agreed that during the month of May preference should be given to the transportation of infantry and machine-gun units of six divisions, and that any excess tonnage shall be devoted to bringing over such other troops as may be determined by the American Commander in Chief.

Subparagraph B. It is further agreed that this program shall be continued during the month of June upon condition that the British Government shall furnish transportation for a minimum of 130,000 men in May and 150,000 men in June, with the understanding that the first six divisions of infantry shall go to the British for training and service, and that troops sent over in June shall be allocated for training and service as the American Commander in Chief may determine.

Subparagraph C. It is also further agreed that if the British Government shall transport an excess of 150,000 men in June that such excess shall be infantry and machine-gun units, and that early in June there shall be a new review of the situation to determine further action.

PARIS IN GRAVE DANGER

The gravity of the situation had brought the Allies to a full realization of the necessity of providing all possible tonnage for the transportation of American troops. Although their views were accepted to the extent of giving a considerable priority to infantry and machine gunners, the priority agreed upon as to this class of troops was not as extensive as some of them deemed necessary, and the Abbéville conference was

adjourned with the understanding that the question of further priority would be discussed at a conference to be held about the end of May.

The next offensive of the enemy was made between the Oise and Berry-aubac against the French instead of against the British, as was generally expected, and it came as a complete surprise. The initial Aisne attack, covering a front of thirty-five kilometers, met with remarkable success, as the German armies advanced no less than fifty kilometers in four days. On reaching the Marne that river was used as a defensive flank and the German advance was directed toward Paris. During the first days of June something akin to a panic seized the city and it was estimated that 1,000,000 people left during the Spring of 1918.

APPEAL OF PRIME MINISTERS

The further conference which had been agreed upon at Abbéville was held at Versailles on June 1 and 2. The opinion of our allies as to the existing situation and the urgency of their insistence upon further priority for infantry and machine gunners are shown by the following message prepared by the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Italy, and agreed to by General Foch:

The Prime Ministers of France, Italy, and Great Britain, now meeting at Versailles, desire to send the following message to the President of the United States:

We desire to express our warmest thanks to President Wilson for the remarkable promptness with which American aid in excess of what at one time seemed practicable has been rendered to the Allies during the last month to meet a great emergency. The crisis, however, still continues. General Foch has presented to us a statement of the utmost gravity, which points out that the numerical superiority of the enemy in France, where 162 allied divisions now oppose 200 German divisions, is very heavy, and that, as there is no possibility of the British and French increasing the number of their divisions (on the contrary, they are put to extreme straits to keep them up) there is a great danger of the war being lost unless the numerical inferiority of the Allies can be remedied as rapidly as possible by the advent of American troops. He, therefore, urges with the utmost insistence that the maximum possible number of infantry and machine gunners,

in which respect the shortage of men on the side of the Allies is most marked, should continue to be shipped from America in the months of June and July to avert the immediate danger of an allied defeat in the present campaign owing to the allied reserves being exhausted before those of the enemy. In addition to this, and looking to the future, he represents that it is impossible to foresee ultimate victory in the war unless America is able to provide such an army as will enable the Allies ultimately to establish numerical superiority. He places the total American force required for this at no less than 100 divisions, and urges the continuous raising of fresh American levies, which, in his opinion, should not be less than 300,000 a month, with a view to establishing a total American force of 100 divisions at as early a date as this can possibly be done.

We are satisfied that General Foch, who is conducting the present campaign with consummate ability, and on whose military judgment we continue to place the most absolute reliance, is not overestimating the needs of the case, and we feel confident that the Government of the United States will do everything that can be done, both to meet the needs of the immediate situation and to proceed with the continuous raising of fresh levies calculated to provide as soon as possible the numerical superiority which the Commander in Chief of the allied armies regards as essential to ultimate victory.

A separate telegram contains the arrangements which General Foch, General Pershing, and Lord Milner have agreed to recommend to the United States Government with regard to the dispatch of American troops for the months of June and July.

(Signed)

D. LLOYD GEORGE,
CLEMENCEAU,
ORLANDO.

FINAL DISTRIBUTION OF TROOPS

Such extensive priority had already been given to the transport of American infantry and machine gunners that the troops of those categories which had received even partial training in the United States were practically exhausted. Moreover, the strain on our services of supply made it essential that early relief be afforded by increasing its personnel. At the same time, the corresponding services of our allies had in certain departments been equally overtaxed and their responsible heads were urgent in their representations that their needs must be relieved by bringing over American specialists. The final agreement

was cabled to the War Department on June 5, as follows:

The following agreement has been concluded between General Foch, Lord Milner, and myself with reference to the transportation of American troops in the months of June and July:

The following recommendations are made on the assumption that at least 250,000 men can be transported in each of the months of June and July by the employment of combined British and American tonnage. We recommend:

(a) For the month of June: (1) Absolute priority shall be given to the transportation of 170,000 combatant troops (viz., six divisions without artillery, ammunition trains, or supply trains, amounting to 126,000 men and 44,000 replacements for combat troops); (2) 25,400 men for the service of the railways, of which 13,400 have been asked for by the French Minister of Transportation; (3) the balance to be troops of categories to be determined by the Commander in Chief, American Expeditionary Forces.

(b) For the month of July: (1) Absolute priority for the shipment of 140,000 combatant troops of the nature defined above (four divisions minus artillery "et cetera," amounting to 84,000 men, plus 56,000 replacement); (2) the balance of the 250,000 to consist of troops to be designated by the Commander in Chief, American Expeditionary Forces.

(c) It is agreed that if the available tonnage in either month allows of the transportation of a larger number of men than 250,000, the excess tonnage will be employed in the transportation of combat troops as defined above.

(d) We recognize that the combatant troops to be dispatched in July may have to include troops which have had insufficient training, but we consider the present emergency is such as to justify a temporary and exceptional departure by the United States from sound principles of training, especially as a similar course is being followed by France and Great Britain.

(Signed)

FOCH,
MILNER,
PERSHING.

The various proposals during these conferences regarding priority of shipment, often very insistent, raised questions that were not only most difficult but most delicate. On the one hand, there was a critical situation which must be met by immediate action, while on the other hand, any priority accorded a particular arm necessarily postponed the formation of a distinctive American fighting force and the means to supply it. Such a force was, in my opinion,

absolutely necessary to win the war. A few of the allied representatives became convinced that the American services of supply should not be neglected, but should be developed in the common interest. The success of our divisions during May and June demonstrated fully that it was not necessary to draft Americans under foreign flags in order to utilize American manhood most effectively.

THE MIGHTY ONSLAUGHT OF THE GERMANS

When, on March 21, 1918, the German army on the western front began its series of offensives, it was by far the most formidable force the world had ever seen. In fighting men and guns it had a great superiority, but this was of less importance than the advantage in morale, in experience, in training for mobile warfare, and in unity of command. Ever since the collapse of the Russian armies and the crisis on the Italian front in the Fall of 1917, German armies were being assembled and trained for the great campaign which was to end the war before America's effort could be brought to bear. Germany's best troops, her most successful Generals, and all the experience gained in three years of war were mobilized for the supreme effort.

The first blow fell on the right of the British armies, including the junction of the British and French forces. Only the prompt co-operation of the French and British General Headquarters stemmed the tide. The reason for this objective was obvious and strikingly illustrated the necessity for having some one with sufficient authority over all the allied armies to meet such an emergency. The lack of complete co-operation among the Allies on the western front had been appreciated, and the question of preparation to meet a crisis had already received attention by the Supreme War Council. A plan had been adopted by which each of the Allies would furnish a certain number of divisions for a general reserve, to be under the direction of the military representatives of the Supreme War Council, of which General Foch was then the senior member. But when the

time came to meet the German offensive in March these reserves were not found available and the plan failed.

FOCH IS SELECTED

This situation resulted in a conference for the immediate consideration of the question of having an allied Commander in Chief. After much discussion, during which my view favoring such action was clearly stated, an agreement was reached and General Foch was selected. His appointment as such was made April 3 and was approved for the United States by the President on April 16. The terms of the agreement under which General Foch exercised his authority were as follows:

Beauvais, April 3, 1918.

General Foch is charged by the British, French and American Governments with the co-ordination of the action of the al-

lied armies on the western front; to this end there is conferred on him all the powers necessary for its effective realization. To the same end, the British, French and American Governments confide in General Foch the strategic direction of military operations.

The Commander in Chief of the British, French and American armies will exercise to the fullest extent the tactical direction of their armies. Each Commander in Chief will have the right to appeal to his Government, if in his opinion his army is placed in danger by the instructions received from General Foch.

(Signed) G. CLEMENCEAU,
PETAIN.

F. FOCH.

LLOYD GEORGE.

D. HAIG, F. M.

HENRY WILSON,

General, 3, 4, 18.

TASKER H. BLISS,

General and Chief of Staff.

JOHN J. PERSHING,

General, U. S. A.

Employment of American Divisions, March to September

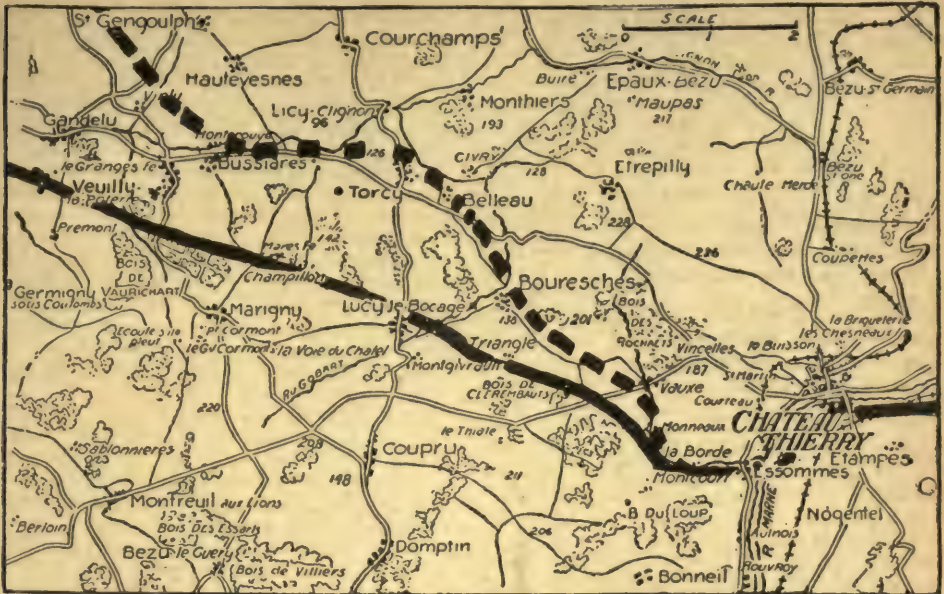
The grave crisis precipitated by the first German offensive caused me to make a hurried visit to General Foch's headquarters at Bombon, during which all our combatant forces were placed at his disposal. The acceptance of this offer meant the dispersion of our troops along the allied front and a consequent delay in building up a distinctive American force in Lorraine, but the serious situation of the Allies demanded this divergence from our plans.

On March 21, approximately 300,000 American troops had reached France. Four combat divisions, equivalent in strength to eight French or British divisions, were available—the 1st and 2d then in line, and the 26th and 42d just withdrawn from line after one month's trench warfare training. The last two divisions at once began taking over quiet sectors to release divisions for the battle; the 26th relieved the 1st Division, which was sent to northwest of Paris in reserve; the 42d relieved two French divisions from quiet sectors. In addition to these troops, one regiment of the 93d Division was with the French in the Argonne, the 41st Depot Division was in the Services of Supply, and three divisions (3d, 32d, and 5th) were arriving.

On April 25 the 1st Division relieved two French divisions on the front near Montdidier and on May 28 captured the important

observation stations on the heights of Cantigny with splendid dash. French artillery, aviation, tanks, and flame throwers aided in the attack, but most of this French assistance was withdrawn before the completion of the operation, in order to meet the enemy's new offensive launched May 27 toward Château-Thierry. The enemy reaction against our troops at Cantigny was extremely violent, and apparently he was determined at all costs to counteract the most excellent effect the American success had produced. For three days his guns of all calibres were concentrated on our new position and counterattack succeeded counterattack. The desperate efforts of the Germans gave the fighting at Cantigny a seeming tactical importance entirely out of proportion to the numbers involved.

Of the three divisions arriving in France when the first German offensive began, the 32d, intended for replacements, had been temporarily employed in the Services of Supply to meet a shortage of personnel, but the critical situation caused it to be reassembled, and by May 21 it was entering the line in the Vosges. At this time the 5th Division, though still incomplete, was also ordered into the line in the same region. The 3d Division was assembling in its training area and the 3d Corps staff had just been organized to administer these three divisions. In addition to the eight divisions already mentioned, the 28th and 77th had arrived in the British area, and the 4th, 27th, 13th, 33d, 35th, and 82d were arriving there. Following the agreements as to British shipping, our troops came so rapidly



TERRITORY BETWEEN THE TWO DARK LINES WAS WON BACK IN HEAVY FIGHTING BY AMERICAN SOLDIERS AND MARINES

that by the end of May we had a force of 600,000 in France.

The third German offensive, on May 27, against the French on the Aisne, soon developed a desperate situation for the Allies. The 2d Division, then in reserve northwest of Paris and preparing to relieve the 1st Division, was hastily diverted to the vicinity of the Meaux on May 31, and, early on the morning of June 1, was deployed across the Château-Thierry-Paris road near Montreuil-aux-Lions in a gap in the French line, where it stopped the German advance on Paris. At the same time the partially trained 3d Division was placed at French disposal to hold the crossings of the Marne, and its motorized machine-gun battalion succeeded in reaching Château-Thierry in time to assist in successfully defending that river crossing.

BELLEAU WOODS

The enemy having been halted, the 2d Division commenced a series of vigorous attacks on June 4, which resulted in the capture of Belleau Woods after very severe fighting. The village of Bouresches was taken soon after, and on July 1 Vaux was captured. In these operations the 2d Division met with most desperate resistance by Germany's best troops.

To meet the March offensive, the French had extended their front from the Oise to Amiens, about sixty kilometers, and during the German drive along the Lys had also sent reinforcements to assist the British. The French lines had been further lengthened about forty-five kilometers as a result of the Marne pocket made by the Aisne offensive. This increased frontage and the

heavy fighting had reduced French reserves to an extremely low point.

Our Second Corps, under Major Gen. George W. Read, had been organized for the command of the ten divisions with the British, which were held back in training areas or assigned to second-line defenses. After consultation with Field Marshal Haig on June 3, five American divisions were relieved from the British area to support the French. The 77th and 82d Divisions were removed south to release the 42d and 26th for employment on a more active portion of the front; the 35th Division entered the line in the Vosges, and the 4th and 28th Divisions were moved to the region of Meaux and Château-Thierry as reserves.

On June 9 the Germans attacked the Montdidier-Noyon front in an effort to widen the Marne pocket and bring their lines nearer to Paris, but were stubbornly held by the French with comparatively little loss of ground. In view of the unexpected results of the three preceding attacks by the enemy, this successful defense proved beneficial to the allied morale, particularly as it was believed that the German losses were unusually heavy.

On July 15, the date of the last German offensive, the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 26th Divisions were on the Château-Thierry front with the 4th and 28th in support, some small units of the last two divisions gaining front-line experience with our troops or with the French; the 42d Division was in support of the French east of Rheims, and four colored regiments were with the French in the Argonne. On the Alsace-Lorraine front we had five divisions in line with the French. Five were with the British Army, three having ele-

ments in the line. In our training areas four divisions were assembled and four were in the process of arrival.

AMERICANS BAR THE WAY TO PARIS

The Marne salient was inherently weak and offered an opportunity for a counteroffensive that was obvious.

If successful, such an operation would afford immediate relief to the allied defense, would remove the threat against Paris, and free the Paris-Nancy railroad. But, more important than all else, it would restore the morale of the Allies and remove the profound depression and fear then existing. Up to this time our units had been put in here and there at critical points as emergency troops to stop the terrific German advance. In every trial, whether on the defensive or offensive, they had proved themselves equal to any troops in Europe. As early as June 23 and again on July 10 at Bombon, I had very strongly urged that our best divisions be concentrated under American command, if possible, for use as a striking force against the Marne salient. Although the prevailing view among the Allies was that American units were suitable only for the defensive, and that at all events they could be used to better advantage under allied command, the suggestion was accepted in principle, and my estimate of their offensive fighting qualities was soon put to the test.

The enemy had encouraged his soldiers to believe that the July 15 attack would conclude the war with a German peace. Although he made elaborate plans for the operation, he failed to conceal fully his intentions, and the front of attack was suspected at least one week ahead. On the Champagne front the actual hour for the assault was known and the enemy was checked with heavy losses. The 42d Division entered the line near Somme Py immediately, and five of its infantry battalions and all its artillery became engaged. Southwest of Rheims and along the Marne to the east of Château-Thierry the Germans were at first somewhat successful, a penetration of eight kilometers beyond the river being effected against the French immediately to the right of our 3d Division. The following quotation from the report of the commanding General, 3d Division, gives the result of the fighting on his front:

"Although the rush of the German troops overwhelmed some of the front-line positions, causing the infantry and machine-gun companies to suffer, in some cases a 50 per cent. loss, no German soldier crossed the road from Fossoy to Crezancy, except as a prisoner of war, and by noon of the following day (July 16) there were no Germans in the foreground of the 3d Division sector except the dead."

On this occasion a single regiment of the 3d Division wrote one of the most brilliant pages in our military annals. It prevented the crossing at certain points on its

front, while on either flank the Germans who had gained a footing pressed forward. Our men, firing in three directions, met the German attacks with counterattacks at critical points and succeeded in throwing two German divisions into complete confusion, capturing 600 prisoners.

The selection by the Germans of the Champagne sector and the eastern and southern faces of the Marne pocket on which to make their offensive was fortunate for the Allies, as it favored the launching of the counterattack already planned. There were now over 1,200,000 American troops in France, which provided a considerable force of reserves. Every American division with any sort of training was made available for use in a counteroffensive.

General Pétain's initial plan for the counterattack involved the entire western face of the Marne salient. The 1st and 2d American Divisions, with the 1st French Moroccan Division between them, were employed as the spearhead of the main attack, driving directly eastward, through the most sensitive portion of the German lines, to the heights south of Soissons. The advance began on July 18, without the usual brief warning of a preliminary bombardment, and these three divisions at a single bound broke through the enemy's infantry defenses and overran his artillery, cutting or interrupting the German communications leading into the salient. A general withdrawal from the Marne was immediately begun by the enemy, who still fought stubbornly to prevent disaster.

MAGNIFICENT DASH NEAR SOISSONS

The 1st Division, throughout four days of constant fighting, advanced eleven kilometers, capturing Berzy-le-Sec and the heights above Soissons and taking some 3,500 prisoners and sixty-eight field guns from the seven German divisions employed against it. It was relieved by a British division. The 2d Division advanced eight kilometers in the first twenty-six hours, and by the end of the second day was facing Tigny, having captured 3,000 prisoners and sixty-six field guns. It was relieved the night of the 19th by a French division.

"The result of this counteroffensive was of decisive importance. Due to the magnificent dash and power displayed on the field of Soissons by our 1st and 2d Divisions the tide of the war was definitely turned in favor of the Allies."

Other American divisions participated in the Marne counteroffensive. A little to the south of the 2d Division, the 4th was in line with the French and was engaged until July 22. The 1st American Corps, Major Gen. Hunter Liggett commanding, with the 26th Division and a French division, acted as a pivot of the movement toward Soissons, capturing Torcy on the 18th and reaching the Château-Thierry-Soissons roads on the 21st. At the same time the 3d Division crossed the Marne and took the heights of Mont

Saint Peter and the villages of Charteves and Jaulgonne.

ADVANCING TO THE VESLE

In the 1st Corps, the 42d Division relieved the 26th on July 25 and extended its front, on the 26th relieving the French division. From this time until Aug. 2 it fought its way through the Forest de Fère and across the Ourcq, advancing toward the Vesle until relieved by the 4th Division on Aug. 3. Early in this period elements of the 28th Division participated in the advance.

Further to the east the 3d Division forced the enemy back to Ronchères Wood, where it was relieved on July 30 by the 32d Division from the Vosges front. The 32d, after relieving the 3d and some elements of the 28th on the line of the Ourcq River, advanced abreast of the 42d toward the Vesle. On Aug. 3 it passed under control of our 3d Corps, Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard commanding, which made its first appearance in battle at this time, while the 4th Division took up the task of the 42d Division and advanced with the 32d to the Vesle River, where, on Aug. 6, the operations for the reduction of the Marne salient terminated.

In the hard fighting from July 18 to Aug. 6 the Germans were not only halted in their advance, but were driven back from the Marne to the Vesle and committed wholly to the defensive. The force of American arms had been brought to bear in time to enable the last offensive of the enemy to be crushed.

BATTLES ON THE VESLE

The 1st and 3d Corps now held a continuous front of eleven kilometers along the Vesle. On Aug. 12 the 77th Division relieved the 4th Division on the 1st Corps front, and the following day the 28th relieved the 32d Division in the 3d Corps, while from Aug. 6 to Aug. 10 the 6th Infantry Brigade of the 3d Division held a sector on the river line. The transfer of the 1st Corps to the Woevre was ordered at this time, and the control of its front was turned over to the 3d Corps.

On Aug. 13 General Pétain began an offensive between Rheims and the Oise. Our 3d Corps participated in this operation, crossing the Vesle on Sept. 4, with the 28th and 77th Divisions and overcoming stubborn opposition on the plateau south of the Aisne, which was reached by the 77th on Sept. 6. The 28th was withdrawn from the line on Sept. 7. Two days later the 3d Corps was transferred to the region of Verdun, the 77th Division remaining in line on the Aisne River until Sept. 17.

The 32d Division, upon its relief from the

battle on the Vesle, joined a French corps north of Soissons and attacked from Aug. 29 to 31, capturing Juvigny after some particularly desperate fighting and reaching the Chauny-Soissons road.

On the British front two regiments of the 33d Division participated in an attack on Hamel July 4, and again on Aug. 9, as an incident of an allied offensive against the Amiens salient. One of these regiments took Gressaire Wood and Chipilly Bridge, capturing 700 prisoners and considerable material.

ASSEMBLING OF THE FIRST AMERICAN ARMY

In conference with General Pétain at Chantilly on May 19 it had been agreed that the American Army would soon take complete charge of the sector of the Woevre. The 26th Division was already in line in the Woevre north of Toul and was to be followed by other American divisions as they became available, with the understanding that the sector was to pass to our control when four divisions were in the line. But demands of the battle then going on further west required the presence of our troops, and the agreement had no immediate result. Due to the presence of a number of our divisions northeast of Paris, the organization of an American corps sector in the Château-Thierry region was taken up with General Pétain, and on July 4 the 1st Corps assumed tactical control of a sector in that region. This was an important step, but it was by no means satisfactory, as only one American division at the moment was operating under the control of the 1st Corps, while we had at this time eight American divisions in the front line serving in French corps.

The counteroffensive against the Marne salient in July, and against the Amiens salient in August had gained such an advantage that it was apparent that the emergency, which justified the dispersion of our divisions, had passed. The moment was propitious for assembling our divisions. Scattered as they were along the allied front, their supply had become very difficult. From every point of view the immediate organization of an independent American force was indicated. The formation of the army in the Château-Thierry region and its early transfer to the sector of the Woevre, which was to extend from Nomeny, east of the Moselle, to north of St. Mihiel, was therefore decided upon by Marshal Foch and myself on Aug. 9, and the details were arranged with General Pétain later on the same day.

Americans in the St. Mihiel Operation

At Bombon on July 24 there was a conference of all the Commanders in Chief for the purpose of considering allied operations. Each presented proposals for the employment of the armies under his command, and these formed the basis of future co-operation of the Allies. It was emphatically determined that the allied attitude should be to maintain the offensive. At the first operation of the American Army the reduction of the salient of St. Mihiel was to be undertaken as soon as the necessary troops and material could be made available. On account of the swampy nature of the country it was especially important that the movement be undertaken and finished before the Fall rains should begin, which was usually about the middle of September.

Arrangements were concluded for successive relief of the American divisions, and the organization of the First American Army under my personal command was announced on Aug. 10, with La Ferté-sous-Jouarre as headquarters. This army nominally assumed control of a portion of the Vesle front, although at the same time directions were given for its secret concentration in the St. Mihiel sector.

The force of American soldiers in France at that moment was sufficient to carry out this offensive, but they were dispersed along the front from Switzerland to the Channel. The three army corps headquarters to participate in the St. Mihiel attack were the 1st, 4th, and 5th. The 1st was on the Vesle, the 4th at Toul, and the 5th not yet completely organized. To assemble combat divisions and service troops and undertake a major operation within the short period available and with staffs so recently organized was an extremely difficult task. Our deficiencies in artillery, aviation, and special troops, caused by the shipment of an undue proportion of infantry and machine guns during the Summer, were largely met by the French.

The reduction of the St. Mihiel salient was important, as it would prevent the enemy from interrupting traffic on the Paris-Nancy Railroad by artillery fire and would free the railroad leading north through St. Mihiel to Verdun. It would also provide us with an advantageous base of departure for an attack against the Metz-Sedan railroad system, which was vital to the German armies west of Verdun, and against the Briey Iron Basin, which was necessary for the production of German armament and munitions.

FOCH'S PLAN OF BATTLE

The general plan was to make simultaneous attacks against the flanks of the salient. The ultimate objective was tentatively fixed as the general line Marieulles (east of the Moselle)—heights south of Gorze-Mars in Tour-Etain. The operations contemplated the use of the western face of three or four

American divisions, supported by the attack of six divisions of the Second French Army on their left, while seven American divisions would attack on the southern face, and three French divisions would press the enemy at the tip of the salient. As the part to be taken by the Second French Army would be closely related to the attack of the First American Army, General Pétain placed all the French troops involved under my personal command.

By Aug. 20 the concentration of the scattered divisions, corps, and army troops, of the quantities of supplies and munitions required, and the necessary construction of light railways and roads, were well under way.

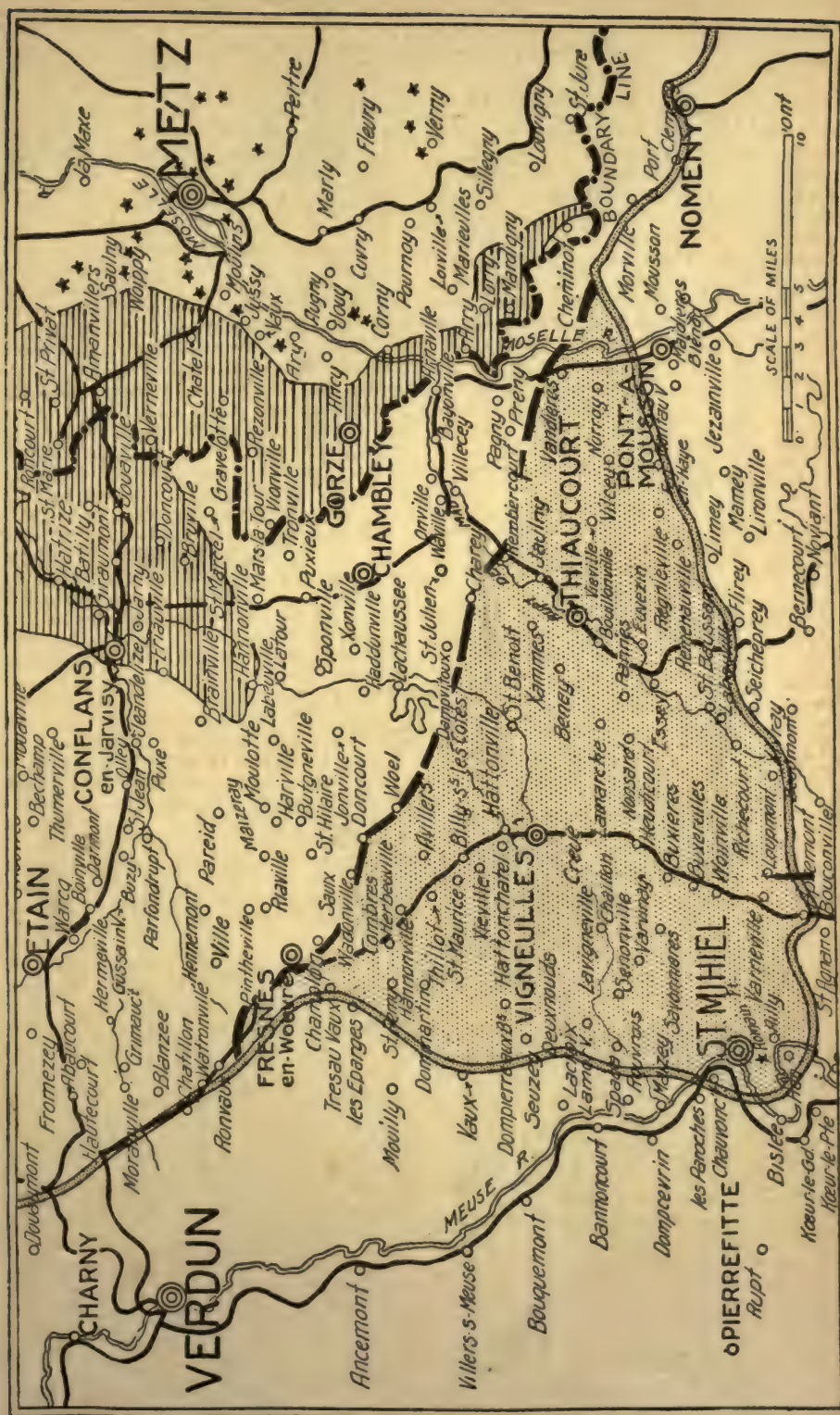
In accordance with the previous general consideration of operations at Bombon on July 24, an allied offensive extending practically along the entire active front was eventually to be carried out. After the reduction of the St. Mihiel sector the Americans were to co-operate in the concerted effort of the allied armies. It was the sense of the conference of July 24 that the extent to which the different operations already planned might carry us could not be then foreseen, especially if the results expected were achieved before the season was far advanced. It seemed reasonable at that time to look forward to a combined offensive for the Autumn, which would give no respite to the enemy and would increase our advantage for the inauguration of succeeding operations extending into 1919.

On Aug. 30 a further discussion with Marshal Foch was held at my headquarters at Ligny-en-Barrois. In view of the new successes of the French and British near Amiens and the continued favorable results toward the Chemin des Dames on the French front, it was now believed that the limited allied offensive, which was to prepare for the campaign of 1919, might be carried further before the end of the year. At this meeting it was proposed by Marshal Foch that the generous operations as far as the American Army was concerned should be carried out in detail by:

(a) An attack between the Meuse and the Argonne by the Second French Army, reinforced by from four to six American divisions.

(b) A French-American attack, extending from the Argonne west to the Souain road, to be executed on the right by an American Army astride the Aisne and on the left by the Fourth French Army.

To carry out these attacks the ten to eleven American divisions suggested for the St. Mihiel operation and the four to six for the Second French Army, would have eight to ten divisions for an American Army on the Aisne. It was proposed that the St. Mihiel operation should be initiated on Sept.



SCENE OF RECAPTURE OF THE ST. MIHIEL SALIENT BY AMERICAN FORCES

10, and the other two on Sept. 15 and 20, respectively.

PERSHING'S PLAN SUPERSEDES THAT OF FOCH

The plan suggested for the American participation in these operations was not acceptable to me because it would require the immediate separation of the recently formed First American Army into several groups, mainly to assist French armies. This was directly contrary to the principle of forming a distinct American army, for which my contention had been insistent. An enormous amount of preparation had already been made in construction of roads, railroads, regulating stations, and other installations looking to the use and supply of our armies on a particular front. The inherent disinclination of our troops to serve under allied commanders would have grown and American morale would have suffered. My position was stated quite clearly that the strategical employment of the First Army as a unit would be undertaken where desired, but its disruption to carry out these proposals would not be entertained.

A further conference at Marshal Foch's headquarters was held on Sept. 2, at which General Pétain was present. After discussion the question of employing the American Army as a unit was conceded. The essentials of the strategical decision previously arrived at provided that the advantageous situation of the Allies should be exploited to the utmost by vigorously continuing the general battle and extending it eastward to the Meuse. All the allied armies were to be employed in a converging action. The British armies, supported by the left of the French armies, were to pursue the attack in the direction of Cambrai; the centre of the French armies, west of Rheims, would continue the actions already begun to drive the enemy beyond the Aisne; and the American Army, supported by the right of the French armies, would direct its attack on Sedan and Mézières.

It should be recorded that although this general offensive was fully outlined at the conference no one present expressed the opinion that the final victory could be won in 1918. In fact, it was believed by the French High Command that the Meuse-Argonne attack could not be pushed much beyond Montfaucon before the arrival of Winter would force a cessation of operations.

The choice between the two sectors, that east of the Aisne, including the Argonne Forest, or the Champagne sector, was left to me. In my opinion no other allied troops had the morale or the offensive spirit to overcome successfully the difficulties to be met in the Meuse-Argonne sector, and our plans and installations had been prepared for an expansion of operations in that direction. So the Meuse-Argonne front was chosen. The entire sector of 150 kilometers of front, extending from Port-sur-Seille, east

of the Moselle, west to include the Argonne Forest, was accordingly placed under my command, including all French divisions then in that zone. The First American Army was to proceed with the St. Mihiel operation, after which the operation between the Meuse and the western edge of the Argonne Forest was to be prepared and launched not later than Sept. 25.

THE FIELD OF BATTLE

As a result of these decisions the depth of the St. Mihiel operation was limited to the line Vigneulles-Thiaucourt-Regnéville. The number of divisions to be used was reduced and the time shortened. Eighteen to nineteen divisions were to be in the front line. There were four French and fifteen American divisions available, six of which would be in reserve, while the two flank divisions of the front line were not to advance. Furthermore, two Army Corps Headquarters, with their corps troops, practically all the army artillery and aviation, and the 1st, 2d, and 4th Divisions, the first two destined to take a leading part in the St. Mihiel attack, were all due to be withdrawn and started for the Meuse-Argonne by the fourth day of the battle.

The salient had been held by the Germans since September, 1914. It covered the most sensitive section of the enemy's position on the western front, namely, the Mézières-Sedan-Metz railroad and the Briey Iron Basin; it threatened the entire region between Verdun and Nancy, and interrupted the main rail line from Paris to the east. Its primary strength lay in the natural defensive features of the terrain itself. The western face of the salient extended along the rugged, heavily wooded eastern heights of the Meuse; the southern face followed the heights of the Meuse for eight kilometers to the east and then crossed the plain of the Woëvre, including within the German lines the detached heights of Loupmont and Montsec which dominated the plain and afforded the enemy unusual facilities for observation. The enemy had reinforced the positions by every artificial means during a period of four years.

On the night of Sept. 11 the troops of the First Army were deployed in position. On the southern face of the salient was the 1st Corps, Major Gen. Liggett commanding, with the 82d, 19th, 5th and 2d Divisions in line, extending from the Moselle westward. On its left was the 4th Corps, Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman commanding, with the 89th, 42d and 1st Divisions, the left of this corps being opposite Montsec. These two army corps were to deliver the principal attack, the line pivoting on the centre division of the 1st Corps. The 1st Division, on the left of the 4th Corps, was charged with the double mission of covering its own flank while advancing some twenty kilometers due north toward the heart of the salient, where it was to make contact with the troops of the 5th Corps. On the western

face of the salient lay the 5th Corps, Major Gen. George H. Cameron commanding, with the 26th Division, 15th French Colonial Division and the 4th Division in line, from Mouilly west to Les Eparges and north to Watronville. Of these three divisions the 26th alone was to make a deep advance directed southeast toward Vigneulles. The French division was to make a short progression to the edge of the heights in order to cover the left of the 26th. The 4th Division was not to advance. In the centre, between our 4th and 5th Army Corps, was the 2d French Colonial Corps, Major Gen. E. J. Blondlat commanding, covering a front of forty kilometers with three small French divisions. These troops were to follow up the retirement of the enemy from the tip of the salient.

ADVANCE AT DAWN

The French independent air force was at my disposal, which, together with the British bombing squadrons and our own air forces, gave us the largest assemblage of aviation that had ever been engaged in one operation. Our heavy guns were able to reach Metz and to interfere seriously with German rail movements.

At dawn on Sept. 12, after four hours of violent artillery fire of preparation, and accompanied by small tanks, the infantry of the 1st and 4th Corps advanced. The infantry of the 5th Corps commenced its advance at 8 A. M. The operation was carried out with entire precision. Just after daylight on Sept. 13 elements of the 1st and 26th Divisions made a junction near Hattonchâtel and Vigneulles, eighteen kilometers northeast of St. Mihiel.

The rapidity with which our divisions advanced overwhelmed the enemy, and all objectives were reached by the afternoon of Sept. 13. The enemy had apparently started

to withdraw some of his troops from the tip of the salient on the eve of our attack, but had been unable to carry it through. We captured nearly 16,000 prisoners, 443 guns, and large stores of material and supplies. The energy and swiftness with which the operation was carried out enabled us to smother opposition to such an extent that we suffered less than 7,000 casualties during the actual period of the advance.

During the next two days the right of our line west of the Moselle River was advanced beyond the objectives laid down in the original orders. This completed the operation for the time being and the line was stabilized to be held by the smallest practicable force.

RESULTS OF THE BATTLE

The material results of the victory achieved were very important. An American army was an accomplished fact, and the enemy had felt its power. No form of propaganda could overcome the depressing effect on the morale of the enemy of this demonstration of our ability to organize a large American force and drive it successfully through his defenses. It gave our troops implicit confidence in their superiority and raised their morale to the highest pitch. For the first time wire entanglements ceased to be regarded as impassable barriers and open-warfare training, which had been so urgently insisted upon, proved to be the correct doctrine. Our divisions concluded the attack with such small losses and in such high spirits that without the usual rest they were immediately available for employment in heavy fighting in a new theatre of operations. The strength of the First Army in this battle totaled approximately 500,000 men, of whom about 70,000 were French.

Battling to Break Hindenburg Line

The definite decision for the Meuse-Argonne phase of the great allied convergent attack was agreed to in my conference with Marshal Foch and General Pétain on Sept. 2. It was planned to use all available forces of the First Army, including such divisions and troops as we might be able to withdraw from the St. Mihiel front. The army was to break through the enemy's successive fortified zones to include the Kriemhilde Stellung, or Hindenburg line, on the front Briailles-Romagne sous Montfaucon-Grand Pré, and thereafter, by developing pressure toward Mézières, was to insure the fall of the Hindenburg line along the Aisne River in front of the Fourth French Army, which was to attack to the west of the Argonne Forest. A penetration of some twelve to fifteen kilometers was required to reach the Hindenburg line on our front, and the enemy's defenses were virtually continuous throughout that depth.

The Meuse-Argonne front had been practically stabilized in September, 1914, and, except for minor fluctuations during the German attacks on Verdun in 1916 and the French counteroffensive in August, 1917, remained unchanged until the American advance in 1918. The net result of the four years' struggle on this ground was a German defensive system of unusual depth and strength and a wide zone of utter devastation, itself a serious obstacle to offensive operations.

The strategical importance of this portion of the line was second to none on the western front. All supplies and evacuations of the German armies in Northern France were dependent upon two great railway systems—one in the north, passing through Liège, the other in the south, with lines coming from Luxemburg, Thionville, and Metz, had as its vital section the line Carignan-Sedan-Mézières. No other important lines were

available to the enemy, as the mountainous masses of the Ardennes made the construction of east and west lines through that region impracticable. The Carignan-Sedan-Mézières line was essential to the Germans for the rapid strategical movement of troops. Should this southern system be cut by the Allies before the enemy could withdraw his forces through the narrow neck between Mézières and the Dutch frontier, the ruin of his armies in France and Belgium would be complete.

From the Meuse-Argonne front the perpendicular distance to the Carignan-Mézières railroad was 50 kilometers. This region formed the pivot of German operations in Northern France, and the vital necessity of covering the great railroad line into Sedan resulted in the convergence on the Meuse-Argonne front of the successive German defensive positions. The effect of this convergence can be best understood by reference to the map. It will be seen, for example, that the distance between No Man's Land and the third German withdrawal position in the vicinity of the Meuse River was approximately 18 kilometers; the distance between the corresponding points near the tip of the great salient of the western front was about 65 kilometers, and in the vicinity of Cambrai was over 30 kilometers. The effect of a penetration of 18 kilometers by the American Army would be equivalent to an advance of 65 kilometers further west; furthermore, such an advance on our front was far more dangerous to the enemy than an advance elsewhere. The vital importance of this portion of his position was fully appreciated by the enemy, who had suffered tremendous losses in 1916 in attempting to improve it by the reduction of Verdun. As a consequence it had been elaborately fortified, and consisted of practically a continuous series of positions 20 kilometers or more in depth.

In addition to the artificial defenses, the enemy was greatly aided by the natural features of the terrain. East of the Meuse the dominating heights not only protected his left, but gave him positions from which powerful artillery could deliver an oblique fire on the western bank. Batteries located in the elaborately fortified Argonne Forest covered his right flank, and could cross their fire with that of the guns on the east bank of the Meuse. Midway between the Meuse and the forest the heights of Montfaucon offered observation and formed a strong natural position which had been heavily fortified. The east and west ridges abutting on the Meuse and Air River valleys afforded the enemy excellent machine-gun positions for the desperate defense which the importance of the position would require him to make. North of Montfaucon densely wooded and rugged heights constituted natural features favorable to defensive fighting.

When the First Army became engaged in the simultaneous preparation for two major operations an interval of fourteen days separated the initiation of the two attacks. Dur-

ing this short period the movement of the immense number of troops and the amount of supplies, and confined entirely to the hours of darkness, was one of the most delicate and difficult problems of war. The concentration included fifteen divisions, of which seven were involved in the pending St. Mihiel drive, three were in sector in the Vosges, three in the neighborhood of Soissons, one in a training area and one near Bar-le-Duc. Practically all the artillery, aviation and other auxiliaries to be employed in the new operations were committed to the St. Mihiel attack and, therefore, could not be moved until its success was assured. The concentration of all units not to be used at St. Mihiel was commenced immediately, and on Sept. 13, the second day of St. Mihiel, reserve divisions and artillery units were withdrawn and placed in motion toward the Argonne front.

MOVING TOWARD ARGONNE FOREST

That part of the American sector from Fresnes-en-Woevre, southeast of Verdun, to the western edge of the Argonne Forest, while nominally under my control, did not actively become a part of my command until Sept. 22, on which date my headquarters were established at Souilly, southwest of Verdun. Of French troops, in addition to the 2d French Colonial Corps, composed of three divisions, there was also the 17th French Corps of three divisions holding the front north and east of Verdun.

At the moment of the opening of the Meuse-Argonne battle the enemy had ten divisions in line and ten in reserve on the front between Fresnes-en-Woevre and the Argonne Forest, inclusive. He had undoubtedly expected a continuation of our advance toward Metz. Successful ruses were carried out between the Meuse River and Lunéville to deceive him as to our intentions, and French troops were maintained as a screen along our front until the night before the battle, so that the actual attack was a tactical surprise.

The operations in the Meuse-Argonne battle really form a continuous whole, but they extended over such a long period of continuous fighting that they will here be considered in three phases, the first from Sept. 26 to Oct. 3, the second from Oct. 4 to 31, and the third from Nov. 1 to 11.

FIRST FIGHTING IN ARGONNE

On the night of Sept. 25 the nine divisions to lead in the attack were deployed between the Meuse River and the western edge of the Argonne Forest. On the right was the 3d Corps, Major Gen. Bullard commanding, with the 33d, 80th and 4th Divisions in line; next came the 5th Corps, Major Gen. Cameron commanding, with the 79th, 37th and 91st Divisions; on the left was the 1st Corps, Major Gen. Liggett commanding, with the 35th, 28th and 77th Divisions. Each corps had one division in reserve and the army held

three divisions as a general reserve. About 2,700 guns, 189 small tanks, 142 manned by Americans, and 821 airplanes, 604 manned by Americans, were concentrated to support the attack of the infantry. We thus had a superiority in guns and aviation, and the enemy had no tanks.

The axis of the attack was the line Montfaucon-Bomagne-Buzancy, the purpose being to make the deepest penetration in the centre, which, with the Fourth French Army advancing west of the Argonne, would force the enemy to evacuate that forest without our having to deliver a heavy attack in that difficult region.

Following three hours of violent artillery fire of preparation, the infantry advanced at 5:30 A. M. on Sept. 26, accompanied by tanks. During the first two days of the attack, before the enemy was able to bring up his reserves, our troops made steady progress through the network of defenses. Montfaucon was held tenaciously by the enemy and was not captured until noon of the second day.

By the evening of the 28th a maximum advance of eleven kilometers had been achieved and we had captured Baulny, Epinonville, Septsarges, and Dannevoux. The right had made a splendid advance into the woods south of Briulles-sur-Meuse, but the extreme left was meeting strong resistance in the Argonne. The attack continued without interruption, meeting six new divisions which the enemy threw into the first line before Sept. 29. He developed a powerful machine-gun defense supported by heavy artillery fire, and made frequent counterattacks with fresh troops, particularly on the front of the 28th and 35th Divisions. These divisions had taken Varennes, Cheppy, Baulny, and Charpentry, and the line was within two kilometers of Apremont. We were no longer engaged in a manoeuvre for the pinching out of a salient, but were necessarily committed, generally squeaking, to a direct frontal attack against strong, hostile positions fully manned by a determined enemy.

By nightfall of the 29th the First Army line was approximately Bois de la Côte Lemont-Nantillois-Apremont-southwest across the Argonne. Many divisions, especially those in the centre that were subjected to cross-fire of artillery, had suffered heavily. The severe fighting, the nature of the terrain over which they attacked, and the fog and darkness sorely tried even our best divisions. On the night of the 29th the 37th and 79th Divisions were relieved by the 32d and 3d Divisions, respectively, and on the following night the 1st Division relieved the 35th Division.

The critical problem during the first few days of the battle was the restoration of communications over No Man's Land. There were but four roads available across this deep zone, and the violent artillery fire of the previous period of the war had virtually destroyed them. The spongy soil and

the lack of material increased the difficulty. But the splendid work of our engineers and pioneers soon made possible the movement of the troops, artillery, and supplies most needed. By the afternoon of the 27th all the divisional artillery except a few batteries of heavy guns had effected a passage and was supporting the infantry action.

SECOND PHASE OF BATTLE

At 5:30 A. M. on Oct. 4 the general attack was renewed. The enemy divisions on the front from Fresnes-en-Woeve to the Argonne had increased from ten in the first line to sixteen, and included some of his best divisions. The fighting was desperate, and only small advances were realized, except by the 1st Division, on the right of the 1st Corps. By evening of Oct. 5 the line was approximately Bois de la Côte Lemont-Bois du Fays-Gesnes-Hill 240-Fleville-Chehery-southwest through the Argonne.

It was especially desirable to drive the enemy from his commanding positions on the heights east of the Meuse, but it was even more important that we should force him to use his troops there and weaken his tenacious hold on positions in our immediate front. The further stabilization of the new St. Mihiel line permitted the withdrawal of certain divisions for the extension of the Meuse-Argonne operation to the east bank of the Meuse River.

On the 7th the 1st Corps, with the 82d Division added, launched a strong attack northwest toward Cornay, to draw attention from the movement east of the Meuse and at the same time outflank the German position in the Argonne. The following day the 17th French Corps, Major Gen. Claudel commanding, initiated its attack east of the Meuse against the exact point on which the German armies must pivot in order to withdraw from Northern France. The troops encountered elaborate fortifications and stubborn resistance, but by nightfall had realized an advance of six kilometers to a line well within the Bois de Consenvoye, and including the villages of Beaumont and Hautmont. Continuous fighting was maintained along our entire battlefront, with especial success on the extreme left, where the capture of the greater part of the Argonne Forest was completed. The enemy contested every foot of ground on our front in order to make more rapid retirements further west and withdraw his forces from Northern France before the interruption of his railroad communications through Sedan.

REPLACEMENTS INSUFFICIENT

We were confronted at this time by an insufficiency of replacements to build up exhausted divisions. Early in October combat units required some 90,000 replacements, and not more than 45,000 would be available before Nov. 1 to fill the existing and prospective vacancies. We still had two divisions

with the British and two with the French. A review of the situation, American and allied, especially as to our own resources in men for the next two months, convinced me that the attack of the First Army and of the allied armies further west should be pushed to the limit. But if the First Army was to continue its aggressive tactics our divisions then with the French must be recalled, and replacements must be obtained by breaking up newly arrived divisions.

In discussing the withdrawal of our divisions from the French with Marshal Foch and General Pétain on Oct. 10 the former expressed his appreciation of the fact that the First Army was striking the pivot of the German withdrawal, and also held the view that the allied attack should continue. General Pétain agreed that the American divisions with the French were essential to us if we were to maintain our battle against the German pivot. The French were, however, straining every nerve to keep up their attacks and, before those divisions with the French had been released, it became necessary for us to send the 37th and 91st Divisions from the First Army to assist the Sixth French Army in Flanders.

OVER ONE MILLION AMERICANS IN BATTLE

At this time the First Army was holding a front of more than 120 kilometers; its strength exceeded 1,000,000 men; it was engaged in the most desperate battle of our history, and the burden of command was too heavy for a single commander and staff. Therefore, on Oct. 12, that portion of our front extending from Port-sur-Seille, east of the Moselle, to Fresnes-en-Woevre, southeast of Verdun, was transferred to the newly constituted Second Army, with Lieut. Gen. Robert L. Bullard in command, under whom it began preparations for the extension of operations to the east in the direction of Briey and Metz. On Oct. 16 the command of the First Army was transferred to Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett, and my advance headquarters was established at Ligny-en-Barrois, from which the command of the group of American armies was exercised.

HINDENBURG LINE BROKEN

Local attacks of the First Army were continued in order particularly to adjust positions preparatory to a renewed general assault. The 1st and 5th Divisions were relieved by the 42d and 18th Divisions, which were now fresh. An attack along the whole front was made on Oct. 11. The resistance encountered was stubborn, but the stronghold on Côte Dame Marie was captured and the Hindenburg line was broken. Cunel and Romagne-sous-Montfaucon were taken and the line advanced two kilometers north of Sommerance. A maximum advance of seventeen kilometers had been made since Sept. 26 and the enemy had been forced to throw into the fight a total of fifteen reserve divisions.

During the remainder of the month important local operations were carried out, which involved desperate fighting. The 1st Corps, Major Gen. Dickman commanding, advanced through Grand Pré; the 5th Corps, Major Gen. Charles P. Summerall commanding, captured the Bois de Bantheville; the 3d Corps, Major Gen. John L. Hines commanding, completed the occupation of Cunel Heights, and the 17th French Corps drove the enemy from the main ridge south of La Grande Montagne. Particularly heavy fighting occurred east of the Meuse on Oct. 18, and in the further penetration of the Kriemhilde-Stellung on Oct. 23 the 26th Division, entering the battle at this time, relieved the 18th French Division.

THE RESULTS

Summarizing the material results which had been attained by the First Army by the end of October, we had met an increasing number of Germany's best divisions, rising from twenty in line and reserve on Sept. 26, to thirty-one on Oct. 31; the enemy's elaborately prepared positions, including the Hindenburg line, in our front had been broken; the almost impassable Argonne Forest was in our hands; an advance of twenty-one kilometers had been effected; 18,600 prisoners, 370 cannon, 1,000 machine guns, and a mass of material captured, and the great railway artery through Carignan to Sedan was now seriously threatened.

The demands of incessant battle which had been maintained day by day for more than a month had compelled our divisions to fight to the limit of their capacity. Combat troops were held in line and pushed to the attack until deemed incapable of further effort because of casualties or exhaustion; artillery once engaged was seldom withdrawn, and many batteries fought until practically all the animals were casualties and the guns were towed out of line by motor trucks.

The American soldier had shown unrivaled fortitude in this continuous fighting during most inclement weather and under many disadvantages of position. Through experience, the army had developed into a powerful and smooth-running machine, and there was a supreme confidence in our ability to carry through the task successfully.

While the high pressure of these dogged attacks was a great strain on our troops, it was calamitous to the enemy. His divisions had been thrown into confusion by our furious assaults, and his morale had been reduced until his will to resist had well-nigh reached the breaking point. Once a German division was engaged in the fight, it became practically impossible to effect its relief. The enemy was forced to meet the constantly recurring crisis by breaking up tactical organizations and sending hurried detachments to widely separated portions of the field.

Every member of the American Expeditionary Forces, from the front line to the

base ports, was straining every nerve. Magnificent efforts were exerted by the entire Services of Supply to meet the enormous demands made on it. Obstacles which seemed insurmountable were overcome daily in expediting the movements of replacements, ammunition and supplies to the front, and of sick and wounded to the rear. It was this spirit of determination animating every American soldier that made it impossible for the enemy to maintain the struggle until 1919.

THIRD PHASE

The detailed plans for the operations of the allied armies on the western front changed from time to time during the course of this great battle, but the mission of the First American Army to cut the great Carignan-Sedan-Mézières railroad remained unchanged. Marshal Foch co-ordinated the operations along the entire front, continuing persistently and unceasingly the attacks by all allied armies; the Belgian Army, with a French army and two American divisions, advancing eastward; the British armies and two American divisions, with the First French Army on their right, toward the region north of Givet; the First American Army and Fourth French Army toward Sedan and Mézières.

On the 21st my instructions were issued to start the First Army to prepare thoroughly for a general attack on Oct. 28 that would be decisive, if possible. In order that the attack of the First Army and that of the Fourth French Army on its left should be simultaneous, our attack was delayed until Nov. 1. The immediate purpose of the First Army was to take Buzancy and the heights of Barricourt, to turn the forest north of Grand Pré, and to establish contact with the Fourth French Army near Boulton-aux-Bois. The army was directed to carry the heights of Barricourt by nightfall of the first day and then to exploit this success by advancing its left to Boulton-aux-Bois in preparation for the drive toward Sedan. By strenuous effort all available artillery had been moved well forward to the heights previously occupied by the enemy, from which it could fully cover and support the initial advance of the infantry.

On this occasion, and for the first time, the army prepared for its attack under normal conditions. We held the front of the attack, and were not under the necessity of taking over a new front, with its manifold installations and services. Our own personnel handled the communications, dumps, telegraph lines, and water service; our divisions were either on the line or close in the rear; the French artillery, aviation, and technical troops, which had previously made up our deficiencies, had been largely replaced by our own organizations, and now our army, corps, and divisional staffs were by actual experience second to none.

FOE'S LAST DEFENSE

On the morning of Nov. 1 three army corps were in line between the Meuse River and the Bois de Bourgogne. On the right the 3d Corps had the 5th and 90th Divisions; the 5th Corps occupied the centre of the line, with the 89th and 2d Divisions, and was to be the wedge of the attack on the first day, and on the left the 1st Corps deployed the 80th, 77th, and 78th Divisions.

Preceded by two hours of violent artillery preparation, the infantry advanced, closely followed by "accompanying guns." The artillery acquitted itself magnificently, the barrages being so well co-ordinated and so dense that the enemy was overwhelmed and quickly submerged by the rapid onslaught of the infantry. By nightfall the 5th Corps, in the centre, had realized an advance of almost nine kilometers, to the Bois de la Folle, and had completed the capture of the Heights of Barricourt, while the 3d Corps, on the right, had captured Alcreville and Andevanne. Our troops had broken through the enemy's last defense, captured his artillery positions, and had precipitated a retreat of the German forces about to be isolated in the forest north of Grand Pré. On the 2d and 3d we advanced rapidly against heavy fighting on the front of the right and centre corps; to the left the troops of the 1st Corps hurried forward in pursuit, some by motor trucks, while the artillery pressed along the country roads close behind. Our heavy artillery was skillfully brought into position to fire upon the Carignan-Sedan railroad and the junctions at Longuyon and Conflans. By the evening of the 4th our troops had reached La Neuville, opposite Stenay, and had swept through the great Forêt de Dieulet, reaching the outskirts of Beaumont, while on the left we were eight kilometers north of Boulton-aux-Bois.

The following day the advance continued toward Sedan with increasing swiftness. The 3d Corps, turning eastward, crossed the Meuse in a brilliant operation by the 5th Division, driving the enemy from the heights of Dun-sur-Meuse and forcing a general withdrawal from the strong positions he had so long held on the hills north of Verdun.

APPEALS FOR ARMISTICE

By the 7th the right of the 3d Corps had exploited its river crossing to a distance of ten kilometers east of the Meuse, completely ejecting the enemy from the wooded heights and driving him out into the swampy plain of the Woevre; the 5th and 1st Corps had reached the line of the Meuse River along their respective fronts and the left of the latter corps held the heights dominating Sedan, the strategical goal of the Meuse-Argonne operation, forty-one kilometers from our point of departure on Nov. 1. We had cut the enemy's main line of communications. Recognizing that nothing but a cessation of hostilities could save his armies from complete disaster, he appealed for an immediate armistice on Nov. 6.

Meanwhile general plans had been prepared for the further employment of American forces in an advance between the Meuse and the Moselle, to be directed toward Longwy by the First Army, while the Second Army was to assume the offensive toward the Briey Iron Basin. Orders directing the preparatory local operations involved in this enterprise were issued on Nov. 5.

Between the 7th and 10th of November the 3d Corps continued its advance eastward to Remolville, while the 17th French Corps, on its right, with the 79th, 26th, and 81st American Divisions, and two French divisions, drove the enemy from his final foothold on the heights east of the Meuse. At 9 P. M. on Nov. 9 appropriate orders were sent to the First and Second Armies in accordance with the following telegram from Marshal Foch to the commander of each of the allied armies:

"The enemy, disorganized by our repeated attacks, retreats along the entire front.

"It is important to co-ordinate and expedite our movements.

"I appeal to the energy and the initiative of the Commanders in Chief and of their armies to make decisive the results obtained."

NOV. 11, 1918

In consequence of the foregoing instructions our Second Army pressed the enemy along its entire front. On the night of the 10th-11th and the morning of the 11th the 5th Corps, in the First Army, forced a crossing of the Meuse east of Beaumont and gained the commanding heights within the re-entrant of the river, thus completing our control of the Meuse River line. At 6 A. M. on the 11th notification was received from Marshal Foch's headquarters that the armistice had been signed and that hostilities would cease at 11 A. M. Preparatory measures had already been taken to insure the

prompt transmission to the troops of the announcement of an armistice. However, the advance east of Beaumont on the morning of the 11th had been so rapid and communication across the river was so difficult that there was some fighting on isolated portions of that front after 11 A. M.

GREAT ODDS OVERCOME

Between Sept. 26 and Nov. 11, twenty-two American and four French divisions, on the front extending from southeast of Verdun to the Argonne Forest, had engaged and decisively beaten forty-seven different German divisions, representing 25 per cent. of the enemy's entire divisional strength on the western front. Of these enemy divisions, twenty had been drawn from the French front and one from the British front. Of the twenty-two American divisions, twelve had, at different times during this period, been engaged on fronts other than our own. The First Army suffered a loss of about 117,000 in killed and wounded. It captured 26,000 prisoners, 847 cannon, 3,000 machine guns, and large quantities of material.

The dispositions which the enemy made to meet the Meuse-Argonne offensive, both immediately before the opening of the attack and during the battle, demonstrated the importance which he ascribed to this section of the front and the extreme measures he was forced to take in its defense. From the moment the American offensive began until the armistice his defense was desperate and the flow of his divisions to our front was continuous.

[THIS COMPLETES THE REPORT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE FIRST ARMY. GENERAL PERSHING THEN TAKES UP THE SECOND AMERICAN ARMY AND THE OTHER BRANCHES OF THE SERVICE IN THE CONCLUDING HALF OF HIS REPORT. THIS WILL BE PRINTED IN FEBRUARY CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.—THE EDITOR.]

Work of American Mine Sweepers

Removing the North Sea Barrage

THE United States Navy's mine-sweeping fleet was reviewed by Secretary Daniels Nov. 24, 1919, in the Hudson River. Fifty-nine vessels were in the review, and later in the day 1,500 enlisted men of the crews were entertained at luncheon in the Hotel Astor by the Knights of Columbus. The last great task of this unique fleet had been that of taking up more than 50,000 mines in an area of 250 square miles in the North Sea.

Lieutenant Dudley A. Nichols, U. S. N. R. F., in describing the methods employed in this dangerous work explained that an elementary form of sweep might consist merely of a heavy steel cable having each of its ends made fast to a tug, so that with the two tugs steaming abreast of each other this cable would catch the mooring ropes of any mines within the area between them. Then the mines would be dragged along and in all probability the mooring ropes would

finally part, allowing the buoyant mines to float to the surface.

To sweep a considerable area, however, he stated, the sweeping tugs must proceed with all possible speed, and as soon as this is done the horizontal water pressure against the cable lifts it to the surface, with the result that the mines are passed over. To overcome this the kite principle was adopted, but the kite was made to dive instead of fly. The water pressure on a mine-sweeping kite causes it to dive just as the wind pressure on an ordinary box kite lifts it up high into the air.

A huge steel kite weighing 1,800 pounds was towed by each sweeper to attain the level of the deepest mines in the North Sea barrage, which were laid at the maximum depth to which a modern submarine dare submerge.

Just as lengthening the string to an ordinary kite will cause it to rise, lengthening the cable by which the water kite is towed causes it to dive deeper; and it is by this simple means that the mine sweepers are enabled to cut off mines at any desired depth. These vessels always work in pairs, the sweep for each pair comprising a kite towed by a wire rope from each ship and a steel cable stretched between the two kites. The wire rope is called the kite wire, while the steel cable takes the name of sweep wire.

During the war, when mine sweepers were called upon to sweep mines on a scale never known before, it was found that an ordinary steel cable would not cut the mine mooring ropes as quickly as desired. To meet the demand for a better cable, saw-toothed wire, which acts like a huge flexible file and cuts the mine moorings a few seconds after contact, was developed. This wire was used solely in the operations in the North Sea.

The actual plan followed in the North

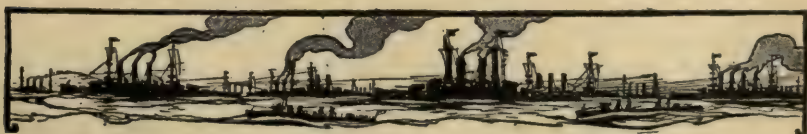
Sea was explained by Lieutenant Nichols as follows: In each pair one ship would slow down slightly while her mate came alongside until they were running abreast about fifty feet apart. A handline was heaved across the gap between them, the end of the sweep wire hauled over and shackled to its other half, and as they diverged the wire was rapidly paid out. The kites were launched with a great splash, and the sweepers wheeled into the lines of mines, maintaining a constant separation of four or five hundred yards.

It was at this moment that pandemonium would begin. Mines exploded in the sweep ahead, astern, on the beam, and everywhere except directly underneath. The sea suddenly would become a Pandora's box, teeming with evil spirits of noise and demolition.

It is inconceivable that any ships can endure such tremendous shocks without sustaining serious damage. So severe is the shock from a deep-level mine a hundred yards distant that it is as if a prodigious blow has been suddenly struck on the ship's keel by a colossal hammer.

A half mile astern of each pair of sweepers came a little sub-chaser whose duty it was to sink all mines which were cut off and floated to the surface. To accomplish this a half dozen men were kept busy firing service rifles.

Thousands of fish were stunned or killed by the explosions, and the sub-chasers found time to pick up a deckload of these of a size, variety, and excellence to tempt an epicure. At night they generously distributed this cargo of fresh food among the sweepers, and as a result the sub-chasers came to be dubbed the "fishboats." The seagulls quickly discovered this unlimited source of delicate food, and became fast friends and followers of the mine sweepers.



Vienna's Agony

By PHILIP GIBBS

Mr. Gibbs visited Vienna in November. The following account of the tragic scenes he witnessed is printed in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by arrangement with The London Chronicle:

I CAME by train to Vienna—a journey of twenty-four hours—through the new Republic of Yugoslavia; in a train dragged by an engine which staggered and panted along with a lack of fuel, and stopped abruptly, with frightful jerks, in desolate places with distant views of rain-swept hills.

There was no food in the train, nor time to get it, if any were there in wayside stations. The carriages were crowded, and men, women, and children were packed in the corridors all through a night and day. The babies screamed, and their mothers could not feed them. * * * I wondered why all these people were coming to Vienna. I wonder still, for Vienna has no room for them, no food for them, no fuel, no trade, no money, and no hope for any of them.

There are two and a half million people in Vienna, out of a population of six million in the republic, to which Austria has now been reduced. More are crowding into the city every day, and not leaving—by reason of some strange freak of social psychology, at which I can only guess—a desire for a mad kind of gayety in their world of ruin, a herding together of doomed people, the old spirit which in times of plague made men “eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die.”

CITY OF DREADFUL NIGHT

On my first night in Vienna an enormous gloom seemed to encompass me when I went out into the streets—those streets which I remember so full of light and gayety and music before the war. Only a few lights glimmered. The great arc lamps were not burning. At 6 o'clock all the shops were shut. Not many people were about in the darkness. Truly, I thought, I have come to a city of tragedy.

Now, after other nights, I know that this is a city of tragedy, more tragic

than any city I know in the world after the years of war, filled with masses of people who exist in semi-starvation, on the verge of absolute starvation, and with children fed by the charity of people who were their enemies in war, yet not fed enough in spite of an organization of relief—American and British—wonderfully administered and enormous in its scope.

I have seen the valour of men and women striving ceaselessly to cope with the vast sum of misery seething around them in this City of Vienna, but not doing much more, as they acknowledge, than touching the surface of the morass, by a temporary relief which does not cure the spreading and deep-rooted evil of hunger and disease.

The American Relief Committee provided 20 million meals to the starving children of Austria between May 16 and Sept. 30, 1919. That is an astounding achievement.

The British Mission, working with less funds, but with quiet and persistent endeavor to postpone the justice of “reparation” to the immediate needs of a stricken people, have helped in the way of transport and supplies to give a chance of life to a population which otherwise would die.

But beyond all these efforts, overpowering them, is the state of Austria after the war, entirely isolated, hemmed in by unfriendly neighbors, deprived of natural wealth, without industries in her great capital, and ruined so utterly that her Treasury notes are hardly better than waste paper.

PALACE A SOUP KITCHEN

The palace of the Belvedere belonged to the Archduke Franz Ferdinand—he who was murdered at Serajevo, where the spark lit the powder magazine which spread flame and fury through Europe

on a day of August in 1914. Now it is a soup kitchen for starving children fed by American relief; and when I went there 1,100 of those little ones were having their first meal of the day—the only meal for most of them—and saying “Gruss Gott” before they dipped their spoons.

The broad boulevards of Vienna are still thronged by people with their heads bent today against the driving blizzard of snow. The cafés and restaurants are crowded with people who come for warmth, light, music and smuggled food, for which they pay great prices. Many of these people are foreigners—Czechs and Slovaks, and Croats, and Serbians, and Italians—who come like vultures to feed on the corpse of Austrian finance, changing their own money into four, five or ten times the number of Austrian kronen.

Others are Viennese profiteers who gathered much bulk of paper money while the old empire was dying, and now are eating it up in a prodigal way, shrugging their shoulders at the future while they fill their stomachs.

Others are middle-class folk who, after a breakfast of corn coffee and black bread, a midday meal of cabbage soup, and a dinner of boiled cabbage, and other green stuff, come hungry into the gilded rooms of these restaurants to linger over a cup of coffee with a glass of water, while they listen for hours to light music, and under the glitter of the chandeliers get a little warmth for their bodies and souls.

Outside, in the thickly populated districts beyond the boulevards, in small middle-class homes and workmen's tenements, there is no kind of pretense at gayety, no “camouflage” of misery. There is poverty, naked and cold. There is hunger which is just less than starvation, and disease just this side of death, and the certain knowledge that, unless “something happens” quickly, they will be in the hands of Famine, which has been staved off, so far, week by week, by foreign relief, a hand-to-mouth supply of Government stocks—on a day last month they had only five days' supply ahead—and by a desperate system of small smuggling.

MISERY BEYOND WORDS

Before I came to Vienna I had read horrible things about the conditions of the city, and believed they might be exaggerated by philanthropic, humanitarian people, anxious to arouse emotion for the sake of their funds. Now, I know by personal investigation that, so far from exaggerating, it is impossible to convey to the outside world anything like the extent and depth of misery into which the Viennese have fallen.

It is impossible for me after all my investigations—and I have been diligent—to know how these people of Vienna are able to live. Frankly, I cannot understand how, in such conditions, they keep body and soul together.

Look at a few simple, appalling facts, as I have found them.

There are 100,000 men out of work in Vienna at the present time, drawing from 5 to 15 kronen (5 to 15 cents of our money, according to the present rate of exchange).

There are 6,000 homeless families.

There are 2,500,000 people, of whom 2,000,000 at least live without meat, butter, milk, or any kind of fat.

Eighty-three per cent. of the children suffer from rickets, so badly bulbous-headed that many are deformed; and

No children over one year of age get any allowance of milk. Children under one year of age are allowed one litre of milk per day; but, as a rule, do not get more than half a litre.

The bread ration for each person is two pounds a week. No potatoes can be obtained by the great mass of people, and those who get them smuggle them.

In a cold climate (with snow already in the streets of Vienna, Nov. 8, 1919) the people are miserably clad in cotton clothes, and many children are bare-legged, so that one sees them shivering in the streets, blue to the lips with cold. There is no coal for factories or dwelling houses.

The middle classes are worse off than the artisan class, so that whereas the mechanic gets 300 kronen a week, the professor, teacher, clerk, journalist and small professional man gets no more than 150 to 250 kronen a week. These

figures do not mean much until one knows the purchasing power of the kronen. Then they mean black poverty, daily hunger, hopelessness.

EMACIATED BABIES

I spoke today to a medical officer in charge of an infant welfare centre. He had been showing me the emaciated condition of the babies brought in by half-starved mothers, who were buying tins of condensed milk and cocoa supplied at a cheap rate by the Society of Friends, who are doing very noble work in Vienna.

He pointed out the babies suffering from eczema, rickets, scrofula, and then suddenly he began to tell me about his own conditions of life.

I earn 300 kronen a week [he said], and I have to keep up the appearance of a gentleman. To get this old suit of mine turned cost 600 kronen. A new suit is beyond my means altogether. It costs 2,000 kronen. A shirt costs 120 kronen, a pair of boots 400. I cannot afford to buy meat at 14 kronen for a veal cutlet or 16 kronen for a pork chop. I never eat meat. Potatoes are beyond my means at 7 kronen for two pounds. I live mainly on cabbage soup and bread. Is it any wonder that our young men and women are developing tuberculous disease in a frightful way and that the vitality of the people is being sapped so that they have no strength to work?

TERRIBLE NEED OF COAL

Coal is the supreme need—coal for cooking, coal for heating—and there is so little for the wards that the children have to be crowded together in rooms that can be heated only for two hours a day, and by this crowding do not get a proper chance of health.

Even with money they cannot get it. Transport fails. The trains themselves have no fuel; and the enemies of Austria—in Czechoslovakia—hold up trucks of coal labeled for Vienna, bought and paid for, and hinder them from passing.

I am writing of Austria, but beyond are Hungary and Russia, a vast Slav race, developing not only typhus and tuberculosis, but morbid passions and philosophies of despair.

Western Europe, "victors" of war, but with unhealed wounds, commercial ruin, and an after-war psychology susceptible to infectious ideas, had better take warn-

ing while there is time, before they, too, sicken of the fever.

The problems of Eastern Europe are hideously complicated and beyond settlement by statesmen bigger than those who made this muddle of misery. There are natural forces at work which can hardly be controlled—the surgings of many races, whose instincts of nationality are being exploited by political leaders for their own ends.

The people of Vienna are not without friends who, for humanity's sake, are devoting themselves to the relief of all this suffering. They are friends who were once counted as their enemies.

Since I have been in this city I have come in touch with the members of our own British mission, under Sir William Goode, which has done most admirable work by facilitating the transport of foodstuffs in Austria, Hungary, Serbia and other distressed countries by supplying large stocks of food at cost price to the Governments of these States, and by supporting the work of relief agencies.

I have also seen the work of the American Relief Committee, which is magnificently organized and of enormous help, and I have been in touch with the Society of Friends, and seen the devotion, the courage and the ability with which Dr. Hilda Clarke and her assistants are securing milk and food for poor mothers and babies.

All that is splendid as philanthropy, but the scale of the work that these people are doing is in itself a revelation of the mass of misery surrounding and overwhelming their efforts, and of the doom of a people which can be postponed a little, but not averted, by this charity.

The American Child-Relief Committee, directed by a young naval Lieutenant named Stockton, with three other colleagues—all fine men—is enormous in its scope and enterprise. It has established feeding centres and distributing centres in Vienna and outside districts for starving children between the ages of five and fifteen. In Vienna it is feeding 100,000 children, and another 100,000 in other parts. It has already supplied 20,000,000 meals to these hungry mouths of Austria. That is wonderful, and I have

seen few things more touching than the battalions of little ones who come for their midday dinner in the American centres.

There is the gratitude of dumb animals in their eyes for this gift of food, and they eat silently and earnestly as they sit together on the long wooden benches. But there are many thousands of children—I suppose 100,000 in Vienna—who do not get these meals.

"A LIMBLESS TRUNK"

All this charitable work is but a sop given to half-starved multitudes, while their state becomes more desperate, and their chances of recovery more unlikely. Vienna, to recover, needs coal for her factories, so that the people may work and produce manufactured articles in exchange for food. With her money fading

away to nothing in purchase power, she can buy neither coal nor raw material.

In any case, there can be no recovery in a city of 2,500,000 people isolated from all the natural resources and flow of wealth which created so great a capital. "A man who has had his legs cut off cannot walk," I was told by an Austrian man of letters. "We have had our legs cut off. We are but a limbless trunk."

Charity is good and kind. But Vienna asks for more than charity. She asks for a broad scheme of rescue by the great powers of Europe willing to give her long credit for money and raw material, so that she may regain some kind of vitality.

Before this I have never seen a city that was hopeless—and it is not good to see, unless we are those who lick our lips because vengeance is sweet.

Austria's Hunger Crisis

The Nation's Dangerous Plight

IN Austria the food and coal shortage was reported as remaining so extremely grave that only a large measure of assistance from America during the Winter could save hundreds of thousands from death. In order to conserve the scant coal supply in Vienna the City Government adopted the novel expedient of changing the age-old midday meal hour. Instead of dinner at noon, families in even-numbered houses were required to dine at 11:30 and those in odd-numbered houses at 12:30. Thus excessive pressure was avoided in the power plants, since at this season of the year midday lighting was necessary in the majority of dark houses. A large increase of burglaries and street hold-ups, together with shop-window smashing, was remarked as being entered on the police blotters, due to the dim lighting of the streets.

Serious bread riots broke out at Innsbruck. Hungry mobs of men, women, and children attacked the warehouses, hotels, restaurants, and shops, plundering and destroying. Italian carabinieri

protected the banks and Government granaries.

At the invitation of the Supreme Council in Paris Dr. Karl Renner, Austrian Chancellor, arrived in that capital on Dec. 11 to plead his country's dangerous plight. In an interview granted to The Associated Press, Dr. Renner said:

When I left Vienna we had only 9,000 tons of flour for six and three-quarter millions of people—a supply for six days only. Children are dying of hunger and cold, and 85 per cent. of those between 9 months and 3 years of age are suffering with rickets. The loss of weight on the part of nursing mothers is serious, resulting in the diminution of the nursing capacity.

Turning to the desperate condition of Austrian finance, Dr. Renner said:

We are now paying thirty prices for everything we buy. That is to say, the crown has depreciated to one-thirtieth of its normal value. At the same time we have exhausted our resources in securities, and we have nothing left but the resources, which, according to Article 197 of the Treaty of St. Germain, are mortgaged to the Allies for payment of reparations. * * *

I cannot leave Paris empty-handed. I

must go back with the assurance that my people will be fed, or else I must resign. It is a question of time. Austria may be likened to a sick man who is not permitted to call in a single physician, but is obliged to depend upon five acting together. One alone might arrive in time, but will all five be able to get together and apply the proper remedy before the patient succumbs? Whether Vienna has bread for Christmas depends upon the answer to the request made to Italy for the urgent shipment for all she can spare. Whether the whole of Austria is faced by famine by the middle of January depends upon quick action by the allied and associated powers.

RELIEF MEASURES ADOPTED

At a meeting of the Supreme Council at Paris, after Chancellor Renner had again explained the food situation, it was decided, on Dec. 16, to allow Austria a credit of \$70,000,000 for food, the relief to be furnished at the rate of \$9,500,000 monthly. It was agreed that the loan would be guaranteed by Great Britain, France, and Italy, unless the United States assumed the loan. Ambassador Wallace, who was present when the plan was agreed upon was unable to enter into any undertaking for the United States without instructions from his Government, but he cabled to Washington setting forth urgently the need of taking measures in Austria's behalf.

Dr. Renner received a letter from the Supreme Council signed by Premier Clemenceau, confirming a decision of the Supreme Council to maintain integrally the territory of the Republic of Austria as defined in the treaty of St. Germain.

The letter referred to the movements

tending toward the separation from the Republic of Vorarlberg, Salzburg, Tyrol, and Western Hungary, and declared the success of such movements in any of these territories would involve complete disintegration of Austria and destroy the equilibrium of Central Europe.

FEEDING CENTRAL EUROPE

Herbert Hoover, Food Commissioner, announced Dec. 17 that unless the United States gave credit for breadstuffs to Finland, Poland, Austria, and other nations in Central Europe, millions of people would starve. He advised that Congress allow the grain corporation to control the advance of wheat and flour on credit to the countries now in dire distress. Mr. Hoover said:

There can be no question that some 15,000,000 or 20,000,000 people in the larger cities of Finland, Poland, Austria, and other portions of Central Europe, outside Germany, are facing starvation unless some quick means can be discovered for their assistance. The bread ration in Vienna has already been reduced to three ounces per day and bread is 60 per cent. of the people's food.

We have in the United States a great surplus of wheat and flour in the hands of the Government Grain Corporation over and above our own possibility of consumption. This surplus of wheat and flour, in the ordinary course, would be sold to foreign countries for cash. The particular peoples mentioned above, owing to their economic situation, are totally unable to find cash. The question therefore arises as to whether we should not devise some method by which they may purchase on credit a certain amount of this surplus that will otherwise go solely to cash purchasers.

Hungary Under New Government

Recognized by the Allies

THE disturbed political situation in Hungary was somewhat relieved on Nov. 23 by the formation of a new Cabinet under the Christian Socialist, Carl Hussar, which included representatives of all parties. The former Premier, Stephen Friedrich, accepted the position of War Secretary. The other members of the Cabinet were:

Minister of the Interior—M. BENICZKY.
Minister of Public Instruction — STEFAN HALLER.
Minister of Agriculture—JULIUS RUBINEK.
Minister of Commerce—FRANZ HEINRICH.
Socialist Minister of Public Safety—KARL PAYER.
Minister of Foreign Affairs—COUNT SOMZICH.
Minister of Justice—DR. PARIZY.

Minister of National Minorities — JACOB BLEYER.
 Minister of War—STEPHEN FRIEDRICH.
 Minister of Finance—M. KORANYI.
 Minister of Supplies—STEFAN SZABO.
 Minister of Small Farmers — M. SOKO-SPATKA.

Upon announcement of this change of Government Sir George Clerk, the allied representative at Budapest, sent a note to M. Hussar, stating that the Allies were prepared to recognize the Cabinet as a Provisional Government with which the Supreme Council could negotiate until elections were held. Previously, it was reported, Sir George had informed the Premier that recognition of the Government depended on these conditions:

First, that elections be held without delay; second, that order be maintained; third, that the provisional borders of Hungary be respected; fourth, that legal equality be granted all citizens; fifth, liberty of the press and public opinion; sixth, free democratic elections, properly safeguarded.

The formation of the Hussar Coalition Cabinet seemed to have been the outcome of Sir George Clerk's successful efforts earlier in the month in bringing into a conference such political leaders as Admiral Horthy, commander of the Hungarian National Army, and MM. Lovassy, Szabo, Vazonyi and Garami, representing respectively the National Land Party, the Peasant Party, the National Democratic Party and the Social Democrats.

The trial of Communists at Budapest charged with crimes during the Bela Kun dictatorship began on Nov. 24. Cserny, commander of the "Lenin Boys," was the first to be placed on trial out of 16,000 accused. He denied many charges of executions, and gave instances in which, he declared, Bela Kun had given

explicit orders for murders. Before the court on the 28th a man named Sztenykowski, one of seventeen charged with the murder of Count Stephen Tisza in November, 1918, stated that Joseph Pogany, Minister of War in the Communist Government, had said to Count Tisza, "You are the author of the world war, in which so many have bled to death." According to Sztenykowski, Pogany then fired a shot at the Count, whereupon, the witness said, he and the others fired shots immediately. On Dec. 7 M. Kovacs, the Judge who had been investigating the facts concerning the murder of Count Tisza, committed suicide by jumping from a third-story window in the Court House. Judge Kovacs had been accused by the Extreme Socialists of suppressing evidence to show that former Premier Friedrich had knowledge that the murder of Count Tisza was purposed.

The sentencing of the Communists convicted of crimes during the Bela Kun dictatorship began on Dec. 12. Fourteen were sentenced to death by hanging, one to life imprisonment, and a large number to terms of various periods at hard labor.

A Budapest message of Dec. 7 stated that Brig. Gen. Harry H. Bandholtz, American member of the Interallied Military Commission, had informed the Pester Lloyd that Hungary might rely on the Entente's good-will in the Peace Treaty, and might expect material aid in restoring the economic situation. He added that the Entente was also firm in its intention to protect racial minorities, and that the United States would resume to the fullest extent the friendly relations existing with Hungary before the war.



Poland's Progress Toward Peace

Paderewski's Cabinet Resigns

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1919]

POLAND, the strongest of the new republics erected in the Baltic regions and Central Europe, has pursued her way of inner progress and outer defense against the forces of Bolshevism, despite many obstacles and some friction. Major Gen. Edgar Jadwin, a member of the American Mission sent to investigate reports of Polish excesses against the Jewish population, said on his return to the United States on Nov. 23:

As good order is being maintained in Poland at present as in the United States. There is a good system of gendarmes. The crops are fair, and they say there is enough food to carry them through the Winter. The trouble lies in the distribution of the food.

It seems marvelous the way the Poles have set to work. In one year they have accomplished many important results. They are laying the foundations for a splendid school system, with elementary and high schools and universities. They are doing their best to settle the land problem, which formerly was very bad, being based on the Russian system. The Government has declared its intention of buying the surplus land and selling it to the people.

I was impressed with the businesslike manner in which the Poles have gone about their affairs. What they accomplished was done because they had the backing of the Peace Conference. The Poles need raw materials, credit, and goods to keep their armies over the Winter campaign. As an instance, in Lodz there was a factory with 132,000 spindles. The Germans carried off all the belts attached to the spindles. In a similar way other factories need supplies and machinery to replace that which has been stolen.

ARMY HOLDS BOLSHEVIKI

At the middle of November the Polish Army was the only anti-Bolshevist army still winning victories against the forces of the Soviet Government; all others had been checked by the energetic Red campaigns. The Polish counteroffensive between the Dvina and the Beresina at that time was going well, and the Poles had regained all the ground lost in the Bolshevik drive of some three weeks before. Only some fifty miles separated

them from Denikin's army after their Volhynian victories. These successes were not the result of a withdrawal of Bolshevik forces on the Polish front, for the Poles still continued as before to engage from eight to nine Bolshevik divisions, besides irregular troops. A furious Bolshevik offensive on the Beresina continued all the time, while Petrograd was being threatened by the insufficiently supported advance of General Yudenitch on the former Russian capital; had these Red forces been released by Poland's inactivity, the defeat of the Yudenitch army would have been far more crushing and disastrous than it actually proved.

POLISH BOUNDARIES

The question of Polish boundaries still continued to preoccupy the Polish public mind. The policy adopted by the Paris Peace Conference of refusing to discuss the eastern frontiers of Poland until Russia had been reconstituted left Poland's aspirations indefinitely deferred. The views of General Pilsudski looked toward an early settlement of the boundary question and the establishment of a provisional régime for those portions of Lithuania, White Russia, and Volhynia whose civilization was Polish, and which had been reclaimed from Bolshevism by the Poles.

One solution of the East Galician problem believed to be in harmony with allied desires was the formation of two autonomous States to be set up beyond the Polish frontiers, and to be placed under a Polish protectorate for a period of twenty years, the Governors of each of these States to be appointed by the President of Poland, and the capitals to be fixed at Vilna and Lemberg (Lvov). M. Patek, the Polish Minister to Czechoslovakia, who was sent to Paris on Nov. 12 to take the place of M. Paderewski as Polish delegate to the conference, was commissioned to propound a solution of

the Polish frontier question along these lines.

Aggression of a Polish army in Lithuania was reported by the American Baltic Commissioner, Commander Gade, after a visit to Kovno, the Lithuanian capital, in the first week of December. Commander Gade and the British Commissioner, Colonel Tallents, had been there at the same time, and had found that the Polish Army had for several weeks been advancing into Lithuanian territory—in some places to a distance of thirty kilometers. The Poles also were continuing to hold Vilna, and were attempting to Polishize the town. A plot to overthrow the Lithuanian Government had resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of sixty Polish leaders. This whole phase of the Polish situation was summed up by a correspondent in these words:

A big Polish force is eating off its head with nothing legitimate to do, and the effect in Lithuania is deplorable. On the one hand, refugees and peasants, dispossessed of their land, swell the ranks of the homeless, workless and discontented. On the other hand, there is a natural feeling throughout the country that the Allies permit, or at least wink at, the ill-treatment Lithuania is receiving.

GERMAN EVACUATION

As for the boundary relations with Germany, these are to be adjusted in accordance with the lines laid down in the Treaty of Versailles and in accordance with a German-Polish agreement regarding evacuation. This latter agreement was signed in Berlin on Oct. 24 by Major Michelis, Chief of the Army Peace Commission in the Ministry of Defense, for Germany, and by Major General Count Lamezan for Poland. Its main points, as given in the German press, are as follows:

The Polish advance is to begin only on the seventh day after the depositing in Paris of the protocol of the ratification of the Peace Treaty by the principal powers. This day is to count as the first day of evacuation, from which the dates hereinafter given are to be reckoned.

During the first three days a narrow strip south of the Schoensee-Culmsee-Bromberg-Nakel-Usch line will be occupied by the Poles; at noon of the second day Thorn will be evacuated by the Germans.

Between the fourth and seventh days the entire district to be ceded east of the Vistula will be occupied, Culm being occupied on the sixth and Graudenz on the seventh. West of the Vistula, during the same period, Bromberg (on the fourth day), Nakel, Brotschin and Wirsitz, and the country to the north of it to the Culmsee line north of Zempelburg will be occupied.

The eighth day is a general day of rest. From the ninth to the twelfth day the Germans will evacuate the territory to the following line: South of Dirschau-Prussian Stargard-Czersk-south of Tuchel-south of Konitz.

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth day the district as far north as above Berent will be occupied by the Poles.

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth day the rest of the territory to be ceded will be evacuated as far as the sea. The movement in the individual zones will be arranged through agreements between the local German and Polish commands.

This agreement was made dependent upon the going into effect of the general treaty between Germany and Poland.

PADEREWSKI'S RESIGNATION

Administrative difficulties that had accumulated in the pathway of the Paderewski Government forced a crisis on Dec. 7, and, owing to lack of support, Premier Paderewski resigned after practically a year in power. After attempts of various party leaders to form another Ministry a Coalition Cabinet was announced on Dec. 15, with M. Skulski as Premier. The other members of the new Government were as follows:

Minister of War—General IESNICWSKI.
Minister of Finance—LADISLAS GRABSKI.
Minister of Justice—M. HEBDZYNSKI.
Minister of Public Instruction—M. IOPU-SZANSKI.
Minister of Commerce and Industry—ANTONY OLSZEWSKI.
Minister of Agriculture—FRANCIS BARDELL.
Minister of Transportation—CASIMIR KOYREE.
Minister of Posts—M. TOLLOSZKO.
Minister of Public Works—M. KENDZIOR.
Minister of Food—STANISLAS SLIWINSKI.
Minister of Labor—EDWARD OPOLOWSKI.
Minister for the Former Prussian Province—LADISLAS SEYDA.

During his occupancy of the Premiership M. Paderewski is declared to have shone more as a statesman and negotiator than as an administrator, this being especially apparent in his dealing with the Supreme Council in Paris. The time

had come, however, when Poland required men of strong administrative capacity to undertake the country's reconstruction. Dissatisfaction existed in the country over the Government's failure to make the progress expected of it, and strong hostility to it existed in the Diet.

In a letter to Brig. Gen. Joseph Pilsudski, Chief of State, Paderewski explained that this hostility, together with the loss of the support he had expected from some groups in the Diet, had made it impossible for him to form a strong Ministry. It is asserted that he also lost influence in the country through his failure to secure East Galicia for Poland. With his departure General Pilsudski was expected to become the leading spirit looking to Poland's future.

FREE CITY OF DANZIG

The question of the free city of Danzig still caused Poland much apprehension, in view of the arbitrary actions of the German Government of the city in stripping the place of all material, including ships, docks, &c., which, according to the terms of the Peace Treaty, should have been kept for equitable distribution between Germany and Poland at the time when the League of Nations came into being. The proposal of an ad interim Government had been rejected by the Germans on the ground that it was unnecessary, and that the city could be taken over directly by the League of Nations from the hands of the German régime. A Polish delegation composed of seventeen members, including ten Germans and seven Poles, and representing industrial and commercial circles in Danzig, arrived in Warsaw in November. This delegation assured the Danzig Polish Society in Warsaw that the future free city desired to remain in close contact with Poland.

Regarding Poland's Baltic policy, it was announced from Kovno on Dec. 10 that at Dorpat (Esthonia), where the delegates of the Baltic powers had assembled to discuss the question of an exchange of prisoners with the Bolshevik Government, the Polish delegates, in common with the representatives of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and White Russia, had declared themselves

in favor of a military and political convention to defend their independence.

In the United States an appeal for an American governmental loan for Poland, as well as for the other new nations in Central Europe, was made on Dec. 7 by John F. Smulski, President of the Polish National Committee of America, on the ground that Poland and the new sister republics had spent themselves in fighting the Bolshevik menace and Germany, had given all they had, were financially bankrupt, lacking in all raw materials, in fuel, clothing and food supplies, and that they should be helped materially without further delay to aid them to preserve the liberty which they had so dearly won. A similar plea was made in an address delivered by Herbert Hoover, the former Food Administrator, before the convention of the Poles of America held in Buffalo shortly before the middle of November.

TREATMENT OF JEWS

Henry Morgenthau, who headed President Wilson's special mission to investigate Poland's treatment of the Jews, delivered an address in New York on Dec. 14 in which he said:

We found that not as many murders had been committed in Poland as the Jews had unfortunately proclaimed, but the sight of many dead bodies and of hundreds of others being shipped away in cars was a justification of the feeling that all those who were deported had been killed. But the economic boycott is absolutely as fearful as it has been painted. While among the Turks I saw how they sent the Armenians out into the deserts with released criminals and had the latter kill them on the way. The Poles have a more refined, if you will, method. They thought they could strangle the Jews by not dealing with them. They would do no business with them. Jewish railroad and Government employes were discharged. No officers in the army could be Jews. In designating the professors for four universities they were organizing they had not a single Jew on the list. They impressed Jews into service regardless of age and made them do the hardest kind of work, and the old bearded Jews were afraid to go out alone in the dark, for fear that their beards would be torn or cut from their faces.

The conditions in Poland are indescribable and cannot be appreciated unless actually seen. In Vilna we were told of the man who was tied to a horse and had

to run five or six kilometers around the city at a pace set by the soldier who was mounted on the animal. The poet Jaffe, a man of fine fibre and beautiful soul, was arrested, beaten, stripped of his clothing, thrown into a car with fifty others and allowed to go for three days without food or drink. A boy who had been buried alive with five others told how he had extricated himself at night.

If American Jewry wants to cure the evils of Poland it must get at their roots. Sending 1,000,000 or 2,000,000 Jews to Palestine will do little good. The evil consists in allowing the Jews in a town to follow one or two pursuits. Where there are 5,000, perhaps 1,000 of them could make an honest living, but 5,000 must cheat each other or starve. They must be given schools of instruction. They must change their mode of life. It will take a year's intensive study to find out how to do it, but it would be a most creditable achievement for those Jews who have benefited by liberty in this country.

Mr. Morgenthau stated that he had made a definite proposition to the Polish Government for financing Polish industries by means of a \$150,000,000 fund, one-third of which was to be subscribed by Poles, one-third by Americans, and one-third by England, Spain, and other countries.

PROTEST OF SOCIALISTS

The following appeal, entitled "Down with the War!" was issued by the Supreme Council of the Polish Social Democratic Party. The Polish Socialists have about sixty Deputies in the National Assembly.

The bloody war continues to rage; the number of dead and wounded is growing. Today, as the Polish troops continue to

advance toward the east, as they are occupying non-Polish countries, as they have driven ahead to the Dvina and the Dnieper, the entire working class of Poland must raise its voice in protest and demand the ending of the bloody war.

The bourgeoisie and its hirelings are agitating for the continuance of the war. For the Polish propertied classes it is a question of ruling as much territory as possible in the east in order to reconquer their lost estates, in order to take the land from the farmers and to create new privileges for themselves. At present the war in the east is a struggle to strengthen the reaction in Poland, to delay the great social reforms, to defeat the working people.

Our country needs rest. Hundreds of thousands of young men are being made unfamiliar with productive work through plying the trade of war. A whole park of railroad rolling stock, urgently needed for the bringing in of foodstuffs, is held at the disposition of the military. Thousands of factories are waiting for work. The Winter is approaching. Death through starvation menaces the Polish working class families. A catastrophe seems inevitable. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie is playing a wicked, wanton game.

The justified demands of the workers are refused; outlawry prevails in the country villages; frauds, usury, extortion, and speculation are becoming widespread. So long as two-thirds of the State's income are used for the war, unemployment, hunger and misery must prevail among the people. But the working people do not intend to be the servants of imperialism any longer. They understand that Poland is to be made the gendarme of Europe, and against this the proletariat will revolt with all its power. The proletariat of all countries will rise against international imperialism.

Away with the war!

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!

Reconstruction Days in Germany

Pan German Tendencies

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1919]

CONTINUED sessions at Berlin of the war-guilt investigating committee of the National Assembly furnished some scenes of international interest. Mainly the investigation revolved around unrestricted U-boat warfare and President Wilson's peace efforts. On Nov. 15 the former Vice Chancellor, Dr. Karl

Helfferich, was fined 300 marks for refusing to answer a question put by Independent Socialist Deputy Cohen. He protested he could not recognize Deputy Cohen from patriotic motives, since he charged the Deputy with having accepted funds from the Russian Bolshevik Ambassador Joffe to produce a general in-

ternal collapse. After considerable recrimination, in which Deputy Cohen denounced Dr. Helfferich as being not a witness but an accused person, the meeting was adjourned to find some means of forcing Dr. Helfferich to answer Cohen, or persuading Cohen to desist in his cross-examination of the refractory witness. On the following day it was remarked that an almost amusing politeness toned the attitude of those heckling the former Vice Chancellor.

The session of Nov. 18 was made notable by the appearance of Field Marshal von Hindenburg and General Ludendorff before the committee. They drove to the Reichstag building through a bitterly cold Winter scene, which chilled the spirits of the Reactionaries and Spartacans who had threatened demonstrations. A number of Reactionaries, however, had gained entrance to the building. They welcomed the two military leaders with shouts of "Down with the republic!" and cheers for the Kaiser and Hindenburg.

In the chamber Hindenburg's strong, almost square features were observed to be very pale, and he looked physically weaker, though more voluminous, in his black frock coat than in uniform. Ludendorff, on the contrary, appeared sharper and leaner than when he was the war lord's right hand. In response to the eight questions which he had previously consented to answer, Marshal Hindenburg said: "I know with absolute certainty that neither the people, the Kaiser nor the Government desired war, for the Government knew better than others Germany's tremendously difficult position in a war against the Entente." He added that Germany's defensive strength was as unfavorable as possible from the start, "but if there had been solid, united co-operation between army and homeland we could have attained victory. It was not the German Army nor its leaders," he declared, "but the German political leaders, aided by the Socialists, who lost the war. But," he added, on noticing Bethmann Hollweg's agitation, "the Government meant very well and were all honorable men." On his demand for the floor he vigorously asserted, "I and my

faithful co-worker wanted peace, but an honorable peace. I resist emphatically charges to the contrary."

The testimony of General Ludendorff followed. One gathered from him that he thought William II. not only the all highest, but the all wisest, and that whatever the Kaiser did was for the benefit of the whole world, which, unfortunately, could not accept it. When some of his opinions were ruled out General Ludendorff grew excited. He denounced it as an infamous lie that he really directed German policy during the war. In a vigorous attack on Count von Bernstorff he charged the former Ambassador to the United States with falsely appraising and inadequately reporting the American situation at Wilhelmstrasse. "Bernstorff and I," he cried, "are two persons of wholly different temperaments. He is quite right if he assumes that I took an unsympathetic view of his work at Washington." When Hindenburg and Ludendorff refused to give further testimony on that day, the session was suddenly adjourned indefinitely.

Hindenburg's return to Hanover after giving evidence before the Investigation Committee was reported to have been a triumphal journey. At Brunswick he was greeted by great cheering and singing crowds. When he arrived at Hanover he was welcomed by a tremendous demonstration and the usual singing of "Deutschland über Alles." Later, he addressed a deputation from the door of his residence. The Field Marshal said that his trip to Berlin had been inspiring, for he had discovered with great pleasure that the national spirit was rising again.

On the evening of Nov. 23 General Ludendorff attended a memorial service at Potsdam Garrison Church, to which soldiers garrisoned at Potsdam marched or were brought in automobiles. He sat in the ex-Kaiser's pew, and spoke on "Militarism as a School for Moral Qualification of Successful Men." When he got through speaking a soldier in uniform rose and shouted: "When the time comes, General, we will follow you again!" Thereupon the whole congregation stood and sang "Deutschland über

Alles." As Ludendorff left the church there were loud cheers for him and the ex-Kaiser. The episode was regarded as placing Ludendorff definitely among the Pan-German leaders.

A Berlin correspondent of The New York Times wrote on Nov. 14 that he found among all classes in Germany a kind of sympathetic pity for the ex-Emperor, which was frequently expressed in the term, "*Der arme Kaiser!*"—"The poor Kaiser!" While this did not seem to imply any wish for his return as Emperor or King, for in that respect he was regarded as *erledigt*—done with, disposed of once for all—but if he was to blame for the war, it was argued, others were equally guilty, and it was hoped he would not be brought to trial. Moreover, there was no doubt that large sections of the population regretted the days of the Hohenzollern splendor, contrasting them with the sad state into which Germany had fallen. So "*Der arme Kaiser!*" came with a sigh from many lips. This retrospective interest was further noticed by the correspondent in the display of picture-postcards of Wilhelm and his family in a shop in Friedrichstrasse. One of them represented the Kaiser with his two elder sons looking out of a frame of oak leaves. Beneath crossed swords and other martial emblems ran the lines:

Burschen heraus!
Lasset es schallen von Haus zu Haus,
Wenn es gilt für's Vaterland
Treu die Klingen dann zur Hand
Und heraus mit mut'gem Sang,
Wär' es auch zum letzten Gang,
Burschen heraus!

TRANSLATION.

Out Boys!
From house to house re-echo the noise;
When the Fatherland's at stake,
Faithful your blades in hand you take;
Out—let your cheery song resound,
Were it e'en for the final round—
Out Boys!

The correspondent added: "Both Kaiser and Crown Prince were 'out,' indeed, in a sense very different from that intended by the writer of the verse. But would they remain out for good and all?"

Berlin, on Dec. 3, extended a popular ovation to Field Marshal von Mackensen

on his return from captivity. The Noske Guard and troops of all arms waited at the station, together with several prominent Generals, including von Falkenhayn, Mackensen's partner in the Rumanian campaign.

The same date was also marked by the presentation of a vast tax measure to the National Assembly by Mathias Erzberger, Minister of Finance. At the outset the Minister uttered a warning "that the man who was still wrapped up in pre-war individualism would not find the tax assessments to his liking." Herr Erzberger added that "pre-war individualism resulted in a badly distorted conception of property, overemphasized its privileges, never or rarely took into account its duties and limitations." The following scale indicated the Minister's proposed high levy on large incomes:

The first thousand marks of income are not assessed in the scale named in the income tax schedule. After that amount incomes will be taxed 10 per cent. For the second thousand 1 per cent., that being the graded increase for every thousand up to 15,000 marks. Incomes in excess of 500,000 marks must pay 60 per cent. The man who had a pre-war income of 100,000 marks is expected now to turn over half that amount to the State. Local taxes are likely to consume an additional 20,000.

Though the German mark fell to the unprecedented value of only 2 cents in American money, German industries were reported as again expanding at remarkable speed. Herr Schmidt, Minister of Food and Economics, speaking in Berlin on Dec. 7, cited statistics to show that production in the mines, shipyards and general industries had reached a level approaching the pre-war basis. The only exceptions were those lacking raw materials. The so-called German Dye Trust increased its capital to 1,000,000,000 marks with a view to making a vigorous campaign for supremacy in the world markets.

The trial of Lieutenant Marloh for the shooting of thirty-two members of the Marine Division last March, ending in his acquittal, attained wide notoriety. The execution had been ordered on the ground of discipline. According to a Berlin dispatch of Dec. 10, Lieutenant

Marloh had been coerced into signing three successive reports regarding the matter, each stronger than the other, at the time of the acquittal of Captain von Kessel, the right-hand man of Colonel Reinhardt; at the same time he had himself admitted complete responsibility for the tragedy "for the sake of military honor." After signing the third report, which Lieutenant Marloh now declared to be nonsense and untrue, he accepted 5,000 marks from von Kessel and agreed to disappear for a time. The military

conspirators hoped by these manoeuvres to head off the trial. When, however, it became a certainty, they even contemplated stealing the papers in the case if Lieutenant Marloh could not be induced to disappear again. While the newspapers unanimously agreed that all the parties involved had some excuse for their actions in the incredible confusion of the period, they likewise agreed that the case must not be allowed to rest with Marloh's acquittal, but the real culprits must be brought to trial.

Failure of Germany's Baltic Raid

Troops Driven Home by Letts

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 15, 1919]

COMPLETE collapse and defeat of the German forces in the Baltic States marked the closing weeks of November. Before telling the story of the month's events it may be well to explain the whole obscure situation. A Reval correspondent of *The London Morning Post*, writing under date of Nov. 5, illuminated the subject in an article which may be summarized as follows:

There are three former Russian provinces that desire independence—Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia-Courland. All three until less than a year ago were completely dominated by the so-called Baltic Barons, who owned the greater portion of all the land in Estonia and Latvia-Courland, and a high percentage of it in Lithuania. These Barons were of absolute Germanic blood. After the Russian collapse their sons in great numbers went into the German Army. Their treatment of their peasants was after the order of the sixteenth century. Every one of them was an anachronism as a landed proprietor. Politically their importance lay in being the liaison between Berlin and what was St. Petersburg, promoting German influence in Russian affairs, to a large extent shaping Russian policy and consistently upholding reactionary and imperialistic principles. Such were the Baltic Barons until the Russian collapse—Russian citizens aiding every devious German design

—and then, less than a year ago, the peasants of these Barons rose up, seized the land, and evicted the former owners, who in most instances fled to Berlin.

Much of the unsettled condition in the Baltic States is due to the efforts of the Barons to recover their lost possessions. Under the leadership of a former Russian officer named Bermondts they created a rather formidable army, numbering about 50,000 men. Nominally, the purpose of this army was to capture Petrograd from the Bolsheviks. Actually, the scheme—very thinly disguised—is to subjugate the Baltic States and restore the Barons in their land ownership. This army, in conjunction with von der Goltz's army, set out to capture Riga, Bermondts alleging that he desired a base from which to conduct operations against Petrograd. Though von der Goltz was nominally superseded by one of his lieutenants, General Eberhardt, the purpose of both forces remained unchanged.

Bermondts had served with distinction as a Russian officer through the Russo-Japanese war. In the beginning of the world war he was in the Russian Army. When the Bolshevik revolution came in 1917 he was arrested and imprisoned by the Bolsheviks in Kiev. Through German influences he was released and went to Berlin, where, as a professional soldier, he was hired by the Baltic Barons. His

army consists partly of mercenaries recruited in Germany, partly of Russians who had been prisoners of war, partly of deluded Russian patriots and loyalists and partly of Russians who had been in Poland and were sent by the Poles to join Yudenitch, but were intercepted by Bermondts and impressed into his army.

There were two currents in the Bermondts army. One group of officers and men honestly believed that they were eventually to march on Petrograd and relieve the city from Bolshevik control; these are the loyal Russians. The other group are the pure Germans, whose interest is in maintaining German domination in the Baltic States—that is, in so far as mercenaries may be said to have a patriotic interest of any kind.

GERMANY'S OBJECT

Von der Goltz's troops were in part professional soldiers out of jobs; in part discouraged Germans seeking land settlements, in part adventurers on the watch for any haphazard turn of fortune. At first he invaded Lithuania. The Peace Conference told him to get out. The way he did it was to go down into the Suwalki pocket, where he began to harass the Poles. He was ordered from Suwalki and marched toward Riga. Until allied pressure on Berlin forced him to give way to a successor he continued to keep things stirred up, for unsettlement in the Baltic States is a part of German policy.

By keeping the provinces in disorder Germany finds little difficulty in maintaining a comparatively free corridor through to Russia. This corridor, which passes up through Lithuania, she has been using for months, sending through emigrants to form "spheres of influence," and even engineers, to the number of at least 300, to begin industrial reconstruction in Russia. Also, she has succeeded through a most elaborate system of agents in creating in Lithuania an anti-Polish feeling sufficiently strong to make any Polish-Lithuanian union or federation very unlikely. Thus the German desire to keep open a passage to Russia and the desire of the evicted Barons to recover their land are operating to perpetuate turmoil in the Baltic States.

Evacuation of the German Baltic troops, formerly under command of General von der Goltz, was well on its way under General von Eberhardt by the middle of November. Meanwhile, the brilliant military campaign led by the Lettish commander, Colonel Ballod, as a result of which the German-Russian



WHERE GERMAN TROOPS WERE DRIVEN OUT OF LITHUANIA BY THE LETTS

forces under Colonel Avalov-Bermondts were first thrown out of Riga, then driven back to their base at Mitau, and finally taken over by the successor of General von der Goltz, the German General, Eberhardt, to be sent back to Germany, was made the occasion of joyous celebrations in Riga on Nov. 18, the anniversary of the independence of Latvia, which, by an odd coincidence, fell virtually at the date of the Lettish victories. This Baltic city, as imposing as Stockholm or Copenhagen, with its parks, its public buildings and private houses, whose population, since the war began, fell from 750,000 to 200,000, was wild with joy beneath its fluttering flags over its liberation from the German menace, against which it had virtually been fighting for over four years.

The approach to Mitau on Nov. 21 was lit up by the blaze of farms fired by the fleeing enemy, which threw a red glare over the snow. In the immediate foreground the ancient castle of Mitau flared like the funeral pyre of German ambitions in the Baltic. The broad white causeway, barred with the shadows of high trees, was trodden hard and slippery by the advancing Lettish infantry,

whose weeks of bitter fighting against heavy odds had been crowned by this remarkable success. The German-Russians gave up Mitau without resistance, although the Lettish casualties had been heavy in the flanking operations, which had forced the evacuation early in the morning of the following day. Some were able to escape by rail; the remainder marched along the road leading directly south toward Shavli.

Before their departure the Germans looted and burned. In the main street of Mitau there was not a single shop that was not smashed or robbed. Despite the bitter provocation, the Lettish troops behaved well, and their entry into the city was unaccompanied by reprisals. Colonel Tallents, commanding the British political mission to the Baltic, who was the first allied representative to enter the town, found the Lettish officers keeping excellent order. The inhabitants told the Lett commanders that they had been living through a reign of terror. The Bermondts forces had looted indiscriminately, and when a pretense of payment was offered, it was in worthless paper money which the Germans had printed in Berlin, and whose acceptance they compelled.

EBERHARDT ASKS ARMISTICE

In a reply formulated at this time to a request for an armistice from General von Eberhardt at Shavli—Avalov-Bermondts meanwhile had disappeared—the Letts asked pointedly whether Eberhardt called himself the German or "West Russian" commander, and whether the German Government admitted responsibility for his actions. Regarding this point it was announced from Berlin on Nov. 23 that Minister of Defense Noske had refused a request by General von Eberhardt for help in equipment and money, and had also declined to give military assistance to liberate the railroad, which the Letts had cut. Meanwhile the German rout continued, with the Letts driving on. From Lithuania came news that the German commander and his staff, numbering sixty-five, had left Kovno for their own frontier. Thus the German-Baltic imbroglio was being

largely solved by the courage and tenacity of the fighting Letts.

A painful impression, however, was caused on the Letts by the receipt of a wireless from the newly arrived Inter-allied Commission, presided over by General Niessel, instructing the Lettish Army to cease pursuit of the fleeing Germans, and implying that the Lett soldiery were committing excesses against that portion of the Balt population representing Lettish citizens of German stock. These charges were indignantly denied by the Lettish Commander in Chief, Colonel Ballod, who declared that no executions had occurred without formal trial, and only in the case of espionage. The Lett entrance into Mitau, he said, had been effected only under strict orders to prevent pillage and killing. Regarding the charge that the Letts made no prisoners, Colonel Ballod cited numerous cases of atrocious actions committed by the Germans, which, he asserted, were enough to justify any soldiers in refusing to give quarter. One of these cases, which was authenticated by official reports and photographs, was that of the commander of the 2d Company of the 8th Regiment, Lieutenant Fichtenberg, who fell into the Germans' hands. What the Germans did to him was described by the Lettish commander as follows:

They tore out his eyes and cut off his tongue. Then they wrapped his body in barbed wire and lowered him by a rope over the Dvina bank into a hole which they had cut in the ice. He was immersed for a time and then drawn out, lest death come too quickly, and let fall again, for there were three separate thicknesses of ice on the body when it was found. Can you imagine what would be the feelings of troops who had seen their dead like that?

The American Children's Relief Commissioner, Captain Orbison, on Nov. 24 confirmed this ghastly story in all its details to the correspondent, Walter Duranty, to whom he showed a photograph of the mutilated body of the Lettish officer. Captain Orbison, on the basis of this and many other cases of German atrocities of which he had personal knowledge, expressed surprise at

the moderation and self-control which the Lettish troops had shown.

Though the Letts, in obedience to the order of the Interallied Commission, ceased to pursue the German Russians beyond the frontier, the Lithuanians, acting on their own responsibility, advanced westward, and occupied the town of Radziwiliski, with the object of cutting off the German retreat. This action drew from General Niessel specific instructions to the Lithuanians to withdraw and permit the Germans to gain their own frontier, which they seemed only too anxious to do. To this the Lithuanians agreed, but only reluctantly, and it was clear that both Letts and Lithuanians were ready at a moment's notice to take up arms again if the Germans made any further aggression, or delayed their evacuation of Lithuania and Latvia unduly.

AN INGLORIOUS RETURN

Unequipped hospital trains continued to roll with loads of wounded toward the German frontier. Six hundred, who had arrived by Nov. 25 at Königsberg, complained bitterly of the way in which they had been treated by those responsible for the mad Baltic adventure, which had broken down so disastrously. These returning German troops were then a menace only to the villages and towns through which they passed, starving, cold and angry, in their disorderly retreat. They left behind them hundreds of German dead.

Meanwhile, on Nov. 29, it was announced from Berlin that armistice negotiations with the Letts had been begun and were progressing at Yanishki. It had been agreed through the medium of the Interallied Commission that the Germans should withdraw all their troops from Lettland by Dec. 13. On the following day it was further announced that an armistice stipulating the immediate evacuation of Lithuania by the Germans had been signed by Germany and Lithuania through the same commission. At this time the Germans were holding a line in Lithuania a few miles south of the Lettish frontier, where, it was said, they were receiving arms and munitions

from Germany. The Letts had taken measures to attack them, and the Lett Foreign Minister at Dorpat said that the Letts, despite their consent to suspend military operations temporarily, would not wait long for the Germans to make their exodus.

News of grave import was received in Riga on Dec. 9, to the effect that five trainloads of troops of the German "Iron Division," who had already arrived at Tilsit on their way to the interior of Germany, had suddenly refused to proceed further in accordance with the Interallied Commission's orders, and that four trainloads had gone back to a point northwest of Memel, where they again threatened Courland. The authorities of the German Army Headquarters at Königsberg said defiantly that this had been done at their orders, and assumed all responsibility for the soldiers' action.

Soldiers of the Iron Division to the number of 15,000 were reported on Dec. 13 to be concentrated at Memel in a position to menace Courland. Further east the evacuation was proceeding regularly, but the Memel force seemed to have got out of hand and was defying the Allies. The true inwardness of the situation was explained as follows by General A. N. Dobrjansky, who had commanded a portion of Yudenitch's forces in Northwest Russia, and who arrived in the United States on Dec. 10:

The northwestern command has established with absolute clearness, by documents, the fact that the Germans are trying to found in Courland a nucleus of armed German forces with which not only Russia but the Allies must settle accounts in the future. Since the hour when they signed the armistice the Germans have been working with feverish haste and in the organized, accurate and well-thought-out manner peculiar to them, to set up a counterpoise to the conditions of the armistice. They have chosen Courland as territory bordering on Germany and yet beyond its frontiers for assembling their army, organizing their material and supply departments, arsenals, and even commissary stations. On this enterprise they have been expending the last remnants of their cash.

The whole enterprise had for its purpose two objects—to save a part of the war supplies needed for their plans from being handed over to the Allies under the armistice, and to camouflage this pe-

cular mobilization under the alleged need to fight Bolshevism, which was supposed to be threatening East Prussia.

The spirit of those German soldiers who returned to Germany was shown on Dec. 5, when the repatriated Baltic troops entered the Doeberitz Camp carrying old imperial flags and singing monarchical and patriotic songs. They brought with them a number of Russian women. The soldiers insulted and fought with the members of the public security groups and the police, and later appeared armed with hand grenades. They retired, however, on finding themselves outnumbered.

BERLIN'S ULTIMATUM

The German Government's final ultimatum to the defiant members of the Iron Division and other Baltic German formations was made public in Berlin on Nov. 1, as follows:

The National Government has been obliged to threaten to use most drastic measures against the troops still remaining in the Baltic region and to this very day refusing to evacuate that foreign land. Every soldier who shall not have crossed the German border on Nov. 11, at the latest, will be declared a deserter and no longer a German citizen.

The National Government knows that the most despicable methods have been used to mislead the troops in the Baltic region and to prevent their return, as well as to lure recruits to their ranks. They have been told that although the National Government, under the pressure of the Entente's demands, must appear to be using all methods to effect the evacuation of Latvia and Lithuania, it is in reality in full accord with the policy pursued by the Iron Division and the other groups.

This is a lie. The National Government has only one policy in the Eastern question, and it demands the return of the troops from the Baltic territory. It regards all else as a policy of criminal adventure which has already involved the entire German people in a most serious and dangerous situation, and, furthermore, is on the point of bringing down upon us endless difficulties and dangers in the future. Therefore the Gov-

ernment has resorted to the most inexecutable means in order to bring the misled and deceived men to their senses in the last moment, and it declares all who shall not have returned to German soil no later than Nov. 11 to be deserters and subject to the loss of their German citizenship by the shortest process.

That means that every man who refuses to return will lose all his claims to maintenance in Germany. He will receive no military allowances of any kind, no invalid or old age pensions, and in case he is wounded or falls ill he will have no claim for support. If he ever wishes to return to Germany he will be regarded as a foreigner and will also be punished for desertion. While abroad he is at the mercy of the regulations of foreign governments, without having any government to intercede for him. Neither are his present or future wife and children Germans any longer, and they, too, lose all right to any kind of support by Germany.

Once more the National Government presents all this for the most serious consideration of those who are in the Baltic country, or who wish to go there, without heeding the gloomy prospects for themselves and for the Fatherland bound to be created by their conduct. The time is nearer than they think when, in the severe Northern Winter, they will be exposed, helpless, without supply trains, without munitions and without medical supplies, to the rage of the embittered troops of those countries. For the last time, before the worst comes: Leave the Baltic region! Back to your homes!

(Signed)	GIESBERTS,
BAUER,	KOCH,
SCHIFFER,	PLOVER,
BELL,	MUELLER,
DAVID,	SCHLICKE,
ERZBERGER,	NOSKE,
GESSLER,	SCHMIDT.

In the closing weeks of the year the Baltic-German intrigue showed signs of undiminished vitality. Colonel Avalov-Bermond, the Russian leader who had attacked Riga with German support, arrived in Berlin on Dec. 17 and was welcomed by Minister of Defense Noske. The Freiheit declared: "The robber chief bears himself like a representative of a friendly power who may continue his adventure on German soil."

Russia's War With Bolshevism

Military Power of the Soviet Government Shows Marked Gains on All Fronts

[PERIOD ENDED DEC. 18, 1919]

EVENTS in Russia during November and the first half of December showed an unmistakable gain by the Bolsheviki in their death struggle with the anti-Bolshevist forces on the west and east, and considerable progress in the south against the armies of Denikin. The Yudenitch army was driven to the borders of Esthonia; several divisions, forced to cross the border, were disarmed by the Esthonian authorities, while others, under Esthonian direction, held off fierce Bolshevist onslaughts below Narva.

On the Siberian front, Omsk was taken, and the Bolsheviki drove on toward the east, taking large numbers of prisoners from Kolchak's troops and enormous booty. The Kolchak Government was transferred to Irkutsk, and a new Coalition Government was formed.

In the south, desperate fighting continued, in which the forces of Denikin were driven back, especially in the centre, on a front of fifty miles. Later Poltava, Kharkov, and Kiev were captured by the Bolsheviki, Denikin's armies retreating on a wide front.

Despite these victories the Bolshevist authorities insisted that their previous offers to make peace still held good; and Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet Envoy to the Dorpat Baltic Conference and to a conference with British representatives at Copenhagen, was said to have been intrusted with power to open peace negotiations, though his ostensible mission was merely the exchange of prisoners. A peace conference with new Bolshevist envoys ended in a deadlock.

Appearing before the Lusk Investigating Committee in New York, Ludwig A. C. Martens, Soviet "Ambassador" to the United States, admitted that he had received from Soviet Russia since March the sum of \$90,000 for purposes which he denied were revolutionary or anarch-

istic. He later refused to answer questions or produce his official documents, thereby laying himself open to prosecution for contempt.

In North Russia during November and December there was little or no change in the military situation, due to the coming on of Winter, which brought a gradual cessation of hostilities. Up to Nov. 27 the anti-Bolshevist Russian forces had cleared the Pinega River front, forcing the Bolsheviki to fall back on the Dvina, and relieving the enemy pressure on Archangel.

THE PETROGRAD FRONT

The position of the Yudenitch army on the Petrograd front on Nov. 19 was serious. Threatened with envelopment by the advancing Red forces, and crowded together in a small space near Yamburg, the White Army which had approached Petrograd's very doors was faced with capture or internment in Esthonian territory. In answer to an inquiry by General Yudenitch as to what Esthonia would do if he were obliged to cross the Esthonian frontier, the Esthonian authorities sent word that he might bring his hospitals and supplies, but that his soldiers must disarm if they entered Esthonian territory.

A report submitted on Nov. 24 by Colonel Rink, Chief of the General Staff of the Esthonian Army, after a personal visit to the Narva front, stated that the army of General Yudenitch was in a bad state of demoralization after its retreat from Petrograd, and that the General and his staff had lost all connection with it. Part of the army, with 10,000 refugees, had crossed the frontier and settled south of Narva. Some of the soldiers had already been disarmed. Four of the divisions which retreated from Yamburg to Narva had been organized under General Toennison. These forces

had submitted to Esthonian authority, and were protecting the positions below Narva.

The military disaster, it was stated, had been due to the incompetence of the General in command, who had neglected to maintain a reserve in his hasty advance on Petrograd and had made no adequate provision for the transportation of food supplies. The soldiers, half starved, were so weakened that they could offer no resistance to the advancing enemy. Owing to the scarcity of bread the soldiers had been obliged to mix flour with snow. Many refugee children had died of hunger and cold. The Esthonian Government was making all efforts to alleviate distress.

Meanwhile some 15,000 Red troops continued their attacks on the constricted front, which followed the Esthonian boundary some twenty miles northward from Peipus Lake, running eastward and curving around Narva and extending northwest to the sea. These attacks, however, had been repulsed. Efficiency had been restored to those sections of the Russian troops which had come under Esthonian command, while the sections that had crossed over into Esthonia were being reorganized. Bolshevik attacks from Dec. 1 to 3 had been repulsed with heavy losses. In Reval, meanwhile, some 600 soldiers of the former victorious army lay grievously wounded or seriously ill with typhus in a cold emergency shelter destitute of blankets and food.

Despite his crushing defeat, General Yudenitch said to an Associated Press correspondent on Dec. 8:

I have not given up my intention to capture Petrograd. Despite reports to the contrary, the bulk of my army is still intact on Russian soil. Only a fifth part of it has been disarmed by the Esthonians.

M. Lianozov, head of the Northwestern Government, declared on Dec. 11 that a new offensive against Petrograd was already being planned.

REDS ATTACK ESTHONIANS

Bolshevik attacks on the Esthonians in the direction of Narva were continuing in force toward the end of November, with the alleged object of reinforcing drastic demands at the Dorpat

Conference. New Bolshevik regiments were being sent against the Esthonians, whose morale continued good, although these heavy attacks were combined with energetic peace agitation. The Bolshevik offensive went on through the early part of December. On Dec. 10 the Red Army began a new drive, accompanied by terrific artillery fire. No fewer than ten attacks on the strongly fortified Esthonian lines were repulsed with heavy losses to the attackers. The Esthonians were holding their positions strongly, and many of the assailants, who advanced in massed formation, were mowed down before the barbed wire defenses.

With fifteen Bolshevik divisions, as against three of Esthonia, to contend with, however, the Esthonians foresaw disaster, and appealed to Finland for military aid, pointing out that if the Esthonian barrier failed, the Bolsheviks might sweep the Baltic region. Finland replied that she could take no action without consulting the allied Governments.

LITVINOV'S MISSION

Maxim Litvinov, former Soviet Ambassador to England, arrived at Dorpat to attend the conference of Baltic States convened officially for the discussion of the exchange of prisoners, and unofficially, as it was believed, for the bringing about of peace with the Soviet Republic, on Nov. 16. As the Soviet envoy, followed by three other Bolshevik delegates, passed through the silent crowd in the hall of the Dorpat Station, some men near the door uttered a single word: "Brest-Litovsk!" Litvinov must have heard it, though he gave no sign. Since that peace, which had apparently delivered Russia into German servitude, the situation had greatly changed, for it was an open secret that Litvinov was on his way to negotiate a peace that would recognize his Government's independence and the Soviet régime as the de facto Government of the former Russian Empire.

Litvinov himself visited Dorpat only in passing on his way to Copenhagen, to take up with duly accredited British representatives an announced program of discussion concerned with an exchange



THE REGIONS AROUND KIEV AND KHARKOV WERE LOST BY DENIKIN TO THE REDS. IN THE EAST KOLCHAK RETIRED FROM OMSK FURTHER EASTWARD TO IRKUTSK

of prisoners. When the projected meeting was featured purely as a peace conference, only Esthonia and Latvia had agreed to take an active part, with Lithuania in attendance somewhat vaguely as an onlooker; but when the official program was given out as a discussion of exchange of prisoners, Poland, the Ukraine, and Lithuania also sent accredited representatives. The underlying intention was understood, however, to be a tentative discussion of the possibilities of an armistice and eventual peace. It was announced on Nov. 19 that the terms on which prisoners and hostages would be exchanged with the Soviet Government had been agreed upon.

LITVINOV'S ATTITUDE

After his arrival at Dorpat, Litvinov boasted that the Bolsheviki had smashed General Yudenitch's army and would do the same to General Denikin's forces. Toward the representatives of the Baltic States, who had been led to believe that the Bolsheviki were as eager as they to make peace, Litvinov assumed at the outset such a cold and threatening manner that the Baltic delegates were disconcerted. It was said that when Litvinov

entered the conference he expressed surprise at finding representatives of Latvia and Lithuania, as well as of Esthonia. The Polish representatives left the conference immediately on Litvinov's arrival. The Bolshevist envoy showed impatience when told that the Baltic delegates were prepared officially to discuss only the exchange of prisoners, remarking that he did not wish to lose time on unimportant details which could be included in a peace treaty. He flatly refused to consider the establishment of a neutral zone, and was not inclined to treat the question of an armistice apart from peace. After a few days' stay in Dorpat, Litvinov proceeded to Copenhagen to conduct, with British representatives, similar discussions of an exchange of prisoners.

THE COPENHAGEN CONFERENCE

Some ten days before Litvinov's arrival in Copenhagen, Cecil Harmsworth had stated in the British Parliament that the Danish Government had agreed that a meeting should take place between representatives of the British and Soviet Governments, "providing that they are previously informed of the personnel of the delegations, which should be small,

and that the right of the delegations to remain in Denmark shall automatically cease as soon as either party breaks off negotiations."

One of the first moves made by Litvinov in his conversations with James O'Grady, the British representative, and his assistants, R. Nathan and L. G. M. Gall, which occurred on Nov. 25, was to propose that the Allies lift their blockade on Soviet Russia. The Bolshevik attitude was most conciliatory. Among other things Litvinov offered to telegraph Moscow, Petrograd, and other Bolshevik cities to obtain full reports as to the condition of British subjects held prisoner, estimated at 117 in all. The Soviet Government, he said, was prepared to liberate British prisoners if its own nationals abroad were allowed free communication with Soviet Russia. Though Great Britain was deeply interested in the trend of affairs at Copenhagen, it was affirmed officially that Mr. O'Grady had been definitely instructed to enter into no negotiations beyond those relating to prisoners.

Litvinov's desire to extend the scope of the discussions beyond this subject, however, was made clear on Dec. 10. After he had failed in his efforts to get the British envoys to discuss peace terms he addressed to the allied representatives a copy of a resolution adopted on Dec. 5 by the Seventh Congress of Soviets at Moscow, authorizing peace negotiations with the Allies. This document, however, was returned to him by the allied representatives as constituting a breach of good faith with Denmark, which had not authorized the holding of peace negotiations within her domains. The result of the discussions on the exchange of prisoners had not been officially concluded at the time these pages went to press. Litvinov admitted that he had been approached by Denmark, Sweden, and other neutral countries in regard to a similar exchange, but that everything depended on Britain's action.

THE DORPAT CONFERENCE

The Esthonian Government, still persisting in its desire of peace with the Bolsheviks, announced on Nov. 29 that new negotiations would be begun with

the Soviet Government at Dorpat early in December. On Dec. 5, after the arrival of the Bolshevik delegation, headed by M. Krassin, the Bolshevik Minister of Trade and Commerce, M. Poska, the Esthonian Foreign Minister, explained the attitude of his country toward Soviet Russia as follows:

Esthonia has never been aggressive toward Russia, but fought only to defend her independence. I believe the other new States were in the same situation. Esthonia considers it necessary that Soviet Russia should make analogous proposals to them. The other States, however, have only partially accepted the Soviet proposal. All the delegations have not yet arrived. The Esthonian delegation hopes, nevertheless, that these pourparlers will be concluded successfully.

M. Krassin commented as follows:

Some time ago Soviet Russia proposed that Esthonia enter into peace negotiations, resulting in the Pskov Conference, which was so suddenly interrupted. Soviet Russia states once more that she is ready to conclude a peace and to make important concessions. We desire peace on the basis of self-determination and mutual non-interference with each other's affairs.

BOLSHEVIST PEACE TERMS

The Esthonian and Bolshevik envoys exchanged their peace conditions on Dec. 6, before the arrival of either the Latvian or Lithuanian envoys. The Bolshevik conditions were given out officially the following day; they were based on the following thirteen points:

First—Mutual recognition of independence.

Second—Suspension of the state of war.

Third—Suspension of hostilities and determination of the time for withdrawal of the troops.

Fourth—Declaration by the Esthonian Government of the nonexistence of alliances between the States warring with the Soviet.

Fifth—Similar declarations with reference to other forces opposed to the Soviet Government.

Sixth—The internment and disarmament of General Yudenitch (commander of the Russian Northwest Army) and the impounding of his war stores under seal.

Seventh—Amnesty for all citizens condemned for support of the Soviet Government or taking part in the third Internationale.

Eighth—Provisions for a commercial treaty.

Ninth—Resumption of diplomatic relations.

Tenth—Resumption of postal and telegraphic relations.

Eleventh—Joining up of railways.

Twelfth—Transit over the Esthonian railways of goods from Esthonian ports bound for Russia.

Thirteenth—The establishment of dockage facilities for Soviet Russian-bound goods.

Other Bolshevik demands that developed were the occupation by Soviet troops of that part of Esthonia northward from Lake Peipus, taking in the Narva front and all the territory held by the remnants of the Yudenitch Army; this, with Clauses 6, 12, and 13 of the conditions above listed, proved to be the rock on which the negotiating parties split, after an agreement had been reached on most of the other points, including the relief of Esthonia from participation in obligations of the former Imperial Government incurred subsequently to Nov. 17, 1917, her responsibility for prior obligations having been made a condition of recognition by France.

A DEADLOCK ESTABLISHED

To the frontier stipulations of the Bolshevik delegations the Esthonians opposed counterpropositions. M. Krassin then announced that he must consult his Government before making final answer, and soon afterward left for Soviet Russia by way of Pskov. Pending his return, the conference continued the discussion of other subjects. Both sides were pessimistic regarding a favorable outcome. The Bolshevik delegates at this time were demanding full publicity, and M. Krassin had threatened that if the Baltic delegates continued to hold him to silence, he would employ the Moscow wireless to flash news of the conference to the world.

Even more drastic demands were made by the Bolshevik delegates after the return of M. Krassin; they included the severance by the Esthonians of all relations with the Allies and Finland, insistence on the turning over of all transit and dock facilities, which would make Esthonia a mere Soviet dependency, and the forbidding of any troops remaining on Esthonian territory except the Esthonian National Army. They also demanded

that no units of the Northwest Russian Army be allowed to enter the Esthonian Army, and that transportation of any armed forces through Esthonia be similarly prohibited. These peremptory demands were being reinforced by determined military attacks on the Esthonian front. It was at this juncture (Dec. 16) that Esthonia appealed to Finland for assistance.

[For the development of the small war between the Letts and the German-Russian forces under Colonel Bermond, see the preceding article.]

THE SOUTHERN FRONT

Of all the anti-Bolshevist fronts, that of Denikin in the south was the one where the most desperate fighting occurred. The menace to Moscow brought by Denikin's ever-advancing armies had long been a source of apprehension in the Soviet capital. In the last six months the Bolsheviks had sent more than 350,000 men and thousands of guns to the south from the eastern front, Turkestan, and the interior. Fighting of a fierce and obstinate character was continuing on Nov. 12 southwest of Orel, on Denikin's centre, where the Reds were advancing, while southeast of Kursk Denikin's troops were well north of Liski, an important railway junction that had just been recaptured from the Reds. Between Orel and Kursk Bolshevik cavalry broke through Denikin's lines on a front of forty-seven miles. Fighting was practically continuous, and it was evident that the Bolsheviks were concentrating their biggest and best forces in their attempt to break Denikin's centre.

By Nov. 20 Winter had set in, and the troops were fighting in snowstorms, alternating with thaws, that reduced the roads to morasses. At this date it appeared probable that Denikin would be forced to retreat still further, because of the ever-increasing forces brought against his centre, though on Nov. 22 an important victory won by Denikin against a Bolshevik army of 50,000 men between Orel and Tambov was reported. At this time the Bolshevik forces on Denikin's left flank were about fifty miles south of Veronezh.

In Western Ukraine, on the front of

the Volunteer army between Kharkov and Kursk, and on the front of the Caucasus army on both sides of the Volga, there was an alternation of Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevist advantage, with the balance slightly in favor of the forces of Denikin up to Nov. 25. The Bolsheviks were driven back before Tsaritsin on Nov. 29, and Denikin was advancing in this region, as well as in the neighborhood of Kursk and Kiev about Dec. 4. Counterbalancing these claims, a Bolshevik official statement of Dec. 5 declared that the Red forces were making a general advance along the entire Denikin front, and had captured several towns in the Governments of Tchernigov, Poltava, and Kursk, northeast and east of Kiev.

This success continued. On Dec. 13 Poltava, seventy-five miles southwest of Kharkov, was taken, and on Dec. 12 Kharkov itself, one of the five most important cities of European Russia, also fell. On Dec. 16 the Bolsheviks claimed fresh and continuous successes: the staff of General Mamontov had been captured east of Kiev, many prisoners had been taken in various other sections, including Trans-Caspia and the Persian border, where Kazandzhik had been captured; the Soviet forces were closing in on Kiev itself, and had defeated Denikin's forces in the suburbs of that city; subsequently it was stated that Kiev itself had fallen again into the hands of the Reds. Denikin's armies, outnumbered and outfought, were retreating on a wide front.

DENIKIN'S ASSETS

In some respects, Denikin's general situation continued favorable. The number of volunteers far exceeded the capacity of the army to receive them. In the war with Petlura in the west, the peasant leader's forces had been beaten, his officers were coming over to Denikin, and 20,000 of his Galician soldiers had seceded and joined Denikin's army. General Tarnowsky of the Galician Ukrainian Army had been arrested by the Ukrainians for secret dealing with Denikin. The movement of the bandit leader Makhno, which at one time looked dangerous, had been reduced to a comparatively small area. A junction with the Polish Army occurred about Nov. 30.

THE EASTERN FRONT

Omsk, the former capital of the All-Russian Government, was occupied by the Bolsheviks on the morning of Nov. 15. The city was partially burned following the destruction of the ammunition supplies, which it was found impossible to remove from the town. On Nov. 18 the Siberian Army was occupying positions twenty-five versts east of Omsk. The retreat of the rear units of the Siberian Army was said to have been accomplished in great disorder, the troops throwing away their guns and commandeering locomotives, trains, and carts in which to escape. Some fifteen trains carrying officers and their families, besides scores of other trains, filled with refugees, ammunition, and merchandise, which were blocked by wreckage and lack of motive power, fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks, who followed up the Cossacks with cavalry. On Nov. 24 it was reported by Colonel G. H. Emerson, assistant to John F. Stevens, head of the American Railway Commission in Siberia, that 11 Generals, 1,000 other officers of the Kolchak Army, and 39,000 troops had been captured by the Bolsheviks at Omsk. Material seized included 2,000 machine guns, 30,000 uniforms with overcoats, 4,000,000 rounds of ammunition, 75 locomotives, and 5,000 loaded cars.

NEW GOVERNMENT FORMED

A proclamation calling upon all civilians in Siberia, especially the peasants, to join the army of the All-Russian Government to resist the Bolshevik advance was issued by Admiral Kolchak at this time. This proclamation declared the country to be in danger. Meanwhile social revolutionary elements at Irkutsk, where the Kolchak Ministers had arrived on Nov. 19, began serious opposition to the continuance of the Kolchak Government, and the Ministers telegraphed Admiral Kolchak that a new Coalition Cabinet must be formed at once. To this Admiral Kolchak, who at that time was at Novo Nikolaevsk supervising the retreat of his armies, gave his consent, and on Dec. 2 the newly constituted Ministry, under the head of Premier Pepilaev, announced its program, which included the

following principles: Emancipation of the civil administration from political influence of all military leaders; decisive struggle against excesses and injustice, no matter by what faction or party they were committed; close relation between the Government and the people; close and friendly relations with the Czechoslovaks; radical measures against shortage of supplies for the army; reduction of the Ministerial staffs. The entire program, it was declared, was based on the principle of a decisive struggle against Bolshevism for the regeneration of Free Russia.

BOLSHEVIST VICTORIES CONTINUE

The Bolshevik victories on the Kolchak front continued uninterrupted. By Nov. 26 the Siberian troops had retreated to a point eighty-seven miles east of Omsk; by Dec. 11 the military situation was desperate; it was stated in Paris by the former Chairman of the Russo-American Chamber of Commerce on Dec. 15 that Kolchak was ready to cede a part of Siberia to Japan to save the rest of Russia from falling into the hands of the ever-advancing Bolsheviks. The latter, on Dec. 16, announced the capture of Novo Nikolaevsk, on the Trans-Siberian Railway, 390 miles east of Omsk, where Kolchak had made his temporary headquarters; the statement said that more than 5,000 prisoners, many guns and several Generals of the Kolchak Army had been taken by the Soviet troops, who had reached a point 1,200 miles from Irkutsk.

CZECHOSLOVAKS' HOSTILITY

A memorandum embodying the Czechoslovak views on the Siberian situation was delivered to the allied representatives in Vladivostok on Nov. 15. This memorandum read as follows:

The unbearable conditions cause us to ask the Allies to consider a means of safe conduct to the motherland, which return the Allies have approved. The Czechs were prepared to guard the railroad sector allotted to them and have conscientiously fulfilled the task, but now our presence along the Siberian railroad for the purpose of guarding it becomes impossible by virtue of its uselessness and also in consequence of the most primitive demands of justice and humanity.

By guarding and maintaining order, our

army has been forced against its convictions to support a state of absolute despotism and unlawfulness which has had its beginning here under defense of the Czech arms.

The military authorities of the Government of Omsk are permitting criminal actions that will stagger the entire world. The burning of villages, the murder of masses of peaceful inhabitants and the shooting of hundreds of persons of democratic convictions and also those only suspected of political disloyalty occurs daily. The responsibility for this before the peoples of the world will fall on us, inasmuch as we, possessing sufficient strength, do not prevent this lawlessness.

Thus our passiveness appears as a direct consequence of the principles of neutrality and noninterference in Russian internal affairs, and we are becoming apparent participants in these crimes as a result of our observing absolute neutrality.

Later, on Dec. 16, it was announced by the Kolchak Government that the Czechoslovaks would remain in Siberia until Summer.

GAIDA REVOLT QUELLED

An even more serious revolt against Admiral Kolchak's authority was an uprising in Vladivostok led by General Gaida, the Czechoslovak commander, on Nov. 17, which ended disastrously: General Gaida himself was wounded and surrendered with about a dozen members of his staff the following day, and the Provisional Government organized by himself and his associates disappeared. General Gaida himself was not punished, but held pending his return to his native country. On Nov. 21 he stated that the movement led by him was one purely of the people. Its supporters, he said, were of the Russian democratic classes, and its leaders included members of the Czar's Duma, three member of the Kerensky Cabinet, and many young Russian officers. He denied that the movement had Bolshevik affiliations. During the fighting occasioned by this revolt the Japanese naval and military forces maintained strict neutrality. General Gaida's departure occurred on Nov. 29.

In November and December the Bolshevik activities were extended particularly in Turkestan and the Far East. German Orientalists were sent by Lenin to India, Persia, and other Far East countries, and the Bolsheviks were in uninterrupted com-

munication with Afghanistan. In the course of an address to the Second All-Russian Congress of the Mussulman Communist organizations of Eastern people held in Moscow at the end of November, Lenin said:

Impudent attacks by enemies of the revolution have brought about a miracle. We have gained a full victory over Kolchak, which will be of historic importance for the peoples of the East. At the same time, attacks from the west are weakening. The Versailles Peace is the greatest blow the Entente could inflict upon itself. The peoples see clearly that President Wilson did not bring liberty to democracy.

A strong resolution urging the making

of peace with the Entente was adopted by the Seventh Congress of Russian Soviets at Moscow on Dec. 6, at which both Lenin and Trotzky were present. The resolution passed by the Congress read:

The Soviet Government proposed peace to the Entente on Aug. 5, and has repeated the proposal eight times since. It affirms again its unalterable desire for peace. It offers to all the Entente powers—England, France, the United States, and Japan—together or separately, to begin negotiations. It directs the Executive and the Commissary of Foreign Affairs to continue systematically the policy of peace, taking all steps to attain success.

The First Bolshevik Republic

A WRITER in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* calls attention to the little-known fact that China furnished the first experiment in Bolshevism. It is known as the Republic of Chetuga, and was created about the middle of the nineteenth century in Manchuria by the Khunguses, whose successors, originally bandits, have now become the regular gendarmerie of Northern Manchuria in the service of Japan.

Gold having been discovered on the banks of the Chetuga, an affluent of the Amur River, the Chinese Government recruited vast numbers of miners to dig up this gold for the Chinese Emperor. Half-starved, almost naked, maltreated, many of these conscripted miners fled into the mountains, and established a communist republic, worked their own gold mines, and substituted work coupons for the use of money. All was held in common for the advantage of the workers alone, and all income was in strict ratio to the amount of work actually done.

The ever-increasing influx of Chinese bandits who had fled from the hell of the mines produced a robber class, who pillaged all except the Khunguses of the Chetuga Republic, and who formed a Government of their own along the same lines. As with the former, so here theft and other crimes against the community were punishable by death.

But the depredations of the robbers finally became so bold that the Chinese Government, long suffering and orientally inert, finally was aroused and sent a small army against them, driving them into the mountains. These forces also took occasion to break up the Republic of Chetuga, disperse its citizens, whose Chinese status had remained one of outlawry, and seize its mines for Government exploitation. The bandits who remained in the northern mountains lived on pillage of boats on the Amur River and its affluents. One of their incursions led to the invasion of Manchuria by Russian troops in 1900. The Russians used them in various ventures against the Chinese, but finally mistreated them so that they went over to the Japanese, in whose service they became the Russians' bitterest enemies.

In 1905, when the Peace of Portsmouth was signed, the Government of Tokio kept the Khunguses in their service and transformed them into a regular body of gendarmes. Unscrupulous but loyal, they were of the greatest value to Japan and the inhabitants of Manchuria as a policing force. In 1914, in Kingan, on the slope of Mount Djigitchan, they had their headquarters. Since 1905, when they numbered some 40,000, their numbers have considerably increased.

Kolchak's Methods in Siberia

Terroristic Nature of His Military Orders a Partial Explanation of His Reverses

THE popular antagonism to the rule of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia, and the refusal of the inhabitants to support him in his losing fight against the Bolsheviks, are attributed by his critics to the severity of his methods in administering the regions that came under his control. He referred to this matter himself in a proclamation issued Sept. 16, 1919, to the peoples of Siberia, in which he said: "The National Congress must also assist the Government to effect a change from a military régime, unavoidably severe, yet indispensable to the conditions of desperate civil war, to a new régime suitable to a life of peace, based upon guarantees of civil liberty and upon the safeguarding of property and personal interests." The documents printed below, however, first made public in the English language by The International Review last November, reveal the extent of the Admiral's severity and go far to explain his failure to win popular support. They show that the shooting of hostages was an established feature of his method of pacification.

Under the Kolchak régime practically the whole country has been subjected to martial law. Not only the war zone proper, but the Transbaikalian, Yenesei, Irkutsk, and Amur and Maritime Provinces, and the lines of the Siberian and Amur Railways, with the branch lines and towns and villages along their routes, are under military law. Local government and its organs—e. g., the *Zemstvos*—have been reduced to the condition in which they were in the days of Czarism; labor unions have been suppressed, labor leaders banished; the workers are forbidden to strike, and are under military law. In the districts in which martial law has been proclaimed, the military exercise powers of life and death over the inhabitants, and how that power is exercised may be seen in

the instructions printed below. That there are continual wholesale floggings and shootings is proved by the protest and orders of General Gaida and Admiral Kolchak himself. One of the orders to officers against such methods naïvely stated that "they (the officers) do not understand that too much zeal harms the cause."

Such are the conditions in those districts of Siberia immediately under the administration of Admiral Kolchak. East of Lake Baikal the country is administered by General Horvat, and his subordinates, Semenov and Kalmikov. Semenov and Kalmikov originally refused to recognize the Kolchak Government. Kolchak tried to get rid of them, but as they were supported by the Japanese he failed, and eventually an arrangement was made by which they recognized the Kolchak Government in return for their recognition by that Government as the restorers of law and order in the Transbaikalian and Amur provinces. The reign of terror carried on by Semenov, says The National Review, exceeds anything known in Russia for a century; whole villages have been stripped naked and knouted, sixty workmen at the Chita workshops were flogged so that seven died. Kalmikov, who appears to be a homicidal maniac, was publicly described by General Graves, commanding officer of the American Expeditionary Force, in an interview in the Japanese Advertiser of February, 1919, as a bandit and murderer. He murdered several thousands of people in and around Habarovsk, and later murdered sixteen of his own officers who wished to leave him and go to the front. He was prevented by the Allies' representatives from murdering these officers on the spot, and promised to send them to Chita for trial. They never arrived, and Kalmikov's explanation was that on the way the sixteen of

them "expired." It is hardly surprising in these circumstances that all Siberia east of Lake Baikal was actually or potentially in revolt in the Autumn of 1919; and that where Kolchak had the largest concentration of forces, according to his critics, there was the greatest disorder and the most Bolshevism.

The following is the text of the instructions to military officers:

(I) INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COMMANDERS OF GARRISONS

Appendix to the declaration of the Commissioner for the keeping of public order and peace in the Yenesei and part of the Irkutsk Provinces (§ of March 28, 1919.)

1. To inform me by telegraph of every incident which, in the opinion of the garrison commander, requires the execution of the hostages.

2. Announce in the same telegram just what hostages the garrison commander proposes to shoot in view of the given fact.

3. The garrison commander must demand of the military control and investigatory committees the evidence submitted in each case for inclusion as a hostage. The lists of hostages, together with the reasons why they have been considered as hostages, are to be sent to me.

4. The material and evidence received from the organs mentioned above are not to contain an estimate of the person's guilt. This estimate will be made by the garrison commander, but the person and institution that reported the facts are responsible for the accuracy.

5. In cases of undoubted guilt the garrison commander, after receiving from me permission to shoot a given number of hostages owing to the event reported, will inform me simply of the surnames, Christian names, by whom, when, and for what (in the most general terms) detained. On receipt of my telegram, "I agree with the contents of your telegram recommending the shooting of Nos.—," he is to proceed with the shooting within twenty-four hours.

6. In doubtful cases all the evidence collected is to be forwarded to me by telegraph in précis form, and the shooting is not to be proceeded with pending my confirmation for each case (по каждому абдельному делу.)

7. Only persons detained for Bolshevism in general, or for acts implicating them in the present revolt, can be counted as hostages.

Simply criminals (not implicated in the revolt) are not to be included among the hostages.

March 28, 1919.

KRASNOYARSK.

Original signed by Lieut. Gen. ROZANOV, Chief of the Staff.

Captain of the General Staff, AFANASIEV.

(2) ORDER TO THE PRE-AMUR MILITARY DISTRICT

The Fortress of Vladivostok, No. 203,

May 3, 1919.

The so-called Bolsheviks temporarily seized the reins of government in Russia. The millions of the Russian people allowed the Bolsheviks to do this only because they believed their delusive promises, trusted their assurances at meetings, and believed that the Bolsheviks are sincere friends of the people. But the Russian people, who had been misled by propaganda and devilish duplicity, soon saw that instead of bread the Bolsheviks gave hunger, instead of peace they soaked Russian soil in the blood of brothers, instead of easy work and a prosperous existence they gave the proletariat unemployment, gave over Russian soil to spoliation, and, collecting bands of hireling slaves from among the criminals released from prison, and war prisoners of our enemies, armed them with the military stores, left in vast quantities from the shamefully concluded war, and hounded these ruffians, like hordes of wild beasts, on the wounded body of our dying mother—Russia.

But the spirit of the long-suffering and patient Russian people has been roused and, in spite of all the horrors of terror and violence by which the Bolsheviks try to hold in their dirty clutches the power they usurped, the Russian people has already two-thirds cleared its soil of this defilement. The many-headed monster is breathing its last under the mighty blows of the blades of the young Siberian army, of Denikin's army, of the noble Cossacks, of the armies of Yudenitch, of the Estonians, and of the peasants rising all over Russia.

But in its death throes it is trying to fix its poisonous fangs in the heel of the foot that crushes it to earth.

The hydra has raised its head in the Far East also, and is trying to incite the peaceful peasantry against one another.

Our young forces did not wish to frighten the peaceful inhabitants, did not wish to disturb the peasant in his peaceful toil, and therefore fought the enemies of the people only when they became too insolent.

Therefore, our young troops struck down the head of Bolshevism only when it was raised too high.

The cowardly, bloodthirsty beasts fled before our detachments, and displayed their courage only at the expense of peaceable inhabitants and of our wounded, whom they subjected to a prolonged and ferocious death.

Cowardly thieves, robbers, and bandits could not act otherwise.

And now the Bolsheviks, not daring to come forward, determined to act secretly, committing terroristic acts.

I herewith publish my order for the cognizance of all, as follows:

1. All active agents of Bolshevism captured by our forces shall be tried by field court-martial, and upon being sentenced im-

mediately shot; all their property is to be destroyed, and their houses razed to the ground.

2. In all places infected by Bolshevism, hostages are to be taken from among those sympathizing with Bolshevism and their accomplices.

3. In case of a repetition of terroristic acts or the discovery of corpses of our soldiers tortured by the Bolsheviks, the hostages are to be shot, and, further, hand over to court-martial and execute Bolshevik agents and active Bolsheviks in prison, as well as those members of the Soviet forces in our power as are convinced adherents of Bolshevism (soznatelnyaya chiny sovetskikh armii—), in the ratio of ten men for every terroristic act committed.

4. In case the acts of terrorism continue, I will publish lists of the Bolshevik agents, and of the parties allying themselves to them, and will declare all these agents outlawed.

Commander of the forces,

MAJOR GEN. IVANOV-RINOV.

(3) THE YENESEI PROVINCE

ORDER TO THE COMMANDERS OF MILITARY FORCES OPERATING IN THE DISAFFECTED REGION OF THE YENESEI PROVINCE.

I order that the following instructions be obeyed unflinchingly:

1. In capturing villages formerly taken by the bandits, demand the surrender of their chiefs and ringleaders; if this is not done, and there is reliable evidence of the presence of such, shoot every tenth man.

2. Villages whose population offers armed resistance to Government troops are to be burned to the ground, the adult male population shot to the last man, property, horses, carts, corn, &c., confiscated for the use of the State.

Remark: All the confiscated goods are to be published in the order of the day of the force.

3. If, when the Government troops pass through a village, the inhabitants do not of their own initiative report the presence in the village of enemy forces, and if there had been a possibility of communicating this information, money contributions are to be laid on the population with collective responsibility, (krugavaya poruka, i. e., each is responsible for all). These tributes are to be exacted mercilessly.

Remark: Every contribution is to be published in the order of the day of the force, and the sums afterward paid in to the State.

4. After occupation of the villages, and examination of the case, contributions are to be imposed without hesitation on all those who have aided the bandits, even indirectly. All such persons are to be held collectively responsible.

5. Declare to the population that for voluntarily supplying the bandits, not only with arms and war material, but with provisions, clothes, &c., the offending villages will be

burned, and the property removed for the use of the State. The population is bound to remove its property, or destroy it, in every case where it may be used by the bandits; for property thus destroyed the population will be indemnified in full, either in money or in kind, from the confiscated goods of the bandits.

6. Take hostages from among the population; in case of action hostile to the Government troops by the inhabitants of a village, shoot the hostages without mercy.

7. As a general guide, remember: The people who openly or secretly aid the bandits are to be regarded as enemies, and dealt with mercilessly, and their property must be used to make good the losses due to military operations suffered by that part of the population which is faithful to the Government.

LIEUT. GEN. ROZANOV,

March 27, 1919.

Krasnoyarsk.

(4) SHOOTING HOSTAGES

DECLARATION OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR THE KEEPING OF PUBLIC ORDER AND PEACE IN THE YENESEI AND PART OF THE IRKUTSK PROVINCES.

The Government troops are operating against bands of robbers. The offending elements—dregs of society—commit acts of armed violence for gain and robbery. Bolshevism gave them organization. The disorderly acts committed by the robbers, wrecking of passenger trains, killing of administrative officials, of priests, the shooting of the families of peaceful inhabitants who have felt the region in revolt, the endless series of deeds of violence and oppression—all this makes it necessary to depart from those general moral principles which are applied to the enemy in war.

The prisons are full of the leaders of the murderers. I order the heads of garrisons of the towns in the region under my charge: Consider the Bolsheviks and robbers detained in prisons as hostages. Communicate to me every incident similar to the above, and shoot from three to twenty of the local hostages for every offense taking place in the given region.

Bring this order into force by telegraph. Publish it widely. Detailed instructions follow.

KRASNOYARSK.

March 28, 1919.

The original signed by Lieut. Gen. ROZANOV.

OTHER TESTIMONY

Further light is thrown on conditions in Siberia by a passage from the Siberian co-operative journal *Nashe Dyelo*, which says that at first the Siberians rejoiced at their liberation from Bolshevism, but

As time went on the people learned that peace and democracy seemed ever further off. Six weeks after the clearing of Siberia, the

reactionary elements had completely strangled democracy. * * * The rapidly monarchical elements reappeared, and below the discontent grew ever more real.

A contributor to *Vorwärts*, A. Grigor'yanz, quotes the text of an official report from the Denikin front dated Sept. 29:

Our flying division, under the leadership of Colonel Mamontov, who has gained notoriety by his smart work in the rear of the Bolshevik troops during the last two

months, penetrated a few days ago into the town of Yelez, in the Government of Orel, and after having hanged all the commissaries and members of the different Bolshevik institutions in the place, he disappeared into the unknown. * * *

The population of the conquered districts greet the Denikin and Yudenitch armies as liberators, as with the arrival of the Generals order is restored. But their feelings quickly change as with the order all the well-known institutions of the Tsarist régime and the political secret service are established, and make short work of anybody under suspicion.

Suffering Prisoners in Siberia

Despair of 200,000 Men

The hard fate of hundreds of thousands of Austro-Hungarian prisoners of war, still suffering under the harshest conditions in Siberia, was described in the Japan Weekly Chronicle of Oct. 30, 1919. The writer was himself one of the prisoners—a doctor possessing English university degrees. "The state of affairs he describes," remarked the Japan Chronicle, in presenting the letter, "is a disgrace to the powers who are jointly undertaking the restoration of Siberia." The correspondent wrote:

THERE are at the present day the following numbers of prisoners of war in Siberia: Germans, 5,000; Austrians, 100,000; Hungarians, 90,000; Turks, 15,000; Bulgarians, 2,000; total, 212,000 men. The majority were taken prisoner in 1914, i. e., more than five years ago. On an average they have been kept in captivity about four years already. They are, for the most part, in concentration camps, located in the different towns from Petropavlovsk to Vladivostok, on the northern railway line, strongly guarded by the worst type of Russian soldier, specially hired for this purpose, fed insufficiently, and getting every day exactly the same food—for five long years on end! The exact figures of a medical analysis of this food show that a day's ration contains 1,900 to 2,200 calories on an average, whereas, the normally needed amount is 3,000 calories.

Housed like dogs—not like the dogs of the rich—receiving hardly any clothing since their capture, they are hungry, squalid, and ragged. The uniforms, boots, &c., sent from home through the Danish, Swedish, and other representatives of the Red Cross, or in other ways,

have been "requisitioned" and then sold by the Russians, or given to the "brave" Cossacks. They are treated in an indescribably rough and inhuman manner. A recent instance was silently witnessed by American officers, Japanese soldiers, and Red Cross representatives. Five thousand prisoners, sent from Beresovka to Nikolsk-Ussuriiskii, were on arrival surrounded by Kalmykov's Cossacks, and without the slightest reason whatever attacked by the mounted formation, sabred and knouted. It was afterward explained as a "mistake"—they thought they were "Bolsheviki."

In Krasnoyarsk two Russian regiments mutinied, whereupon the Czechs disarmed them. Finding a concentration camp in the vicinity of the barracks of the mutineer regiments, they accused the prisoners of war of having incited the Russian soldiers. This could not, of course, be proved, nevertheless they shot 18 officers, who had been lecturing to their own comrades, in German or Hungarian, on all kinds of scientific questions.

These officers, it may be mentioned, get no rations—only a roof over their heads—hardly a house, for the houses allotted to them in Nikolsk, for instance,

had no windows. These had to be made by them. They got 50 rubles a month. From February, 1919, to the present day this had a fluctuating average purchasing value of about 1 yen. They were, therefore, in a decidedly worse position than the men. In May they were promised 100 rubles and food. This order has not been executed as yet, excepting that they get 1 ruble 90 kopeks per day in lieu of rations. They would long ago have been starved, of course, on this pay, which is a derision, had they not found means to support themselves by some kind of work. You find now jurists, professors, engineers, painters, sculptors, &c., cleaning the dirty streets of small Siberian towns and working as servants in all kinds of black labor. Very few have been able to find positions as skilled workmen, not being trained to any manual profession, and fewer still obtain a situation corresponding to their education and abilities. They are in this respect treated exactly like slaves, the Russian authorities giving them out for work only on condition that 50 per cent. of their earnings go to their own mysterious "funds."

All the different representatives of the Red Cross—mainly American—who have visited the camps will confirm in detail the above facts. They have been breathless on first seeing them, promised immediate help and—nothing has happened since, except that time flies, Winter is again at hand, and it can be imagined what that means for people in such a condition in Siberia. There are, of course, political reasons.

Three camps—Krasnaya Riechka, Per-vaya Riechka and the old Nikolsk camp

—have been taken under custody of the American and Japanese command and are now all under Japanese rule. There the men have been clad and fed up in a princely way compared to their previous lot; the officers get \$35 (50 yen) per month. The camps have been built up as model camps, duly photographed and advertised in the home papers. They include about 6,000 men. The remaining 206,000 have been left to the Russians in the same misery as before. In Nikolsk there are now prisoners of war of the same armies—Austrian, Hungarian, and Turkish—in two different camps at a distance of 100 yards from each other, and in the one they get 50 yen and maintenance, in the other only 1 yen and hardly sufficient food. Can you explain that even on political grounds?

You might ask, Why do they suffer this? Isn't death far preferable to such existence? The answer is—first, exhaustion, want of energy as a consequence of chronic starvation; secondly, the thought, indeed *idée fixe*, that they "must" get home somehow or other, to see once more parents, wife, and children, who have a right to their life. But of course there is a limit even to such a pathological state of mind. What the consequences must be if these 200,000 embittered men lose patience I leave it to you to guess.

All these poor wrecks of war thank you in advance for anything you might do for them by publishing some news about their situation, thus helping to arouse public indignation, which alone can wipe out this shameful blot on the "civilization" the Entente has saved.



How We Made the October Revolution

By LEON TROTZKY

[BOLSHEVIST MINISTER OF WAR]

(Concluded*)

THE revolutionary class alone was called to break the fatal circle in which, to its ruin, the revolution had remained confined. It was necessary to seize the power from those elements which, directly or indirectly, were only the servants of the upper bourgeoisie, and who used the resources of the Government as a means of obstructing the revolutionary demands of the people. * * * "Governmental power to the Soviets!" cried our party. In October, 1917, this meant the delivery of all power to the revolutionary proletariat, at the head of which, at this time, stood the party of the Bolsheviks. It was, then, a question of the dictation of the working class, which rallied, or, more exactly, was capable of rallying behind it the millions and millions of men constituting the compact masses of the rural proletariat. This is the whole historical meaning of the October revolution.

Everything spurred the party along this path. Since the first days of the revolution we had preached the necessity, and even inevitability, of delivering power over to the Soviets. After many internal struggles, the majority of Soviets had adopted this demand, and had come to share our view. We then began to prepare the second Congress of the Soviets of all the Russias. The Central Executive Committee, directed by Dan, used every means to prevent the convening of this Congress. With much difficulty, we finally succeeded in fixing the convocation of the Congress for the 25th of October, a date of the greatest significance for Russia's future history.

[At the beginning of October, the Petrograd Military Staff demanded that two-thirds of the garrison be sent to the front. The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, suspecting a purely political manoeuvre, refused to accept this transfer blindly.

Documents subsequently found, M. Trotsky alleged, proved that the measure was devised by Kerensky, "who sought thus to free the capital of the most revolutionary soldiers," i. e., those most hostile to him. A revolutionary military committee was formed by the Petrograd Soviet, in which the Bolsheviks were in the ascendancy, to examine the question technically. This committee was deliberately conceived to serve as an organ of the approaching revolution, and by its intensive propaganda work among the soldiers of the garrison, on whose attitude the fate of the coming Congress of Soviets depended, prepared the way for the subsequent upheaval.

Meantime the Bolsheviks proclaimed openly their intention to overthrow Kerensky's Government and to substitute the rule of the Second Soviet Congress. Lenin, who was hiding in Finland, sent innumerable letters demanding action. On Oct. 10 a secret session of the Executive Committee was held in Lenin's presence to discuss the projected revolution. With only two dissenting voices a resolution was adopted declaring that the sole way to save the revolution and the country from final disaster was to create a revolutionary movement which should deliver over all governmental power into the hands of the Soviets. Seeing in the Democratic Soviet and the Provisional Parliament a mere compromise with the upper bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks decided to break with it publicly. The Socialist-Revolutionists refused to follow them in an armed revolt. The Bolsheviks then announced from the gallery of the Provisional Parliament that they had decided to abandon this institution. This declaration "was received by the majority groups with roars of impotent anger."

The work of preparation went on, amid the alleged slanders of the opposition press. "The advocates of the upper bourgeoisie were right," said M. Trotsky, "when they accused us of seeking to create a revolutionary situation. Open revolt and direct seizure of power were in our eyes the only issue possible." The popular masses came over in greater and greater numbers; delegates from the trenches constantly arriving declared that if peace were not effected by Nov. 1 the soldiers would leave the trenches and attack Petrograd. The Bolsheviks had become at last the army's main hope. The Petrograd garrison, meantime, was won over by the Bolshevik propaganda. The Revolutionary Military Committee, supported by the Petrograd Soviet, became openly an organization of

*All the dates used by M. Trotsky are Old Style. To translate them into our calendar, add thirteen to each date.

révolt. The decisive moment was approaching. M. Trotzky continues:]

BOLSHEVIST COMMISSARIES

The first act of the Revolutionary Military Committee had been to appoint commissaries for all parts of the Petrograd garrison and for all the important institutions of the capital and its surroundings. On every hand we were informed that the Government, or, rather, the Governmental factions, were organizing and arming their forces energetically. In all places where arms were kept, both public and private, they had seized guns, revolvers, machine guns and cartridges, with which they had armed non-commissioned officers, students and young men of the middle class in general. We were therefore compelled to take preventive measures. Our commissaries were installed in all arsenals and gunshops. With practically no resistance they became the masters of the situation. Henceforth no arms were delivered except by order of the commissaries. The regiments of the garrison declared one after the other that they recognized only the commissaries of the Petrograd Soviet, and that they would not move without their instructions.

Besides this work of organization a violent campaign of agitation was carried on. Continual meetings were held in the factories, in the Cirque Moderne, in the Cirque Ciniselli, in clubs, and barracks. The atmosphere of all these meetings was filled with electricity. Every allusion to the imminent revolution was received with thunders of applause and cries of enthusiasm. The bourgeois press contributed greatly to deepen the impression of general unrest. The order signed by me and given to the Sestror-jetzk Munitions Works to furnish the Red Guard with 5,000 guns aroused an indescribable panic in the bourgeois circles. Everywhere, in speech and press, the main topic of discussion was the general massacre that was being prepared. This naturally did not prevent the factory in question from delivering the guns to the Red Guard. And the more the bourgeois press barked against us and slandered us the more ardent was the response of the masses to our call.

KERENSKY'S POWER GONE

The Smolny Institute was already at that time in the hands of the Petrograd Soviet and of our party. The Mensheviks and the Revolutionary Socialists of the Right transferred their political activity to the Mary Palace, where the recently born Provisional Parliament was already in its death agony. Kerensky delivered before this Parliament a long speech, in which he sought to conceal his powerlessness behind the loud applause of the bourgeois factions and menacing cries raised against the Bolsheviks. The Government Military Staff made one last effort at resistance. It sent to all the elements of the garrison an invitation to appoint two delegates for each troop corps to examine the question of whether the soldiers of the garrison should be sent away from the capital. The discussion was fixed for Oct. 22 at 1 P. M.

The regiments notified us immediately of this invitation. We summoned the Council of the Garrison to meet at 11 in the morning. A part of the delegates, however, went to the Staff Headquarters, but only to declare that they would do nothing without the instructions of the Petrograd Soviet. The Garrison Council showed almost unanimously its loyalty to the Revolutionary Military Committee. Objections were made only by the official representatives of the factions of the former Soviet, but these found no sympathy with the regimental delegates. The efforts of the Staff Headquarters had shown us clearly that we were on solid ground. Among our warmest partisans was the Volhynian Regiment, that same regiment which, on the night of July 4, preceded by its military band, had left the Tauride Palace to suppress the Bolsheviks.

SOVIET DAY IN "PETER"

Since the end of September we had undertaken a series of steps to procure for the Petrograd Soviet an independent paper. But all the printing houses were occupied, and their owners, supported by the Central Executive Committee, boycotted us. We therefore decided to organize a "Soviet Day in Petrograd," and

to collect the funds necessary to finance such a paper. This day had been fixed two weeks before for Oct. 22, which date coincided with the date of the opening of the conflict. The opposition press declared positively that on Oct. 22 an armed rebellion by the Bolsheviks would take place in the streets of Petrograd. * * * The Soviet, however, proceeded calmly and coolly, paying no attention to the vociferations of "public opinion" and the outcry of the upper bourgeoisie.

Oct. 22 was the parade day of the proletarian army. Everything went off well. Despite all warnings issued by the Right that blood would flow in streams in the streets, the popular masses thronged to the meetings of the Petrograd Soviet. All the forces of oratory had been marshaled. All public buildings were packed. The meetings lasted for several hours without interruption. As speakers there were members of our party, delegates of the Congress of Soviets, representatives from the front, Social Revolutionists of the Left, and anarchists. All public edifices were invaded by throngs of workmen, soldiers, and sailors. * * * Tens of thousands of men filled the People's House, swarmed in the corridors, filled the halls to overflowing. Around the iron pillars clusters of human heads, hands, and feet clung like enormous vines. The atmosphere was charged with that electrical tension which characterizes all critical moments of revolution.

"Down with the Kerensky Government!" "Down with war!" "All power for the Soviets!" these masses shouted. Before this vast multitude no one dared utter a protest. The Petrograd Soviet dominated absolutely everything. The revolution had begun. The only thing remaining was to give the pale spectre of Kerensky's Government the finishing blow.

[Steps were taken immediately to win over troops who were still irresolute, such as the Cossacks, the cavalry regiments, Semenov's regiment, the automobile corps. Commissaries and agitators were dispatched to these danger points, as well as to the Fortress of Peter and Paul dominating Petrograd. The efforts of the Bolsheviks were everywhere successful. Additional troops sent for by the desperate Kerensky from outside halted their march and sent delegates to the Bol-

shevist leaders. Delegates from the front returned there with Bolshevik propaganda material to distribute. The Revolutionary Military Committee established communication by telephone with the garrisons of neighboring towns, and posted forces at all stations to prevent the entrance of "counter-revolutionaries" into the city. The public telephone service was taken over by force after it had refused its co-operation. The telegraph and postal services were also seized. The Smolny Institute was equipped with machine guns, and the Bolshevik leaders installed themselves on the third floor in a small corner room, where all reports were received, and whence all action was directed.

On the evening of Oct. 24 Kerensky went before the Provisional Parliament and asked authority to take repressive measures against the Bolsheviks. A wild storm of conflicting views arose, which resulted in the condemnation of the seditious movement of the Soviet, but also in throwing the blame for this movement "on the anti-democratic policy of the Government." The Bolshevik leaders received dozens of letters threatening death. Gorky, in his *Novaya Zhizn*, prophesied the end of the world.

The members of the Revolutionary Military Committee had not left the Smolny Institute the whole week; they lay on sofas, sleeping but little, awakened constantly by couriers, bringers of news, cyclists, telegraph messengers, and telephone calls. The most exciting night was that of Oct. 24-25, when news came that Kerensky was preparing armed resistance at Pavlovsk and Peterhof. The Bolsheviks replied by posting sentries on all roads leading to Petrograd, and sending agitators forward to mingle with the Government troops and seduce them to the Bolshevik cause. The Petrograd garrison, meanwhile, held itself in readiness to support the Bolsheviks. In this decisive night all the principal points of the city, including the State Bank, were seized by the Bolsheviks almost without resistance. The cruiser *Aurora*, on the Neva, was held up as it was about to sail and taken over into the service of the Soviets. The narrative of M. Trotsky continues:]

THE DECISIVE DAY

On Oct. 25, at dawn, there arrived at the Smolny Institute a man and a woman worker from the printing plant of our party, who announced that the Government had forbidden the appearance of the central organ of the party, as well as that of the new paper of the Petrograd Soviet. Government agents had placed seals on the plant. The Revolutionary Military Committee immediately took the two organs under its protection, and confided "to the glorious Volhynian regiment the great honor of defending

the freedom of the people's press against counter-revolutionary attacks." The printing plant resumed work, without further interruption, and the two papers appeared at the time fixed.

The Government was still quartered in the Winter Palace, but it was only the shadow of a Government. Politically it was already dead. On Oct. 25 [Nov. 7, New Style] the Winter Palace was gradually surrounded by our troops. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon, at the session of the Petrograd Soviet and in the name of the Revolutionary Military Committee, I announced that the Kerensky Government no longer existed, and that pending the decision of the Soviet Congress all Governmental power passed into the hands of the Revolutionary Military Committee.

Lenin, who had secretly left Finland and gone into hiding in the suburbs, came to the Smolny Institute on Oct. 25. That same evening a provisional session of the Soviet Congress took place. Dan, head of Kerensky's Central Executive Committee, made a report in the name of that committee. He delivered a speech accusing the rioters, the "expropriators" and fosterers of rebellion, tried to frighten the Congress by representing the repression of the revolutionary movement as inevitable, declaring that it would be crushed by troops from the front within a few days. His words lacked persuasiveness, and were out of place in an assemblage where the great majority of the delegates followed with intense joy the victorious progress of the Petrograd revolution.

The Winter Palace was then surrounded, but not yet taken. From time to time shots were fired from its windows against the besiegers, who slowly and prudently closed their circle around it. From the Fortress of Peter and Paul two or three cannon shots were fired at the palace. Their far-off thunder could be heard inside the Smolny Institute. Filled with impotent rage, Martov, from the gallery of the Congress, spoke of civil war, and especially of the siege of the Winter Palace. The reply to this was given by two sailors, who had come directly from the scene of combat to sub-

mit a report. This report recalled the offensive of June 18, all the policy of betrayal of the former Government, the re-establishment of the death penalty for the soldiers, arrests and oppressive measures against revolutionary organizations, and ended with a solemn oath to conquer or die.

These sailors also brought us the news of our first losses, which occurred in the large square facing the Winter Palace. As though a signal had been given, all the delegates rose from their seats and with a unanimity produced only by a high moral tension, intoned the Song of the Dead. All those who experienced that moment will never forget it. The session was broken off. It was impossible to continue the theoretical discussion relating to Government when the fate of the existing Government was being decided amid the tumult of combat and shots around the Winter Palace. * * * We all awaited anxiously the news of what was going on.

FALL OF KERENSKY

After some time Antonov, who was directing the operations, arrived at Smolny. Amid utter silence he announced that the Winter Palace had been taken, that Kerensky had fled, and that the other Ministers had been arrested and brought to the Peter and Paul Fortress. The Social Revolutionists and the Mensheviks, numbering about sixty, or about one-tenth of the Congress, left the hall protesting. As they had no other alternative, they "threw all responsibility" for everything destined to occur upon the Bolsheviks and the Social Revolutionists of the Left.

The latter still hesitated. The Right wing of this party had gone over completely to the middle class and the lower bourgeoisie, to the intellectuals of the lower bourgeoisie, and to the well-to-do residents of the villages, and in all important questions it allied itself against us with the liberal upper bourgeoisie. The most revolutionary elements of this party, in which was still reflected all the radicalism of the social demands of the poorest peasant masses, leaned toward the proletariat and the party of the proletariat. Nevertheless they were

afraid to cut the bonds which linked them with their former party. When, therefore, we left the Provisional Parliament, they refused to follow us and warned us against "adventures." But now the revolution compelled them to

choose for the Soviets or against the Soviets. Not without hesitation they took up their position on the same side of the barricade as ourselves. The first chapter of the October revolution was thus concluded.

Free Finland

By ARMAS HERMAN SAASTAMOINEN

[FINNISH MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES]

Mr. Saastamoinen, though not yet 40 years of age, is considered one of the ablest statesmen in the new Finland. In the Spring of 1918 he was appointed first envoy of independent Finland to Copenhagen. He was subsequently offered the portfolio of Foreign Affairs in the Finnish Government, but preferred the post of Finnish Minister to the United States, a country which he had learned to know from a business and study trip taken some years ago. His story of events in Finland since the Russian revolution is here reproduced from the October number of the American-Scandinavian Review.

THE whole history of Finland is nothing but a struggle for her very existence. After centuries of wars and resistance to oppression, we have at last attained freedom and recognition as one of the independent States of the world, but only after a struggle more bitter than any that preceded it, because in this case we had to fight our own brothers. It is no wonder that other countries, while they were themselves in the throes of great events, should have failed to understand what took place in our country, but increased sympathy will come with fuller knowledge. When the whole history of our struggle becomes known, as perhaps it will be ten years from now, the world will be amazed.

It has seemed to many foreigners that the class hatred shown in the Red revolt must necessarily be the result of oppression by the capitalist class, and that the excesses of the proletariat, however terrible, must have had some justification or at least excuse in the tyranny of their masters. This is an absolute perversion of the truth. The Finns are by nature pugnaciously democratic, and we had in our country evolved a democracy so complete that its failure to insure peace would almost tempt one to doubt the possibility of democracy anywhere.

During the last few decades Finland has been changing rapidly from an almost purely agricultural country to one in which large industries hold an important place. The laborers, being practically a new class, were not represented in our old-fashioned Constitution, which was based on representation of four estates. In 1905, however, the whole country instituted a strike against Russian autocracy, a strike in which not only workingmen but professional men, officials, university professors, and even the police took part, and by this means we succeeded in wresting from the Czar a new Constitution, the most democratic the world had up to that time known. All power was lodged in a one-chamber Parliament, elected by free and equal suffrage of all men and women over 24 years of age. Unfortunately, however, our Constitution was in effect nullified by the Czar, who would dissolve the Diet whenever it was on the point of passing any liberal law, and during the war it was permanently suspended; but it has now resumed its functions. The present Diet, elected last March, has framed a republican Constitution and elected our first President. Since the revolution in March, 1917, we have had in fact a parliamentary government, and in December of the same year a law was passed making it obligatory that the

Ministry should have the confidence of the Diet.

Economically, as well as politically, Finland is a democracy. I venture to say that there is no country in the world where wealth is more evenly distributed,



ARMAS SAASTAMOINEN

First Finnish Minister to the United States

where there are fewer large fortunes, and where the standard of living is simpler and more uniform among all classes. Nor is there any immutable line between classes; most of the present leaders are plain men who have risen from the people. The so-called bourgeois parties have for decades been working to reform our somewhat antiquated land laws, but all efforts were wrecked on the refusal of the Czar to sanction any liberal legislation and on the resistance of the Socialists, who wanted to communize the land, and therefore would not support a law that would increase the number of land owners. The law making thousands of small tenants (*torpare*) owners of the soil they tilled has now been passed; it was, in fact, one of the very first actions of that "rump" Diet which met immediately after the revolt was crushed. Other reforms in the interests of industrial workers were passed by the bourgeois majority in the Diet of 1917,

among them the eight-hour-day law and a very radical municipal law—the two chief points for which the Socialists had instituted the general strike of November, 1917. Nevertheless, the preparations for revolution went right on, and the Red leaders continued to delude their followers by calling the members of the Government "butchers" and "enemies of the people."

This accusation would be absurd if it were not so tragic. How could these men be enemies of the people? They had suffered imprisonment and banishment and had been threatened with death a thousand times for standing by their own people. The most determined resistance to the tyranny of the Czar was always found in the educated middle classes, and not least among the officials. During the years 1911 to 1917 not less than fifty Finnish officials were confined in Russian prisons because they refused to execute orders that were contrary to Finnish law. When the Russian revolution broke out, about 200 Finnish patriots were awaiting their death sentences in Petrograd prisons and others were in banishment in Siberia, among them President of the Diet *Svinhufvud* and Mayor *Hasselblatt* of *Vasa*, who had both been deported in 1914. The White Guards were not, as the Red leaders attempted to make their followers believe, organized against the workingmen, but to keep order and, of course, with a view to being eventually used against the foreign oppressor. They asked nothing better than to co-operate with the workingmen against the common enemy.

No, the class hatred in Finland was artificially stimulated from the outside. To understand the whole situation, it must be remembered that our country had for twenty years been living under abnormal conditions. Russification had been going on at an accelerated pace, and had roused bitter and vengeful resistance. The inherited respect for law and authority was undermined, because law and authority were represented by the hated Government of the Czar. The fires of revolution were smoldering in the people, and when, at last, they burst out in flame they were turned against countrymen instead of against the ty-

rant, who had so suddenly and unexpectedly fallen.

It was a fatal influence that made the Finns identify their cause with that of the Russian revolutionists. The sympathy was natural enough, since both were fighting a common enemy, and yet the situation in our country was widely different from that of our earnest neighbor. Finland was a well-ordered western democracy with a popular representation, able to put through any reforms that the people demanded, provided only that the Czar would allow it to function. Resistance with us could therefore take legal forms. Not so in Russia. An Oriental despotism held sway there and could only be changed by the complete overthrow of the despot and the building up of a new form of government. Our Finnish workingmen, though they stand infinitely higher in literacy and intelligence than do Russians of the same class, were unable to see the difference. During the war they came very much under the influence of Russian soldiers and marines. Immense fortifications were built in Finland, and the construction gave employment to about 70,000 Finnish laborers. There they were under the supervision of Russian soldiers, and learned to fraternize with them as well as with the marines from the battleships stationed near our coast.

As all the world now knows, the Russian Army, and even more the Russian Navy, with its inhuman discipline, were breeding places of anarchism, and it was in the navy that Bolshevism found its first supporters. Finland became the spectator of a horrible massacre of officers, and the streets of Helsingfors were infested with Russian marines, rushing around in automobiles, finger on trigger, hunting down their former commanders, or shooting into the empty air for sport.

Long before that crisis, however, our laborers had been infected with Bolshevik doctrines. There is much in the character of the Finn that makes him fall a ready victim to theories of that kind. He is extremely doctrinaire, and, when he has once accepted an idea, is ready to carry it out to its ultimate consequences. Sometimes this quality leads him to the

most sublime self-sacrifice, even to death, for his convictions, but at other times it may be a source of great danger. In the present case, it carried the workingmen to the extremes of internationalism. They



GENERAL JUSTAS MANNERHEIM
Commander in Chief of Finnish armies

accepted the doctrine of the solidarity of the proletariat against the "exploiting class," and instantly transplanted to their own conditions that class hatred which might have some reason in Russia, but was absolutely without justification in Finland. As a Finnish writer, Henning Söderhjelm, says: "With Finnish stubbornness and tenacity they accepted the lightly constructed fancies and utopias of the Russians. The edifice which to the Russian was only a house of cards, built in an exalted hour and dismissed with a mere shrug of the shoulder when it fell, was to them a temple founded on a rock which could never fall."

There were, of course, moderate Socialists in Finland, but these were either carried away or, at best, remained pas-

sive. To all such, who now disclaim responsibility for the revolt, we can only say that they blew sparks which they ought to have known would burn the house. In the elections of 1917, the party managed to secure 103 out of a total of 200 representatives, largely through the indifference of the bourgeois parties, which had lost interest in the vote, since all their attempts at legislation were nullified by the Russian authorities. Following in the footsteps of the Czar, Kerensky dissolved the Diet in July of the same year, and when the new elections were held in October the Socialists had lost their majority, and succeeded in electing only 92 of their candidates. The reason was simply that the people saw whither the Socialists were tending. They saw them fraternizing with the ancient enemies of our people, while the Red Guard refused to put a stop to the crimes committed by hooligans and the demoralized Russian soldiery. Therefore the voters turned against them, but the Socialists refused to accept their defeat at the polls, and prepared more and more openly for revolution. On Jan. 27, 1918, at 6 o'clock, the signal was given which let loose the forces of the Red revolt.

We have been criticised for accepting German aid, but it was a case of self-preservation. We had no army; for the Finnish Army had been dissolved by the Russian authorities, and since 1902 we have had no military service. We had scarcely any arms; for the possession of firearms had long been forbidden. Against us we had the Red Army, which, according to the protocol of the Guard in March, 1918, numbered 75,000, augmented by tens of thousands of Russian soldiers. They were supplied with arms, which had been pouring into the country from the Bolsheviki in Petrograd ever since the beginning of December, 1917. They were in possession of the line of forts that had been flung across the country in the expectation that Finland would become an important strategic centre in the world war—tremendous fortifications, blasted in rock, reinforced with trenches and barbed wire, and comparable in strength to Antwerp and Liège. Outside our coasts were about four-fifths of the Russian battleships,

most of them right in the Harbor of Helsingfors.

Against all this we had practically only our bare hands—not a single cannon and only a few rifles. Nevertheless, General Mannerheim assured the Government that, given time, he could put down the Reds unaided, but the Government did not think it right to incur the frightful loss of life that must have been the consequence of going against the fortifications with unarmed men. It would have meant that the entire southern part of the country would have been laid waste and Helsingfors reduced to an ash-heap. The brunt of the fighting, however, was borne by Mannerheim's volunteer army, the backbone of which was made up of peasants and woodsmen from the north.

A glance at the composition of the White Army is the best answer to the fiction that it was an army of the "possessing classes" trying to crush the proletariat. Peasants fighting to retain their few acres of land, country school teachers defending their hearthstones, schoolboys who had been learning the use of firearms in secret to use them some time against Russia—these were the "capitalists" and "reactionaries" of the Finnish people's army. A Swedish writer, Ernst Klein, has remarked that one "might as well hope to marshal an army in Finland for Confucianism or for the Asa faith as for reactionism." Equally untrue, therefore, is the accusation that Finnish "junkers" were intriguing with Prussians of the same calibre to enslave their own countrymen. Our leaders were pro-German in the sense of looking to Germany as the only power likely to help them against Russian aggression; but the men who had just come back from prison and banishment for refusing to submit to one tyrant were not likely to put their country under the foot of another. All they wanted was Finland free and independent.

This is not the place to tell the story of the fighting and of the final victory won by our troops, but I wish to say a few words about the so-called White terror. The Socialists claim that more than 15,000 persons were killed, and it is made to appear that these people were

executed by the Government in cold blood, after peace was restored and the enemy had been rendered helpless. This is absolutely untrue. No doubt summary justice was done by local bodies of White troops, who took the law in their own hands, for the war was largely a guerrilla war, fought by undisciplined men, who were under terrible provocation. I shrink from mentioning the Red terror; it is hard to confess that such things could be done by my own countrymen, but it is necessary to touch on it in order to understand the fury of the peasants. Many localities had been infested by bands of thieves and cut-throats for months past; about one thousand murders were committed before the revolution broke out, besides those perpetrated on helpless prisoners during the war. Often they were accompanied by such bestial tortures that the story is unfit to print. One can hardly marvel that people who saw their neighbors nailed to the table by their tongues—to mention only one instance—would take instant vengeance.

With regard to the executions ordered by the Government, I am able to give exact figures. They were 127 or, possibly, 128. Nearly all those condemned to death were murderers; many had several murders on their conscience, one no less than 120. All were tried in civil courts. Not a single person was executed in the camps.

The conditions in the camps have been the subject of criticism. When the war was over, we found ourselves with 80,000 prisoners on our hands. Many of these were, of course, comparatively innocent; they had been deluded or perhaps even forced into the Red army. On the other hand, there was danger of releasing those who would instantly start the revolt over again. The sifting process took time, and it was difficult to care for this mass of people, but I deny that deliberate cruelties or even avoidable hardships were inflicted on them. There were epidemics due to malnutrition in the camps, but also outside of the camps. The daily bread ration in Finland, even after we had received some aid from abroad, was eighty grams, of which forty grams

were wood pulp. (A normal ration is 500 grams.) If the prisoners were staggering for want of food, so were the guards who took care of them, and had exactly the same miserable rations. I doubt if any people less hardy than the Finns could have lived, let alone fought, on the diet of our troops. It is the literal truth that sometimes they did not taste food for days together, for they could not plunder the land they were set to defend or take the bread out of the mouths of helpless women and children. As fast as the prisoners could be tried, they were released in batches of many thousands each time.

According to the latest report from Finland, General Mannerheim has proposed that the few who still remain be released, with the exception of criminals and the leaders of the revolt.

That the Socialists have not been deprived of the right of free speech and the use of their press is shown by the fact that in the last March elections they managed to elect eighty representatives to the Diet. In my opinion, they will not be able to turn Finland into a communistic State, but will have to accept the fact that it will remain a radical democracy with more and more liberal tendencies. * * *

It is to the Scandinavian countries that Finland must look for her closest friends in the future. One-eighth of our population are Swedes, and they enjoy exactly the same rights with regard to the use of their language as do the Finnish-speaking majority. Our culture has been built by both races, but has received its strongest impulses from Scandinavia, not only from Sweden, but from Denmark and Norway. We feel, perhaps, a stronger affection for the three brother nations than they feel for one another. The sympathy of Scandinavia has been to us more than mere words; to us who have had almost to dig ourselves out of our own grave, the hand of fellowship from the west has meant renewed hope of life. To all Scandinavians I want to say that the Finland you learned to know in the writings of Runeberg and Topelius is still there.

The White Terror in Hungary

Premier Friedrich Charged With Concealing and Promoting Murder and Persecution

After the fall of Bela Kun's Bolshevist régime and the brief interim of Archduke Joseph's attempt to govern Hungary, the power fell into the hands of the temporary Friedrich Government, with which the Peace Conference long refused to negotiate a treaty of peace. Charges of a White Terror under this régime were formulated in impressive detail by a special correspondent of the Viennese Socialist paper, the Arbeiter Zeitung; his articles, signed "R," appeared in the issues of Sept. 16 and 17, 1919. The Arbeiter Zeitung is an anti-Bolshevist journal, hence its story of atrocities committed in the name of anti-Bolshevism carries weight. The International Review's translation is here presented in part.

Budapest, Sept. 13, 1919.

UNDER Friedrich, Hungary has arranged the most stringent embargo on information, so as to be able to carry on her hangman's job undisturbed. The Reds had yoked the Hungarian press; the Whites have strangled it. With the help of the Rumanian censorship a check has been imposed on correspondents of the foreign press, by means of which reports about events in Hungary are, at the least, detained; but should the Rumanian censorship, nevertheless, allow something to slip through, Friedrich has made arrangements to prevent the handing on of such information to foreign countries; for this purpose the so-called Friedrich censors have been installed at the central telegraph stations, and they subject telegrams to a fresh scrutiny. One or two notices of atrocities had, however, appeared in the Vienna papers; these papers, as I know by personal observation, have been seized at the frontier by the frontier police for the last ten days, at the direct order of the Hungarian Government. The most stringent embargo on information is being imposed on Hungary, because Hungary has an evil conscience!

And suppose a cry of despair from some of those who are being tortured to death should, nevertheless, penetrate the embargo, in order to call Europe to witness their arraignment—for this eventuality also Friedrich has made his dispositions: he directs his telegraph bureau to circulate in foreign parts lies calculated to contradict all accusation,

even over there. A few days ago, for instance, the Friedrich Government caused to be circulated a certain declaration; it appeared also in the official Gazette: that declaration, with the audacity characteristic of Herr Friedrich, contained a statement to this effect: "Once for all let us say, with the utmost definiteness, that the much talked-of White Terror does not exist, and never has existed. What is being done in Hungary by the White Guard simply amounts to the keeping of law and the keeping of order. We further declare that the White Guard will not allow itself to be obstructed by this manoeuvre."

GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY

Before I give cases, proved by documentary evidence, copies of most of which are in the possession of the Entente missions, I propose first to settle accounts with the malicious lie which has been officially spread abroad in order to suppress the truth.

Herr Friedrich, Premier of Hungary: I beg to remind you that when last I spoke to you and had an opportunity of asking you about the authentic information I had of atrocities of the White Guard in Trans-Danubian Hungary, you answered as follows: "I regret to have to admit that these atrocities did, as a matter of fact, take place." As I know your political methods full well by now, I am aware that, when as a simple correspondent, I now bring a public complaint against your system, you will, in order to whitewash yourself, deny that this conversation ever took place. You will

not succeed. Here and now, I submit to you the records of the Hungarian War Ministry, Department 5a, copies of which, as is stated in these documents themselves, have been deposited with Colonel Lorx, at Algya-Papp, with First Lieutenant Nyekhegyi, with Major Denes, with Captain Denghy, with the Police Section of the Ministry of the Interior, with the Manager of the Press Bureau in the Prime Minister's Department, with various Hungarian Ministries, with Sections II., III., XIII., XIV., and with the Hungarian liaison officers attached to the Entente missions. I have had opportunity to inspect a great many "bulletins"; in order to keep within the limits of this article I will, at present, select only a few cases.

From the bulletin of the Hungarian War Ministry 621/1, 5a 1010, dated Aug. 21, 1918, (*sic*), 8 A. M.:

Official Report from Veszprim:

The Rumanian occupation troops are limiting their operations to keeping order and to taking prisoner Communists who are in hiding. The population has absolutely no cause for complaint on account of the Rumanian occupation. On the other hand, in the unoccupied villages of the county the White Guard are making unauthorized requisitions, *are using lynch law, are carrying out executions.*

In this same report Count Louis Batthyany of Polgardi, who is a big landowner, says:

The soldiers who form the White Guard are carrying on a reign of terror in the village and surrounding district, are making unauthorized requisitions, have blackmailed a Jewish merchant to the extent of 20,000 kronen, which he was to pay in order not to be hanged. They are behaving in a way calculated to arouse the greatest disquiet among the population.

The administrative authorities of the Feher County report:

We have already several times drawn the attention of the Gendarmerie Command in Stuhlweissenburg to the behavior of the White Guard. There are official reports to the effect that the soldiers of the White Guard are carrying out lynch law and are refusing trial; that they hang all persons who had any connection with the Bolshevik régime, and they further egg on the people to religious cruelties. These cases of execution by lynch law were carried out within the Feher County, principally in Nagylang and Aban, in the Veszprim County, in Lepseny and Enying. The Gendarmerie Command informed the

Chief Command of the White Guard of these events, and, according to information supplied by Captain of the Gendarmerie, Ratz, the Chief Command has already instituted an inquiry. The population of the villages, which has been embittered by the Bolshevik rule, in many cases openly encouraged the executions and lynch law of the White soldiers. *But it is to be feared that much harm will be done to public safety hereabouts by these unauthorized acts, and the tolerable security of the district will be succeeded by a reign of utter anarchy.*

In the bulletin of the War Ministry, 822/1, 5a, 1919, dated Aug. 22 of the current year, the Vice Governor of Stuhlweissenburg says:

I am receiving from the borders of the Feher and Tolna counties the most disquieting reports of acts of lynch law. The members of the White Guard are continuing their persecution of the Jews, their lynch executions, and their other acts of violence, especially in the Sarbogard district. Several days ago I sent in a complaint as to this to the Prime Minister's Department, to the Ministry of the Interior, and to the Trans-Danubian Command of the National Army. Five days ago the military authorities promised me to make an end of these unauthorized acts. Until now nothing has happened. In Enying the atrocities of the White Guards are being continued.

Such official bulletins are being received every day. Fresh news of the outrages of the White Guard come in hourly. * * * The Government are taking no steps about the White Terror because, having seized power by means of a police *coup d'état*, they hold it unjustifiably, and not only are unable to keep it except with the help of the Terror, but also misuse for their own purposes the anti-Semitic feeling which certainly exists among the population.

In this, my first statement, I have intended to confine myself to proving that the atrocities have, in fact, been carried out by the White Guard with the complicity of the Government, in spite of all denials. I will now come back to individual cases which rest on documentary evidence already in the hands of the Entente.

LIKE THE RED TERROR

Budapest, Sept. 14.

The organization of the White Terror is an uncanny copy of the Red Terror down to the smallest details. Its sphere

of operations covers the same sites as those which housed the Red Guards; the same Headquarters Siofok, where formerly Pogany and Szamuely had set up their rule, is now the seat of the White General Staff, and even the "execution train" of the Red Terrorists is now being used by the Whites. In Trans-Danubian Hungary the White National Army forms the nucleus of the Terror; in Budapest, the place of the "Lenin Boys" has been taken by the White Terrorists, who call themselves the "Revivalist Hungarians." It is a characteristic fact that both among the White Guard, which is devastating the countryside, and among the Terrorist group at Budapest, there are those serving, and even playing a leading rôle, who, only six weeks ago, were among the maddest of the Red leaders. * * *

The elements of the Revivalist Hungarian organization were started by Friedrich soon after the October revolution, although at that time it professed to follow Karolyi. When Friedrich came to power he developed his organization. This organization was directed by the Prime Minister's Department, and the Government also made arrangements for the necessary financial support. The Szent-Imre College alone received 600,000 kronen. Now the Revivalist Hungarians are among the most dreaded of the Terrorists. They have suppressed every expression of opinion, and for weeks together have disquieted the city with the most infamous lying placards. * * *

The Revivalist Hungarians form the Budapest outpost of the central Terrorist organization in Trans-Danubian Hungary. The elements of this White Terrorist Guard were in existence even at Szegedin. Contrary to hitherto accepted information, the French Command at Szegedin did not show any particular favor or partiality for the army formed at Szegedin, which army consisted almost exclusively of officers. In every way the French put obstruction in the path of the Szegedin Army. Nor did these relations change perceptibly when the fall of the Soviet Government was imminent. At that time the Whites man-

aged to get permission for an officers' troop to take up its position behind the French position, which was detailed to guard the line of demarkation. This officers' troop, which called itself the Pronay troop, and was under the leadership of Pronay, First Lieutenant of Hussars, had wormed itself in between Szagmaz and Dorozma. It was known as the Black Death Battalion, and it undertook to exact vengeance for Bolshevism.

The very first days of its activities resulted in the deaths of innocent persons. Thus, on the second day, it hanged a 19-year-old youth, named Herz, the son of a Budapest barrister. His guilt consisted in having on him two letters of introduction from William and Eugene Vazsonyi. The young man had been denounced as a Bolshevik to the French, and as proof the letters of the two "biggest Bolsheviks," the Vazsonyi, were produced; but the French let the young man go at once as being innocent. The Whites hanged him, nevertheless. The artist, Nana Kukovicz, was buried alive; she was accused of having sympathized with the Bolsheviks. Among the murders of wholly innocent victims the following is the most extraordinary: A man's body was found in the Theiss; hands and feet were fastened together with wire, and the neck was throttled with a wire noose. The French military authorities diagnosed the corpse as that of a Russian spy in their service, who was bringing them information about the Budapest Bolsheviks. French detectives have established the fact that this man was murdered by three Hungarian nobles, officers of Hussars, because they thought him a Bolshevik.

The leaders of the White Terrorist troops are mostly Hungarian nobles. We find the names of Scéchényi, Esterhazy, Count Vaj, Baron Pronay, Pongracz, Salm, and Denes Bibó, Knight of the Golden Spur. The sites where they have worked are Simontorney, Enying, Czell-dömölk, Dunaföldvár, Marczalli, Csurgó, Janoshaza, and other places in Trans-Danubian Hungary. For instance, in Marczalli, twenty-five innocent persons were executed within a week; in Lengyel, nine; in Czurgo, eight; in Fon-

yod, four. The commander, Nicholas Horthy, whose seat is at Siofok, has attempted in individual cases to rescue innocent persons from his officers, but always unsuccessfully.

EXTORTION AND MURDER

Of the many cases which have been communicated to the Entente Missions, among others, I will choose only those which the documentary evidence shows to be the most characteristic. At Dunaföldvár Baron Pronay arrived with thirty-five men, and, by order of Commander Horthy, took over the command in that place. With him was Count Salm. The first question which the officers asked was: "Are there any Jews here; if so, bring them to us at once." The first to be caught was the dancing master at Dunaföldvár, Heldai; he was hanged immediately. In the afternoon Salm went to the innkeeper, Eugene Kovacs, who was accused of having sympathized with the Bolsheviks, and of being a Jew. Said Salm to him: "You, Jew, hand me over 100,000 kronen, and I will let you live." Kovacs was brought into a room, a noose was put around his neck, and while they drew the rope tight, Salm said to him again: "Pay or be hanged." Meanwhile District Judge Frey came in. When he saw what they were about, he went to Salm and swore that Kovacs had never been a Bolshevik; had, on the contrary, been forced to flee from the Bolsheviks. Whereupon Salm said to Kovacs: "The District Judge says that you are neither Communist nor White. If you can deposit 10,000 kronen at once, we'll let you go." The noose was taken off his neck. Kovacs went to his safe, with difficulty got together 10,000 kronen, and gave them into the hands of District Judge Frey, who paid them over to Salm.

Kovacs went to his house. Ten minutes later Salm appeared again and said: "I have just heard that you have deceived us; you have some more money. Unless you hand over the rest at once, I'll have you hanged." The District Judge, who was still there, again interfered, and swore that Kovacs really had no more money to give. Salm made Kovacs kneel down, sing the doxology, and boxed his ears. Then he went away.

Half an hour afterward the Whites came back again, but Kovacs had, meanwhile, succeeded in escaping. When the Whites realized that he was gone, they took his brother-in-law, Alexander Stein, who, according to the statement of all the inhabitants, had been entirely ruined by the Bolsheviks, and, consequently, could not have sympathized with the Bolsheviks, saying to him: "You wretched Jew, we want you, too." Stein was hanged. While the rope was being adjusted it broke. Stein attempted to escape, but was brought back. To punish him, his head was hammered with a stone; then he was again strung up.

Afterward, the Whites went to his house, where they looted 8,000 kronen in cash, jewelry, linen, and clothes. Stein was agent of an English insurance company, and, as such, had money deposited with him; these sums, too, were taken. Salm noticed a pair of new boots, and asked the murdered man's wife whose they were; she answered they were her husband's; whereupon Salm, with the words, "They were his; they are mine," put them on.

A teacher living in Dunaföldvár, Ravasz, accused of having abused the Government, was stripped and hit twenty-five times with a rod in the market place in the presence of the crowd. While receiving this punishment he was forced to sing the doxology. On that same day, George Somlo, the 60-year-old Maurice Braun, and the 70-year-old Leopold Eisenstätter were also stripped and beaten, only because they were Jews. The two latter are still in hospital suffering from severe wounds. Two booksellers, Emanuel Somlo and Frederick Raab, who were found to be in possession of Socialist books, had to buy themselves off from being executed, Somlo by a payment of 20,000 and Raab by a payment of 10,000 kronen. When the Jews were being executed, Konyok, a priest, appeared and swore on the cross on his cassock the condemned were innocent, and begged for mercy for them. But the White officers would not listen to him. Such acts naturally arouse the greatest agitation among the respectable people of Trans-Danubian Hungary.



CEREMONY AT BELGIAN HEADQUARTERS IN HONOR OF THE ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN TROOPS ON BELGIAN SOIL, JULY 3, 1918

How Americans Fought in Belgium

By W. P. CRESSON

[LATE CAPTAIN A. E. F., FORMERLY CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN MILITARY MISSION AT BELGIAN HEADQUARTERS]

THE operations carried out during the Autumn of 1918 by the newly formed army of Flanders, which ended in freeing Belgium from the tyranny of German occupation, were intimately connected with Foch's great final strategical plan. Irresistible pressure exercised at widely distant points along the front—notably the forward movement of the American troops in the Argonne—were all part of the monumental scheme devised by the French High Command. American divisions also participated in loosening the enemy's long hold on Belgian soil and joined in the final struggle along the Scheldt which ended in the evacuation of Ghent and Brussels. Yet the story of the part played by the American Expeditionary Forces in this latter important offensive has never yet been told (so far as the writer is aware) outside the pages of brief official reports and summaries.

Admiral Sims's valuable memoirs have drawn attention to the outstanding importance to the enemy's cause of his submarine lairs established in the ports of Ostend and Zeebrugge and his great

naval refitting base of Bruges. For the task of reconquering Belgium, and of finally removing this menace to allied shipping, a separate army known as the "Army of Flanders" was assembled and placed under the command of King Albert in person. Directing the strategy of the allied forces of which this army was composed was one of the best of the French "fighting Generals"—General Degoutte—fresh from a victorious command which included the heroic American divisions who won a place in history at Château-Thierry. Though American troops were not brought into the battle line in Belgium until just before the decisive moments of this forward movement, their participation had been counted on from the beginning.

It was my good fortune to be associated during the entire campaign both with the Belgian General Staff (to which I had long been accredited as General Pershing's personal representative) and also with the Headquarters of the Army of Flanders, which were established near La Panne. I was thus able to follow the whole course of these operations and to

take part in the opening assault on Sept. 28, which drove the enemy from the tragic old battlefields of Langemarck and Houthulst Forest. Finally it was my privilege to take part in the royal entry into Brussels and to view the dramatic climax of Belgium's just vengeance—the entry of the Belgian cavalry into the proud imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle.

COMING OF THE AMERICANS

Following the check of the desperate German offensive along the Lys a new spirit began to animate the allied troops, Belgian, French, and British, who had long shared the monotonous defensive campaign of the Yser front. Rumors, constantly verified, of the successful debarkation in France of American forces, in numbers exceeding all anticipations, and finally the arrival on Belgian soil of two American divisions (the 30th and 27th) filled the entire population of "Free Belgium," both civilian and military, with anticipation of great events to come. Moreover, the "Unity of Command" which General Pershing had so insistently advocated began to give almost immediate results.

On July 4 a little military ceremony took place at the Belgian Headquarters at Houtem to mark the advent of our welcome reinforcements. The American flag was raised and saluted by a guard chosen from the Belgian troops, who had most signally distinguished themselves during the victorious engagement of Kippe (April 17). This battle—in spite of the relatively small numbers engaged—decided the fate of the Ypres salient during the darkest hours of the Lys onslaught, and proved the mettle of the reconstructed Belgian Army. A few days later American troops of the new Second Corps, hastily drawn from the training areas, were placed in support of their British instructors defending Kemmel and the West Poperinghe line.

In contrast to this celebration of our Glorious Fourth came the news that reached us on July 14, most fateful of French national holidays, when Ludendorff's final desperate attempt reached the high-water mark of the Hun invasion. The Lys and Picardy salients

both had the coast ports as their objective, and the first result of such a success would have been the capture of the entire Belgian Army and their neighboring allies. But within a few weeks Foch's overmastering strategy and the heroic defense of the "Line of the Mounts" relieved us of our imminent danger. In this dramatic struggle the 30th and 27th American Divisions again played an important rôle in the defense of the little triangle of sacred soil—all that was left of "Free Belgium."

TASK OF ALBERT'S TROOPS

During these anxious days, while our fate was being decided elsewhere, perhaps the greatest trial to which the Belgian Army was subjected was in the patient carrying out of its strategical task—that of remaining on a stubborn defensive. The line held by King Albert's troops between Ypres and the sea—defended by the Yser and its canals—was, by the nature of its obstacles, almost impregnable. The constant vigilance of the Belgian engineers, their skillful handling of the great inundations that formed our chief protection, safely repulsed all danger from a direct offensive on this important front. Indeed, to attack from either side across these "flooded areas" was almost an impossibility. Raids—in which whole companies sometimes took part—were, however, undertaken across the drowned lands by both sides. This happily preserved the morale of our infantry from stagnation.

By September it became apparent that the tide of victory had definitely set in our favor, and a restless desire to share in the promised harvest of military laurels beset the officers and men of our whole sector. On Sept. 13 a High Council, at which Marshal Foch was present, was held at Belgian Headquarters. Within the next few weeks we became by degrees aware that the new "Army of Flanders" under King Albert's command had silently come into being. Along the roads to our rear French, British, and Belgian troops, infantry and artillery, began converging as secretly as possible upon the Belgian front.

The assembling of a great armed force under modern conditions of warfare is at best a difficult enterprise. During these last two weeks of September many a farmer of the Pas de Calais awoke to find his orchard or "wood lot" filled with troops, tired out by their long night's march. Often, if no better shel-



GENERAL DEGOUTTE
*French commander in Belgium under King
Albert*

ter was available, the infantry could be found sleeping in long lines in the deceptive shadow of some hedgerow, while their artillery and baggage trains were masked by piles of hay or green branches. From all the evidence we were subsequently able to gather, the attack of the French divisions came as a surprise to the boche armies across the Yser.

BEGINNING THE OFFENSIVE

Events now began to move with surprising rapidity. On Sept. 13 General Degoutte's headquarters were established in La Panne. (A few days later the neighboring town of Bergues—a picturesque relic of Vauban's "barrier fortress"—was heavily bombed by the enemy under the impression that this old masterpiece of military art was the centre of our operations.) From now on I was able through the courtesy of General Degoutte to follow closely the staff

operations at the French Headquarters, to which two American officers (Lieutenants Leigh Hunt and Greppo) were attached as liaison officers.

The atmosphere of suspense and mystery surrounding the impending offensive became almost intolerable as the hour of Belgium's vengeance approached. Early in the morning of Sept. 28 a salvo of shots fired from the great guns of the English monitors of the Dunkirk flotilla (which had crept down the coast and anchored opposite La Panne) announced the opening phase of the attack. Their deafening music bombarding the defenses of Ostend and Zeebrugge was echoed by the massed artillery supporting the French divisions in reserve behind the Belgian battlefront. At King Albert's desire, and their own, the brunt of the first day's fighting fell chiefly upon the Belgian divisions. Beyond Ypres their attack blended with the simultaneous assault of General Plumer's Second British Army—a ten-mile front in all.

The irresistible onslaught of these allied forces began at 5:30 A. M. By 9 the first objectives had everywhere been attained, the whole battlefront moving forward from near Dixmude to a point beyond Ypres. I cannot better describe the general tactics of the first day's attack than by attempting some account of the events which passed beneath my own observation.

CONTACT WITH THE ENEMY

It was not until late in the morning of the 28th that my military duties allowed me to leave the vicinity of French and Belgian Headquarters and proceed to the front. The part of the line I proposed to visit was a typical one, that near Dixmude, the "hinge" upon which the enemy's front was being slowly pressed back.

Arriving at Divisional Headquarters, I secured General Bernheim's consent to allow me to accompany a liaison officer just starting on horseback for the sadly famous marshes surrounding Lake Blankkaert. In spite of the fact that an attack had not been seriously contemplated at this point, the Belgian troops through their desire to keep in touch with the di-



BATTLEFIELDS OF BELGIUM, BETWEEN YPRES AND THE SEA, WHERE AMERICAN TROOPS UNDER KING ALBERT HELPED TO FORCE THE FINAL RETREAT OF THE GERMAN INVADERS

vision on their right, and through their own initiative and the zeal of their battalion commanders, had pressed forward until they found themselves engaged in an actual hand-to-hand conflict with an enemy whose strong defenses had been but superficially prepared by the artillery. Traces of the struggle were everywhere to be met with as we threaded our way among the shell holes of what a few hours before had been the No Man's Land separating the Belgian trenches from the enemy's first line of defense.

Crossing a little stream known as the Jansbeek, and leaving on our right the collection of ruins marking the village of Merckhem, we reached the broken chaussée of the old road formerly connecting the market town of Woumen with Elverdinghe. The enemy's machine gunners still held the ridge on which Woumen stands, and a constant stream of walking wounded and files of stretcher cases carried on the shoulders of sullen German prisoners showed with what tenacity these German units had been ordered to protect the retirement of the main forces

behind. It was these same boche machine gunners—the last heroes which Germany's great adventure was to produce—that later made the crossing of the Scheldt by our troops an operation testing Yankee dash and heroism to the full. Above the ever-receding roar of the enemy's heavy artillery the methodical staccato of their terrible weapons sounded its steady menace. Among the sheltering reeds of the further side of Lake Blankaert and the still flourishing trees of the old castle park other "wasp nests" still unidentified were silently awaiting our further advance.

CHARACTERISTIC BATTLE SCENE

Leaving our horses in the shelter of a captured German "pillbox" (now turned into a ghastly little emergency dressing station), we proceeded on foot toward the ill-defined front line. That we were well under observation was apparent from the bullets that occasionally sang close overhead. Bodies of German infantrymen caught by the fire of our advance lay about in the tall grass.

Beyond, toward Lake Blankaert, birds sang in the trees and the reedy shores offered a picture of peaceful beauty. Yet we were now in the very centre of what had been the most bitterly disputed part

portant part in the history of the following days.

IMPEDED BY A STORM

The tornado of wind and rain which broke over the battleline of the Army of Flanders at the end of the first day's offensive, Sept 29, greatly impeded the development of the operations so successfully carried out by King Albert's troops. Had it been physically possible to bring into line the French supporting divisions and the Belgian cavalry (which under General Degoutte's plan were to exploit the capture of the first objectives) the enemy would probably have been readily thrown back from the high ground of Clercken Ridge and Houthulst Forest. But the extraordinary weather conditions, the quagmires of mud and the streams and canals swollen by the down-pour across which our troops were forced to advance, enabled the enemy to retire in good order from their front line positions.

It would have been hard to imagine a picture of deeper gloom than that presented by headquarters of the Army of Flanders following the first day's attack. To the news that a whole division of Belgian cavalry had bogged down during the night on the road we had followed the day before was added the report that even the field telephone and other means of communication with the advancing army had been put out of commission by the extraordinary weather conditions. Nevertheless, all the information that came through from the front tended to confirm the extent and completeness of the victory won. Heroic details were, moreover, not lacking in the fragmentary accounts we were able to obtain of this opening phase of the Flanders campaign.

Near Houthulst Forest a Walloon regiment, finding itself face to face with Saxon troops bearing the numbers of the unit which wrote such a dark page of history during the Dinant massacres of 1914, succeeded in partially surrounding them during their retirement. Little did the brutal victors of four years before, who had driven a screen of helpless civilians at the point of the bayonet before their advancing columns, dream that the



GENERAL LEMAN
The hero of Liege

of the entire battlefront, where the Belgian loss relatively to the forces engaged was the heaviest. The park of the château just beyond us was still strongly held by the enemy's machine gunners. To attack such a position in daylight against an enemy sheltered by the overgrown jungle of the old gardens would have been sheer madness. Yet we found the young Lieutenant commanding the little garrison of a captured pillbox facing this point, with difficulty preventing his men from "carrying-on" regardless of the unknown danger. After giving him all the news that was possible and leaving directions for continuing the attack at nightfall we returned to headquarters in the face of the rising storm, which was to play such an im-

final reckoning would be so complete and overwhelming. Scarcely a prisoner was taken during the fury of the Belgians' just revenge, and the short trench knives, which the Walloon infantry have inherited from the Spanish in Flanders, played a terrible rôle in this wholesale military execution.

RATIONS BY AIRPLANE

As the day advanced it became apparent that many of our forward units, after consuming their emergency rations, were in imminent danger of being placed hors de combat through lack of food. To revictual these troops along the obliterated roads or to reinforce them by ordinary means of transport seemed an impossibility. It was the resourcefulness of Colonel van Cronbregge, commanding the Belgian aviation, that saved many of these heroes from starvation in this moment of their victory. The least accessible points of the front were supplied with bread and canned meat rations dropped like manna from the skies by bombing planes. Belgian and English airmen flying low in the face of enemy machine-gun fire succeeded in carrying out this difficult mission.

In spite of the obstacles met with in reinforcing and provisioning the troops engaged, the Belgians on Sept. 21 took the towns of Zarren, Staden, and Morslede. On Sept. 30 Roulers itself was taken, while the British completed their occupation of the Passchendaele Ridge. By Oct. 2 the full force of the supporting French divisions was brought into play, and the Army of Flanders, operating on the splendid roads along which the Germans were retreating, began the series of masterly operations which ended in the freedom of Lille and Tourcoing.

AMERICAN DIVISIONS ARRIVE

On Oct. 16 I returned from a mission to the American Grand Headquarters in time to assist in the arrival of the two American divisions—the 91st and the 37th—which had been assigned to the Army of Flanders to aid in the operations designed finally to clear Belgium of the enemy's forces. Already evidence was not wanting that the Germans were

preparing to give up the formidable defenses of the Flanders coast, on which but a few weeks before their chief hope of victory had been based. But, although a complete abandonment of Belgium was a foregone conclusion, every indication



GENERAL BARON JACQUES
*Whose troops saved the Ypres salient,
April 17, 1918*

pointed to a determined resistance during the enemy's retreat, and his intention to use to the full this last opportunity to inflict all possible damage. The wide extension of the front brought about by the advance of the Army of Flanders in the direction of Roulers and Thourout made essential its reinforcement by the two large American divisions now brought into line.

The first American units began to arrive at Dunkirk on Oct. 18, and on the same day Bruges was evacuated by the German forces. On the 19th I had the honor of presenting General Johnson, commanding the 91st Division, to General Degoutte, and afterward accompanied him to the Divisional Headquarters he intended to occupy near Ypres. On Oct. 21 General Farnsworth, commanding the 37th, also visited the headquarters of the Army of Flanders at La Panne.

The picture afforded by our two great divisions—almost twice the size of the war-worn divisions of our allies—as they marched through the ruined streets and squares of Ypres was perhaps one of the most significant, even dramatic, events of our participation in the war. Cer-



CAPTAIN W. P. CRESSON

*Former Chief of American Military Mission at
Belgian Headquarters*

tainly no spectacle calculated to stir the crusading spirit which had brought the Americans overseas could have been better imagined than the *via crucis* of that Belgian road from Ypres to Wareghem. In a drizzle of rain and mist they passed before the shattered remnants of the splendid old Cloth Hall, then out across the "blasted heath" of the battlefields of Langemarck and Poelcappelle.

As I looked in the faces of these men of our Far and Middle West it was easy to read the effect produced by the tragic scene of this massacred countryside. By October 24 the 37th and 91st Divisions occupied a line astride the Oudenarde Road, following part of the railway line from Courtrai to Thielt. The embankment of the destroyed line, about twelve feet high and a hundred in width, was in many places the No Man's Land separating the German first line and the American attacking forces.

It was across this formidable obstacle

that the American divisions were called upon to make their first attack—with Oudenarde and the Escaut as their principal objectives.

FIRST AMERICAN ATTACK

On Oct. 31 at 5:30 A. M. the American divisions made their first attack upon the German troops, stubbornly defending the retreat of the divisions to the south of Ghent. During the next five days of fighting the brunt of the assault was borne by "ours," who gladly accepted the dangerous honor of forcing a crossing of the southern branch of the Scheldt, locally known as the Escaut. The right of the American line was held by the 91st Division in conjunction with the 128th French Division. The 37th American Division, with the 12th French Division, occupied their left.

After heavy artillery preparation the 37th advanced behind a well-timed barrage, (high explosive and shrapnel), to which the enemy replied with a heavy gas barrage. Through this obstacle the Allies continued steadily to progress, and at 8:15 reports reached headquarters that the first objective had been successfully taken. The enemy nevertheless continued to defend himself with desperation, notably about the village of Olsen and the high ridge between the Lys and the Escaut. At some cost our troops captured Olsen, where the civilian population, which the enemy had taken no steps to evacuate, suffered a severe bombardment. Between 10 and 11 the important village of Chrysohotem and its neighboring ridge were evacuated by the enemy, who left 317 prisoners, including eleven officers, in the hands of our troops.

While these events were taking place the 91st Division—supported by General Price's brigade of Pennsylvania artillery—after rushing the enemy from their defenses along the railway, advanced through a rough and broken country covered with low fir trees, in which the enemy's machine gunners made a last stand. This fighting, to which our troops had been schooled by their recent experiences in the Argonne, while costly, ended in a perfectly timed capture of the indicated objectives. Smoke screens were

successfully used in many places to conceal our attack.*

On Nov. 1 the attack was renewed along the whole line, and by 11 A. M. the American divisions had consolidated a position parallel to the Escaut about a mile from that stream. The night was passed in preparations to cross this difficult obstacle. Nov. 2 saw the climax of the American effort in Flanders. In the face of fierce machine-gun fire from the heights beyond, small detachments of the 37th reached the banks of the Escaut as early as 3 A. M. The crossing of this broad and deep river was one of the heroic feats of the war.

Small parties were able to reach the opposite banks by swimming in the face of a raking fire from the machine-gun nests arranged on tiers on the broad slope beyond. Others crossed by means of trees so felled that they partially bridged the stream. Although, from the nearly demolished village of Heurne, our men protected these courageous efforts by rifle and machine-gun fire, it was not until late afternoon that the 145th Infantry (forming part of the 37th Division) was able to establish a bridgehead on the opposite bank. In the meantime their attack was impeded by a terrific gas bombardment. One regiment of the 91st also succeeded in crossing at a point further up the river.

The morning of the 3d thus found two American divisions in a position to place their entire strength beyond the formidable obstacle offered by the Scheldt. The actual crossing in force was still disputed by machine-gun fire and enemy bombing machines, which, with some courage, flew low over their advancing columns. Later in the day the 12th French Division was able to cross a bridge built by the American engineers.

The town of Oudenarde, whose outskirts had been captured after fierce hand-to-hand fighting by troops of the 91st Division, offered a point of considerable resistance. The part held by the Americans, including the quarter sur-

rounding the ancient church and the famous Hôtel de Ville, was subjected to a ferocious bombardment by enemy gas shells, to which many of the residents hiding in their cellars fell victims.

The houses lining the opposite bank of the Escaut, which runs through the town, were tenaciously held by the enemy's machine gunners, effectually preventing any crossing in spite of repeated heroic efforts. Again and again our soldiers (most of them troops from California, Nevada, and Oregon) attempted to cross in the face of almost certain death, throwing themselves from the windows of the houses overhanging the stream and trying to gain a foothold on the slimy masonry of the old buildings on the opposite bank. Heroic efforts were also made by our engineers to rebuild the destroyed bridges, but the enemy, using his advantage to the full, prevented the success of these ventures. An attack planned by General Johnson to force a crossing by swimming the river in company front was happily rendered unnecessary by the cessation of operations, due to the armistice.

Shortly after the armistice I had the honor of accompanying King Albert on a visit to the Headquarters of the 37th and 91st Divisions. The Royal Commander in Chief of the Army of Flanders was received with rousing cheers by the American troops under his command. In company with Generals Farnsworth and Johnson he visited the scenes of the struggle along the Escaut, where the green slopes were still freshly torn and furrowed by the shell fire of our guns—and by little mounds of new-turned earth more eloquent still. Later, surrounded by General Johnson's staff, he addressed the mixed crowd of soldiers and civilians fraternizing in the public square of Oudenarde. Standing on the balcony of the splendid Hôtel de Ville, the King paid a touching tribute to the men, who, in the square before us, had traveled so far to lay down their lives for the defense of liberty and right.

The King of the Belgians, the first reigning sovereign to visit the United States, is the only monarch who has ever held command over American troops.

*For the above details concerning the attack of the 91st I am indebted to my fellow-townsmen, Lieutenant S. R. King of Elko, Nev.

The Betrayal of Edith Cavell

Trial and Conviction of Quien, the Spy Who, After Receiving Aid From Her, Caused Her Death

GEORGES GASTON QUIEN, charged with having had intelligence with the enemy and betraying Edith Cavell and others to the Germans, appeared for trial before the sixth court-martial of Paris on Aug. 25, 1919, and on Sept. 5 was convicted and condemned to death. Fifty-eight witnesses had been summoned by the prosecution, including Brand Whitlock, United States Minister at Brussels, and Mlle. Thuillez, whom the Germans had condemned to be shot with Miss Cavell, but who was saved by the King of Spain. While posing as a French officer seeking to escape from Brussels into Holland Quien had gathered information against those who befriended him and had returned to Brussels and denounced the whole of Miss Cavell's organization to the Germans.

The official report of the charges brought against Quien throws an interesting light on the organization for aiding British, French, and Belgian soldiers to escape from the territories held by the Germans into Holland, of which Edith Cavell was the central figure. Quien, who was 40 years of age, was serving in St. Quentin jail his third term of imprisonment when the Germans took possession of the town in August, 1914. He was discharged from prison on Sept. 14, 1914. He found himself penniless in a town under the rigors of martial law.

According to the report, Quien was not long in choosing a means of livelihood. The Germans needed spies among the French population, and, as witness at the trial testified, Quien was soon observed to be spending riotous evenings in company with German soldiers, returning to his own quarters when he chose, although it was obligatory for all inhabitants of the town to be in their homes by 10 o'clock at night. In March, 1915, the Germans sent Quien ostensibly as one of a large number of civilian prisoners to Landrecies. He was allowed every liberty by his jailers, and went

where he wished in the town. It was there that he met a girl named Jeanne Balligan, who was working for Miss Cavell's organization, and who in purest good faith and supposing him to be loyal offered to help him to escape, and gave him information as to the means whereby British, French, and Belgian soldiers and patriotic young men anxious to escape from the German grip were being continuously passed northward through Belgium into Holland under the noses of the German Kommandanturen.

Up to that time the secret had been rigorously kept. The German authorities knew that numbers of British and French officers and men, wounded or stragglers, had been left behind their front during the retreat from Mons, and knew that men were constantly being passed out of the country into neutral territory. They did not know that Miss Cavell's ambulance in Brussels was the headquarters of the organization, and that the Château of Bellignies, belonging to Prince Reginald of Croy, who was living there with the Princess Marie, his sister, was a half-way house between the German lines and Holland, through which nearly all the fugitives passed.

"Generally each member of the association," says the report, "worked in carefully defined limits, and knew nothing of what happened to the fugitives confided to their care after their personal task was accomplished. They had to take fugitives from a certain point to another certain point, there to leave them in charge of a given person. This person they could of course recognize, but often did not know his real name. Beyond this they knew nothing of the association of which they were members."

By working himself into the confidence of Jeanne Balligan, Quien was able to reach the Château of Bellignies and to meet the Prince and Princess of Croy, to whom he represented himself as a French officer. From Bellignies, his cre-

dentials being considered sufficient, he was passed on to Mons with another fugitive, a certain M. Motte, to the care of local agents of the association, one of whom, Mlle. Thuillez, was among the principal witnesses against him. Next day Mlle. Thuillez took both men to Brussels, where she introduced Quien to Miss Cavell at her hospital.

Quien's first step was to demand money. Miss Cavell gave him 300 francs, not without surprise that he should ask for so much from her, seeing that once across the Dutch border he, being, as she supposed, a French officer, could obtain what he needed from the nearest French Consulate. He remained in Brussels about a fortnight. Miss Cavell could have sent him into Holland within two or three days, but he put off his departure, pretending that he would make his escape in company with certain agents of the Brussels police. During this time he learned to know the members of the organization and the houses and hotels where they could shelter the hunted men.

Miss Cavell finally decided to get rid of him. She confided her embarrassment to Mme. Baudart, a member of the association, through whose agency he was conveyed with sixteen other fugitives to Holland. In Holland Quien presented himself to the French Military Attaché, who believed his story that he was a French officer, and gave him 500 francs.

Quien immediately returned to Brussels, and saw Miss Cavell, who sent him to Mme. Baudart. It was at this meeting that Quien learned the address of the architect Baucq, Miss Cavell's chief collaborator, who shared her tragic fate. Two days later M. Baucq was arrested at his house, together with young Baudart and Mlle. Thuillez. Quien, according to the prosecution, delivered not only these three to the German police but several others connected with the association, who were arrested during the next few days. The Princess Croy was condemned by the Germans to ten years' imprisonment at hard labor. Quien had told Mme. Jacobs, another member of the organization and a friend of Mme. Baudart, that M. Baucq would not escape

condemnation, and that Miss Cavell was about to be arrested. She was arrested on Aug. 5.

After bringing about the break-up of this organization, Quien remained in the service of the German espionage system until 1917, when he returned to France through Switzerland. He was immediately arrested and imprisoned on a charge of theft, and on his release, being of military age, was sent to serve in the special group in French North Africa. It was not until the release of Miss Cavell's associates from German prisons that the espionage charges were brought against him.

ECHOES OF CAVELL AFFAIR

Since the condemnation of Quien further details of the Cavell organization have come to light with the publication of a remarkable story told by Père Meeus, a heroic Belgian priest, one of the editors of the clandestine *La Libre Belgique* and an associate of Miss Cavell in her patriotic and dangerous activities. Prisoners who were escaping, he said, were taken into Brussels in disguise and there met by "La Grande Espionne," a little girl of 11, who carried a big doll, ran about, and gazed into shop windows, till she finally stopped before Miss Cavell's house, where the disguised soldiers had followed her. The arriving soldiers were here bandaged up as hospital cases, and introduced to Père Meeus, who would get them across the frontier.

Some of this daring priest's adventures and disguises are equally interesting. Once, as a cattle driver, he got to Ostend and found the real lurking place of the German submarines. It was known that previous to an air raid into England it was the custom of the officers of the Zeppelins and Gothas to meet at dinner. Père Meeus disguised himself as a pastry cook and thus was able to find out when such dinners were to be given, and by means of carrier pigeons sent into Holland to inform the British Admiralty by 6 P. M. of an impending raid.

It was only by chance that the priest was not taken with Miss Cavell. He was to have attended a conference with her, but Cardinal Mercier had sent for him to get an important message into Holland,

and thus he was forced to be absent on the night the nurse was arrested.

It was announced at Brussels on Nov. 10 that the cells occupied by Edith Cavell and Gabrielle Petit, another victim of the German rage, were to be transformed

into miniature museums by decision of the Court of Justice. Clothes worn by the two women, their books, and other belongings have been collected and placed in the cells. Plates bearing appropriate inscriptions will be attached to the doors.

Repairing the Ravages of War

Progress in Rebuilding the Devastated Areas of France and Belgium

RECONSTRUCTION of the war-torn regions of Europe is slowly but surely taking shape. France is devoting all her energy to hasten the work, and has established a group of co-operative societies whose duties are to repair the material damage done by the invading Germans.

The reconstruction work—"reconstitution" the French call it—falls into three distinct divisions—agricultural, providing for the peasants and farmers of the devastated areas; industrial, providing for the machinery in the mills and factories, and the village, town, and planning work, providing for the housing of the repatriated French. The channels through which this task is being accomplished are three—the French Government, the French organizations, functioning through individual efforts of Frenchmen, and the various relief societies supported in the main by Americans. Altogether the total damage in the north of France, including agriculture, industry, furniture, and public works, is estimated at about \$15,000,000,000.

In July, 1919, a vast reconstruction program for the whole of France at an estimated cost of 40,000,000,000 francs was announced in the Chamber of Deputies by M. Bedouce, budget reporter, in a debate on public works. The plan included the reconstruction of railroads, some of which would be electrified, and large projects for building canals and improving harbors. M. Bedouce stated that the public works budget for the year 1919 amounted to 1,600,000,000 francs, as compared with 300,000,000 in

1914. For road repairs in the invaded areas 176,000,000 francs had been allocated, and these were to receive primary attention. The entire road construction program will cost nearly 2,000,000,000 francs.

Albert Claville, Minister of Public Works, told the Chamber that in Alsace-Lorraine all the mines save one were in working order; they could not all be put into full operation, however, owing to the scarcity of furnace coke, the Germans having failed to carry out their obligations under the terms of the armistice to supply a specified quantity per day of suitable coke. Marked progress also in restoring the transportation systems was shown in M. Claville's report to President Poincaré. Since the armistice 564 miles of double-track railway lines and 567 miles of single-track lines had been restored on the North and East Railway. Of 645 miles of canals that were closed to navigation, 198 miles had been opened to commerce. Seven thousand miles of highway had been put in good condition out of 24,000 miles of roads that were damaged.

IN NORTHERN FRANCE

The remaking of Northern France is progressing rapidly. A year ago not a building in Arras was unscathed; whole districts were leveled, cathedrals, churches, institutions, the railway station, all were in ruins. By the Autumn of 1919 the station had been restored, and in nearly all the houses injured by shells, business and residential, occupations had been resumed. Light railways had been con-

structed to carry away the débris and bring back refashioned masonry. For this work German prisoners are employed. A beginning has been made toward rebuilding the Hôtel de Ville and the ruined churches. This labor is being done by the Belgians.

The *Entreprise Général d'Etude*, with kindred organizations, has educated the French in the north in the work of restoration; it has been carrying on an active propaganda since 1917, and last Autumn gave an exhibition at Amiens of the means of restoring the devastated regions, or of making arrangements to meet temporary needs. The main idea behind the French scheme is economy and speed in construction, not only of houses, but of temporary schools, churches, and hospitals.

The situation of the French invaded provinces, however, compares unfavorably with conditions in parts of Belgium. The inhabitants last Spring asked, without success, that the whole undertaking be placed under one administration with full power; later they made an attempt to take matters into their own hands, in a spirit of sectionalism that was not popular with the administration. In the Summer about a hundred Mayors of the communes of the Pas de Calais met in Arras and drew up a statement to the effect that, in spite of the promises of the administration, an insufficient number of huts had been furnished, and that unless the situation were remedied immediately an evacuation of the district in September must be faced. In order to help them, M. Lebrun, Minister of the Liberated Regions, allotted to them a section of the Service of Work of Prime Urgency, which was charged with supplying the most urgent needs and distributing huts as temporary dwellings. There was still some dissatisfaction in the last months of the year.

At the beginning of 1919 American engineers, architects, and builders who went to France with proposals for reconstruction were received rather coldly, and were told that the work would be done by the French. But by the end of the year it was realized that help was needed from other countries. The desire for co-

operation was expressed by Hector Franchomme, one of the chief manufacturers of Lille. His plant was almost totally destroyed, the damage to his factory buildings amounting to 2,000,000 francs, for which he has received in reparation only a quarter of a million, and that is far above the average. France, he says, is now not only unable to meet the needs of the situation in a financial way, but also lacks materials and skilled engineers and architects.

The first contract for reconstruction work apparently was given to the Vulcan Steel Products Company of New York City for rebuilding the war-destroyed area in the Nancy district. Associated with the Vulcan company are two large contracting concerns, the McClintic Marshall Construction Company and MacArthur Brothers Company. The contract at tentative figures involves \$250,000,000, but it is estimated that half a billion dollars will be spent. It calls for replacing public buildings, factories, houses, roads, bridges, and churches.

The country around Verdun, battered and fought over again and again, is to be restored by the Society of Friends. The American Red Cross already in 1917 found English Quakers all through the valley of the Marne and groups in the Somme. They found the work so satisfactory that later they co-operated with American Quakers, adding a million francs to their budget. The Quakers had experience, they were on the spot, and already at work.

The ruined City of Verdun will probably be left as a monument to German guns, and a new town built outside the old walls. Eight hundred houses—small, red-tiled, white or brown walled, with two, three, or four rooms—have been set up in Northeastern France by the Quakers. Several hundred partially ruined houses and stables have been repaired, and likewise hundreds of thrashers, reapers, binders, and other machines that had been lying about rusting have been restored. Nineteen out of twenty refugees from the Verdun villages wanted to go back to their former homes. Three thousand families will eventually return to the Verdun region.

In an article in the *Berliner Tageblatt*

it has been proposed to use the tank, the tested war machine, for aims of peace. Not only can the tank cross ground unsuitable for the ordinary vehicle, but it can haul ten tons, and it may be fitted with a crane or a windlass and will then be able to lift objects weighing approximately two tons. These suggestions originated with Louis Renault, the inventor of the French tank. Experiments have also been made with tanks in wrecking crumbling walls instead of taking them down in the old way.

In the building of houses, foundation holes for rows of buildings are being dug with machines in the same manner as trenches during the war. The French have for a number of years studied the problem of using substitute materials the manufacture of which calls for as little coal as possible. The aim is to build walls with hollow bricks or frames, which are afterward filled in solidly with cement. This method had already been employed in the construction of the New York Grand Central Terminal.

It is planned to build houses in Lens with cement blocks. Also the French have turned to the use of sun-dried clay, to save materials in the manufacture of which coal is used. They have established special courses to improve the old methods in building clay houses, for the construction of small settlements and villages.

RESULTS IN ELEVEN MONTHS

According to a pamphlet, "France: The Reconstruction," issued in New York with the indorsement of Maurice Casanove, director of the French Mission in the United States, 90 per cent. of the double-track railroad lines in France and 93 per cent. of the single track had been restored by Sept. 1, 1919. Of the 1,160 railway bridges and tunnels destroyed, 588 had been reconstructed. Work on the waterways had been nearly completed, and a large part of the damage to highways had been repaired. The pamphlet gave these further facts and figures of interest:

The total number of houses partially or wholly destroyed was 550,000. Up to Sept. 1, 1919, the following results had been accomplished: Temporarily repaired, 80,000; shelters provided, 16,225; shelters

under construction, 60,000; total, 156,225. Nearly a million of the people who fled from their homes at the time of the invasion have returned, and out of 4,023 communities which were invaded, municipal administration has been resumed in 3,872.

Of the total area of the invaded territory of France, 6,950 square miles of tillable lands were devastated by military operations. By Sept. 1, 1919, 1,540 square miles, an area larger than the State of Rhode Island, had been made fit for cultivation. Much of this work has been performed under handicap of barbed wire, trenches, and the constant danger from unexploded shells. Since the signing of the armistice, however, more than 25,000 acres have been cleared of barbed wire and approximately 74,000,000 cubic yards of trench excavations have been filled in.

Of a total of 1,986 factories destroyed during the entire war, 1,027 were again on a productive basis by Sept. 1.

The republic has already expended more than 10,000,000,000 francs in restoring the devastated regions, and it is reported at present to be advancing about 1,000,000,000 francs, or \$193,000,000, a month for reconstruction.

Before the war the invaded areas furnished from 20 to 25 per cent. of the total revenue of the country. The restoration of this territory in addition to Alsace-Lorraine, and the fact that the manhood of the nation is returning to productive pursuits, will greatly increase the taxing power of the Government. During the first eight months of 1919, 5,100,000,000 francs (\$984,300,000) were collected from taxes, representing an increase of 1,400,000,000 francs (\$270,200,000), as compared with the corresponding period in 1918.

IN BELGIUM

The work of reconstruction in Belgium is moving slowly, according to Adolphe Max, Burgomaster of Brussels, and it will take at least five years for the return of normal conditions. Other Belgian officials are more optimistic and declare that Belgium will be richer than ever in ten years. What Belgium needs more than foreign money is raw materials—leather, rubber, wool, cotton, steel, &c.

There is still havoc in Belgium's factories caused by the Germans' removal or destruction of the plants, and though many are working, hundreds are still desolate. Moreover, there has been an exodus of workmen to France from districts where the factories are either closed down or not working to full capacity, owing to the temptation of high

wages offered by the French. A Belgian laborer can get 11,000 francs a year in France instead of a third of that in Belgium.

The spirit of the Belgians is good; strikes are almost unknown, Socialist Ministers in the Cabinet having played an essential part in discouraging strike tendencies among the workers.

The organization of transport is proceeding steadily; the canal system is being repaired in a fairly rapid way, and the entire Belgian railway is working, except for some fifty unimportant kilometers. Temporary bridges and wooden stations are in general use, although the rebuilding of permanent structures is in progress. On main lines like that between Brussels and Antwerp the passenger service reaches about three-quarters of the pre-war service, elsewhere three-fifths to one-fifth. Of the 74,000 freight cars, one-sixth are under repair. Before the war there were 82,000 cars and only 5 per cent. ordinarily under repair.

BRUSSELS AND ANTWERP

Conditions in Brussels seem more hopeful than in the devastated areas; business is fast reviving. A considerable amount of reconstruction has been done in the country as a whole, in spite of the impossibility of rebuilding such cities as Ypres and Dixmude. The future of Ypres is still uncertain. There are more than a thousand people living there, but these are mainly adventurers attracted by the chance of making money out of visitors.

The port of Antwerp is busy once more; commerce is starting up and Belgian exports are mounting again, especially coal. The output is not far short of pre-war figures. France, which needs coal desperately, gets the main bulk of the Belgian output, and it is for that reason that for the first time in history the Belgian franc is worth more than the French.

The small farmers of Belgium are prosperous as never before and receive enormous prices for their products. Virtually all the glass factories are in operation; 30 per cent. of the textile

looms are spinning raw cotton imported from the United States and her beet sugar industry has substantially increased.

Belgium seizes every opportunity to add to the grass acreage when this can be done to advantage—when the land reclaimed is better suited for agriculture than for forestry. In the sand belt of Campine, agricultural reclamations have proceeded alongside the afforestation projects, and with equal success have transformed the wastes of sand dunes, marshes and heather into crop-producing land.

CONSTRUCTIVE KULTUR

It is said that a large staff of experts in Germany are pushing work on preliminary plans for the restoration of devastated Northern France and Belgium. These plans are to be submitted to the Allies. The work of the organization is being pushed, so that if accepted wholly or in part, the restoration can be begun immediately.

It is an atonement scheme, and the experts declare Germany will have no trouble raising an army of 500,000 high grade laborers, and could recruit, if necessary, 1,000,000 volunteer workmen. The tentative scheme bars anything like slave labor, peonage, or the drafting of workmen. The restoration work is to be purely a State enterprise, and is to eliminate all private profiteering in furnishing materials and labor. The best results, the experts say, will be attainable only by free union labor, receiving union wages and working union hours under a high standard of living conditions. Special inducements are offered, such as free clothing and equipment, the promise of good rations, and free housing in attractive sanitary barracks.

German Socialists and labor leaders see in the obligatory restoration of France and Belgium a great opportunity of convincing the world of Germany's good faith and new spirit. One labor leader said: "We are anxious to show the world what we can do to atone for the sins of the old régime by doing a monumental piece of Kultur work of which we may justly be proud."

Winning Freedom for Alsace-Lorraine

How the National Council Held Out Against German Repression Throughout the War

By COUNT JEAN DE PANGE

The part played by the Lower House of the Alsace-Lorraine Parliament in checkmating German imperial measures and holding the disputed provinces in a position for their full return to France was told by Count de Pange in the Revue des Deux Mondes and is here translated in somewhat abridged form for CURRENT HISTORY.

AT the moment when the legitimate claims of Alsace and Lorraine are being satisfied, it is not without interest to place before the eyes of the public the history of the "National Council of Alsace and Lorraine," the name borne by the Lower House of the Alsace-Lorraine Parliament since the revolutionary coup d'état of Nov. 11, 1918, delivered the supreme power into its hands. Elected by universal suffrage, it was the only body which really represented the population of France's new province. Its history, little known in France and elsewhere, will enable the reader to appreciate the part played by this assembly, which did great service to the cause of France, and which, on transferring its powers to the French authorities, traced out the way that France was destined to follow in her administration of these provinces.

This is the first and only chamber elected by universal suffrage in Alsace and Lorraine. The distrust which it inspired in the rulers of the German Empire appeared clearly in the powers which the latter reserved to itself with a view to stifling all desire for independence. Though the Constitution which the Germans drafted and had voted by the Reichstag in 1911 granted a Parliament to the imperial province, the latter still remained subject to the rule of a "Statthalter," an agent of the Emperor, who appointed and dismissed him at his pleasure. The Reichstag had vainly proposed to the Federal Council that the Statthalter should be appointed for life, which would have assured him relative independence. The Emperor also appointed half of the thirty-eight members

of the Upper Chamber. The other half included the Bishops of Strasbourg and Metz, the President of the Upper Consistory of the Church of the Confession of Augsburg, the President of the Synodal Committee of the Reformed Church, a delegate of the Jewish Consistories, the President of the Court of Appeals of Colmar, a university professor, representatives of the Agricultural Councils of the Departments, Municipal Councils and Chambers of Commerce of Strasbourg, Metz, Colmar, and Mülhouse. This small conservative Senate, where the Government's majority was assured, to use the words of the German Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg, was "to be, at all costs, a rampart against all non-German policy in the imperial province."

AN INSTRUMENT OF LIBERTY

But the Second, or Lower, Chamber, elected for five years by universal suffrage, marked considerable progress over that of the previous régime, when the country was represented only by a delegation (Landesausschutz) elected by limited suffrage. The Second Chamber counted 60 members, divided into four groups—the Lorrainers (11), the Centre (28), the Liberals (10), and the Socialists (11). The Lorrainers and the Centre, generally associated, made up the majority. On Dec. 6, 1911, in his opening address, the President, M. Ricklin, declared:

We are opening the first session of the Parliament of Alsace-Lorraine, this Parliament which the people of Alsace and Lorraine have elected on the basis of universal, equal, secret suffrage, and not only Germany, but the whole political world, will have their eyes fixed on our deliberations.

The Lower House soon began to justify the anxieties which the Prussian conservatives had expressed when it was created. On Dec. 7, 1912, it interpellated the Government concerning the annulment of orders given by the Imperial Bureau of Railways to the Alsatian Society of Mechanical Construction. This was a French enterprise, which, since the annexation of the provinces to Germany, had kept up its factory at Grafenstaden, near Strasbourg, where it employed more than 2,000 workmen, "amongst whom," to quote from the charges brought against the association, "native Alsatians are preferred to Germans." Its director, M. Heyler, "combats in the commune everything which is German or connected with Germanism." He was also accused of having displayed a French flag at a festival and of having allowed the "Marseillaise" to be sung. But in spite of the long requisition of the Under Secretary of State, M. Mandel, the Chamber voted an order of the day in which it "blamed in the most energetic way the attitude of the Government of Alsace-Lorraine." It also insisted that in future the Government "should defend in the most effective way the interests of Alsace-Lorraine and should use every means to repair the injury done to the Alsatian Society."

Such language, to which the Government was not accustomed, showed that the imperial province had undergone an evolution. The Second Chamber had gained the consciousness that it was the interpreter of the country. On Jan. 15, 1914, it voted unanimously an order of the day reproaching the Government for not having sought more energetically to obtain satisfaction for offenses committed against the people of Alsace-Lorraine, and demanding autonomy for the country, the reform of military justice, and the limitation of military power in conformity with modern ideas.

OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

As a logical consequence of this attitude, following the mobilization and the establishment of the state of siege, when all powers were given over to the military authorities, these authorities declared that they would prevent the re-

currence of "certain agitated sessions of the Landtag." The council was thus pitilessly gagged by a régime which, four years later, the Alsace-Lorraine Deputies judged in the following terms:

The military régime, with a despotism destitute of all consideration, has stifled the whole political life of the country, suspended the organization of all parties, suppressed the freedom of association and of the press, and even despoiled the Landtag of Alsace-Lorraine of its constitutional rights. Thus for four years the expression of all public opinion has been made impossible.

In 1915 the convocation of the Landtag was made subject to the following conditions: The session should not last more than a week; in the plenary sessions and at committee meetings there should be no criticism of military measures; no mention of any political question should be made of any nature whatsoever. As a matter of fact, the Landtag session was so short that the Assembly had time only to vote the credits without discussion. The High Command laid down the same conditions for the session of 1916. On the arising of opposition of the parties of the Lower Chamber, it was finally agreed that discussion would be allowed at strictly secret sessions of the Budget Committee. The stenographic account of those meetings, recently printed, brings to our ears the echo of the moving complaints provoked by the barbarity with which the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine were treated by the German military authorities.

The latter, before the war, in their secret reports to the Military Council of the Kaiser, had constantly depicted Alsace-Lorraine as an enemy country. When mobilization occurred, the civil authorities had to issue a warning that a single shot from a house would be sufficient to warrant the burning of the house and the shooting of its owner. * * * The feeling of the German military officials regarding the provinces was summed up by the German General Gaede, who, in response to a plea in favor of the people made by one of the Vice Presidents of the Lower Chamber, said: "In all this population a treacherous current flows."

At the beginning of 1917 the Pan-

German circles, disquieted by the state of mind which the multiplicity of convictions revealed in the imperial province, began more and more to favor suppressing the relative autonomy which the province had enjoyed since 1911. They spoke openly of giving Lorraine to Prussia, Lower Alsace to Bavaria, and Upper Alsace to the Grand Duchy of Baden or Württemberg. By dismembering these provinces their capacity of resistance would be diminished, and it was hoped that each of them would be swiftly absorbed by the German organization to which it was delivered. Negotiations to this end had already been begun in the Bundesrat, the Federal Council, in which the different German States were to decide on the fate of the imperial province before presenting their proposals to the Reichstag for ratification.

It was in this oppressive atmosphere of disquietude that on June 6, 1917, the fifth session of the Landtag opened. The liberal members of the Imperial Government, and, above all, Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, sought to defend the Constitution of Alsace-Lorraine against this coalition of greed, and made every effort to obtain from the two Chambers a declaration of loyalty. In the Upper Chamber, still devoted to the ruling power, this was an easy matter. Its President, Dr. Hoeffel, in his address closing the session, lauded the benefits of the German rule, and insisted on the economic, ethnographic, and linguistic bonds which united Alsace-Lorraine to the empire. But of what value were these declarations of a Chamber, half of whose members were appointed by the Emperor?

DECLARATION OF LOYALTY

It was accordingly on the Lower Chamber that the Government concentrated all its efforts. At a secret session it had a German liberal member propose a declaration of loyalty to Germany. Abbé Müller replied that such a declaration could not be asked from the Alsations, after all the bad treatment to which they had been subjected, and which had literally thrown them into the arms of France. The Secretary of State, Herr von Tschammer, who was present

at the discussion, then renounced the attempt, which he himself had provoked, and the proposal, opposed by the Centre, the Socialists, and the Lorrainers, failed of acceptance.

The passing of such a declaration, however, was considered so important that the German Chancellor himself came to Strasbourg and persuaded the President of the Lower Chamber, M. Ricklin, to make this concession. On June 12, at the closing of the session, to the great astonishment of all present, (many members, especially the Lorrainers, suspecting what was coming, had left,) he made the following statement:

The people of Alsace-Lorraine reject absolutely the idea that the frightful bloodshed of this war should be continued on their account; they aspire only to develop their culture, their economic and political interests, and to maintain, in indissoluble union with the German Empire, the special situation to which they are entitled.

This declaration was at once seized on by the Germans for worldwide propaganda. It made a painful impression on the French.

ELEVENTH-HOUR CONCESSIONS

It was only at the moment when the empire was succumbing under its defeats and the defection of its allies that it resigned itself to granting autonomy to Alsace-Lorraine. On Oct. 5, 1918, the new Chancellor, Max von Baden, in explaining his program to the Reichstag, declared: "The empire is essentially a Federal State, each member of which determines independently its internal Constitution, a right which Alsace-Lorraine may also claim absolutely." It was announced at the same time that the imperial empire would be given a Ministry made up of Alsations and presided over by M. Hauss, a Catholic Deputy from Lower Alsace, who knew France well, and who was one of the most prominent members of the autonomist party. On Oct. 9 Herr von Dallwitz, who had fought with all his energies against these projects of autonomy, abandoned the post of Statthalter, and Herr von Tschammer resigned his functions as Secretary of State. With them abdicated the Pan-

German policy, which, by treating Alsace-Lorraine like an enemy country, had done so much to stir up hatred of Germany there.

At the same time it was learned that the mission of inaugurating the Parliamentary régime in Alsace-Lorraine had been given to M. Schwander. A Protestant of a modest family of Upper Alsace, M. Schwander had been since 1906 the Mayor of Strasbourg. As the result of his initiative and genius for organization, the city had undergone a remarkable development. Assisted by the new Secretary of State, M. Hauss, and by several Under Secretaries, he was charged with the direction of affairs until the population of the country itself should appoint a permanent head for the administration of the Government. He kept provisionally the name of *Statthalter*. It was his intention to convoke the Landtag within a week, as soon as he had reached agreement with the various parties regarding the appointment of the Under Secretaries of State. Various names were cited. But successively all parties—the Centre, the Lorrainers, the Socialists, and the Liberals—refused office on the pretext that the uncertainty of the situation made it necessary for them to await the outcome. Thus they refused to aid in the establishment of that new order of things which they had striven to attain for thirty years! It was no longer enough for them to be their own masters. The first use they wished to make of their liberty was to give themselves to France.

AUTONOMY NO LONGER ENOUGH

It was now the oppressors who begged the oppressed to accept autonomy. On Oct. 16, at a meeting of the Reichstag Deputies from Alsace-Lorraine, the Germans proposed to read from the gallery a collective statement in which all the Deputies of the imperial province should claim for it the right to direct her own destiny. Speaking for the Alsace-Lorraine Deputies, M. Peirotès replied that he had claimed this right throughout his whole political career and even during the bad days of the war, but declared that he now declined to associate himself with his former adversaries, so tardily

converted to his program. Abbé Delsor made a similar declaration.

Again M. Ricklin, President of the Landtag, was invited while in Berlin to visit Herr Lewald, Under Secretary of State in the Ministry of the Interior. The latter admitted his efforts to persuade Alsace-Lorraine to decide by a plebiscite in favor of Germany, and announced the speedy formation of a Ministry composed of Alsace-Lorraine Deputies. M. Ricklin replied that the separation of Alsace-Lorraine from the German Empire would be voted by 90 votes against 100, and that union with France would be voted for by at least 75 out of 100. Subsequently, on Oct. 23, M. Ricklin stated before the Reichstag that all German projects of reform in Alsace-Lorraine would be fruitless, so far as the state of mind of the people of these provinces was concerned, as it had developed during the war, and that the solution of autonomy had been "relegated to the past by actual events." Another Alsatian Deputy made a similar declaration.

Both Schwander and Hauss soon after this went to Berlin to offer their resignations in view of the impossibility of fulfilling the duties laid upon them in Alsace-Lorraine by the German Government. The latter declined to accept their resignations, and sent them back to the imperial province to find collaborators, at a time when the Alsace press was openly declaring for union with France.

THE ARMISTICE PERIOD

On Nov. 9 news reached Alsace of the handing of the conditions of armistice to the German plenipotentiaries, the abdication of the Emperor, and the proclamation of the republic at Munich. The German revolution had begun. Demonstrations in honor of France occurred in Strasbourg on Nov. 9 and 10. From Kiel and Hamburg trainloads of armed sailors left to proclaim the German Republic in all important cities. One of these trains reached Strasbourg in the night of Nov. 9-10, occupied the station, the Post Office, and forced the Governor to resign. The military authorities, having received instructions from General Headquarters to cause no bloodshed, offered

no resistance. A council of soldiers and workmen was formed at the City Hall, and issued a proclamation. Soldiers stopped all German officers in the streets, tore off their insignia, and broke their swords. The Municipal Council took measures to establish and maintain public order.

But the main authority was that of the Council of Soldiers, German of origin, anti-French in tendency, militaristic in scope. Only one representative, native, anti-German, pro-French power remained, that of the Lower Chamber, which took its mandate directly from the country, by universal suffrage. It was from this Lower Chamber, which had long acted virtually as a council, that the National Council of Alsace-Lorraine was officially born.

REVOLUTIONARY COUP D'ETAT

The newspapers had announced that the Chambers would be convened on Nov. 12 by imperial decree, (*auf allerhöchster Verordnung*), presumably to receive notification of autonomy. On Nov. 9 the President of the Lower Chamber, M. Ricklin, informed the Statthalter that this Chamber declined the imperial convocation and would meet of its own initiative on Nov. 12. But following the events of the 10th, the majority of members of the Second Chamber assembled at an urgent call on the afternoon of the 11th, and addressed to the people of Alsace-Lorraine a proclamation which began as follows:

The members of the Second Chamber of Parliament of Alsace-Lorraine, assembled here today, have constituted themselves a National Council of Alsace and Lorraine, and have named a Provisional Administrative Ministry composed of the following members: Burger, Minister of Justice and Religions; Heinrich, Agriculture; Imbs, Social Welfare; Jung, Finances; Meyer, Public Works; Dr. Pfleger, Interior and Public Instruction; Peirottes and Ricklin, without portfolios.

The National Council and the Ministry expect that the people of Alsace and Lorraine will receive with confidence this administration created from its elected representatives, and that it will do everything to facilitate its task in this period of transition, which will probably be very short.

Two concluding paragraphs of the

proclamation, "The penal laws remain in force," and "The National Council grants full amnesty to all political prisoners," show clearly that the National Council was acting with plenary powers. * * * Memorable revolution in the history of Alsace and Lorraine, which for the first time in forty-eight years became the masters of their destiny!

M. Ricklin withdrew the following day from the Government, but, on the motion of M. Peirottes, was elected President of the National Council. The coup d'état met with no resistance. The President of the Chamber officially notified the Statthalter that the Second Chamber had assumed power and named a Ministry. M. Schwander yielded without opposition. He was only the Vice Regent; after the abdication of William II., what authority remained to him? The same announcement was sent to the Council of Soldiers. The latter, representing the German majority, did not oppose the formation of the new power, but it was openly hostile to the pro-French demonstrations which had been going on in the cities for two days. It threatened to intervene, and exacted even the suppression of the French flags and cockades. The National Council was obliged, therefore, to renounce the act of immediate union with France which had been originally planned. Meanwhile the Council of Workmen and Soldiers hoisted at the top of the cathedral tower an enormous red flag, announcing to all Alsace the triumph of socialism. Fifteen years before, in an electoral proclamation, M. Peirottes had written: "We will hoist the red flag over the old Cathedral of Erwin * * * and no power in the world will be able to lower it."

THE DAY OF TRIUMPH

The German troops withdrew. At last, for France, "the day of glory had arrived." Her soldiers, over all the roads leading to Lorraine, through all the gorges of the Vosges, began their triumphal march into the promised land. Those who took part in this march, who saw the reception given by every village of Alsace and Lorraine to its "liberators," as they were called in repeated inscriptions over all the triumphal arches, will

never forget this procession in the midst of acclamations, in the beflagged streets, under the gaze of ancestral portraits placed before the windows, the subjects of which seemed to be personally present to behold the realization of their dream.

With this accomplished fact of union with France, the main task of the National Council was accomplished. One last act remained to be performed—that of renunciation. On Dec. 5, while awaiting the announced visit of the President of the French Republic, the National Assembly voted unanimously the following resolution, which was passed by all the groups of the Chamber and displayed in all communes of Alsace-Lorraine:

The Deputies of Alsace and Lorraine, chosen by universal suffrage and incorporated in the National Assembly, greet joyously the return of Alsace and Lorraine to France, after a long and cruel separation. Our provinces will be proud to owe to the mother country, with which they are reunited, together with the safeguarding of their traditions, their religious beliefs and their economic interests solemnly guaranteed them by the leaders of the victorious army, a new era of freedom, prosperity, and happiness.

The National Assembly, desirous that not even the slightest doubt of the true sentiments of the Alsatians and Lorrainers should remain either in France and the allied nations, or among the neutral or enemy nations, declares that the neutralist agitation was the work of a small minority or of German agents, and states solemnly that, faithfully interpreting the firm and irrevocable will of the people of Alsace and Lorraine, expressed already in 1871 by its representatives in the Assembly of Bordeaux, it considers as inviolable and unrecalable the right of the

Alsatians and Lorrainers to remain members of the French Nation. The National Assembly esteems it a duty, before adjourning, to proclaim in its turn the return of Alsace and Lorraine as legal, and their union with France indisputable and definitive.

So the National Council abdicated its sovereignty in favor of France. The President of the French Republic arrived in Strasbourg on Dec. 9. He proceeded to the City Hall and addressed the people in the open air. He paid no visit to the palace of the National Council. The latter, however, did not yet consider its task completely finished. On Dec. 19 it addressed a petition to the newly elected council in Paris asking for co-operation with the French High Commissioner in administering certain important inter-departmental and other questions in which the new French provinces were vitally interested. On Jan. 14, 1919, however, the President of the council sent an answer which, while declaring that the interests of Alsace-Lorraine would be fully safeguarded, insisted that the necessity of a further continuance of the National Council no longer existed.

The new régime has already in large measure fulfilled the desires which the National Council interpreted. The object which I proposed in beginning this study will be attained if I have succeeded in showing how the National Council (both as Chamber and council) did not cease for seven years to represent Alsace and Lorraine, whose rights it defended, sometimes in the most tragic circumstances, and whose reunion with France it finally sealed by a solemn official act.

Alsatian Deputies Again in French Parliament

Elections for the return of Deputies from Alsace and Lorraine to the French Chamber were held on Nov. 16, 1919, and in the course of the preliminary campaign Premier Clemenceau visited Strasbourg and delivered one of the most eloquent speeches of his career. The results of the election showed an overwhelming sentiment in favor of full reunion with France. When the Chamber of Deputies reopened on Dec. 8 it gave a memorable welcome to the twenty-four

new members from Alsace and Lorraine, a welcome only superficially disturbed by the "booing" that greeted the attempts of French Socialists to utilize the occasion for their own ends. M. François, who read the declaration on behalf of Alsace and Lorraine, began by quoting from the famous declaration read before the National Assembly at Bordeaux in 1871, and continued:

The Bordeaux protest, renewed in 1874 in the Reichstag by the newly elected

Deputies from the annexed provinces, has lost none of its force. Today, on the morrow of our liberation, we, the legitimate heirs of the Bordeaux protesters, at the moment of taking possession of their seats, vacant for half a century, wish to signify to Germany and the whole world that the heart of Alsace-Lorraine has never ceased to belong to the family of France and now feels profound joy on re-entering therein.

We wish solemnly to record that no protest has been raised by our two provinces against the Versailles Treaty, which gave us back our French nationality. On the contrary, the candidates of every list presented, even those who were defeated, proclaimed in their programs, manifestos, and speeches their unflinching affection for their country, France.

The declaration expressed gratitude for France's heavy sacrifices, and saluted "the great Lorrainer," who was President of the republic during the long war, and also M. Clemenceau, the last representative of the Bordeaux protest, and concluded:

Alsace and Lorraine will resume their guard along the frontier of the Rhine. They will not fall in their mission as the advance sentinels of French thought.
* * * The Germans have not renounced Alsace-Lorraine. The decision of the

people against Germany has not reconciled the Germans to the loss of the two provinces. Germany does not understand the verdict of the election of Nov. 16 last. By every artifice Germany has tried to falsify that vote. For ten months past she has been flooding the retrieved provinces with so-called autonomist literature. The nation of pillagers has one sentimental romance—the possession of Alsace is now, as ever, a *casus belli*.

Germany never dared organize a referendum in her subject provinces. France obtained a unanimity of votes at the elections, which constituted a true plebiscite, on Nov. 16. In virtue of the now universally recognized right of peoples to dispose of themselves, Germany can never again by any title reclaim the territory she held only by the obsolete right of conquest.

More than 32,000 Germans left Alsace in the Autumn of 1919, during the French Government's campaign to stamp out disturbing propaganda. Statistics show that up to the end of October 2,800 Germans were expelled, 18,500 left voluntarily, and 4,800 German railroad employes were "repatriated." Another 6,000 left the country under various conditions, and only 12,000 Germans remained in Alsace on Nov. 1. Similar developments took place in Lorraine.

An English Hill

BY I. MAY

[IN THE SUNDAY TIMES, LONDON]

An English hill beneath an English sky,
Swept by strong sweetness of the chanting wind;
A hill uplifted to the solemn stars
Where first, when Dawn her opal gate unbars,
Shows the sun's pageantry;
And where, when grows the West incarnadined,
The light, that from the valley all has gone,
Lingers as if in voiceless benison.

An English hill that golden lads have trod,
Racing, fleet-footed, to th' empurpled crest,
Watching the pigmy village in the plain,
Leaping and laughing and, brief weary, lain
Stretched on the flowing sod,
A hill whose river on its ocean quest
Sets to its singing all the changing hours,
Through careless hedges starr'd with English flow'rs.

Such were their dreams on that immortal day,
When death than life more beautiful had grown;
Not unto marble statues, mold'ring brass,
Or fading names writ on some painted glass
Did their hearts, wistful, stray,
But to green ways, and sweet grass, all unnown,
In cool fields. In hallowed mem'ry still
Give them their dreams upon an English hill!

Wartime Feats of French Railways

How the Stupendous Tasks of Mobilization and Troop Transport at the Front Were Handled

By GENERAL G. GASSOIN

[DIRECTOR GENERAL OF FRENCH MILITARY TRANSPORT]

The railways of France, like those of England and the United States, were taken over by the Government for war service. A complete summary of what they did in the four years of conflict, written by the man who controlled the movements of all trains in that period, appeared in a special French number of The London Times on Sept. 6, 1919, and is here reproduced as one of the most valuable records of the war.

THE following telegram was placarded throughout France at 4 P. M. on Aug. 1, 1914: "General Mobilization Order—Sunday, Aug. 2, is the first day of mobilization." From this moment onward there began an era of multiple difficulties for the railway service of France, which had been requisitioned by the State and placed under the control of the military authorities.

On Jan. 1, 1914, the French railway system comprised over 25,000 miles of lines worked by 357,000 employees. The number of locomotives was 14,047, with a rolling stock of 373,000 units. With this material at its disposal, the new department of military transport, which had not to date enjoyed an opportunity of working together as a whole, had, in the first place, to assume the immediate charge of the transports for couverts mobilization and concentration, and subsequently to maintain the economic life of the country.

On July 31 the Germans having occupied the railways and having seized the telegraphic installations in the immediate vicinity of the frontier, the French Government ordained the enforcement of the program of couverture. These transports, which were conveyed without any interruption of the ordinary commercial traffic, particularly intense at that moment, required no less than 385 loaded trains for the Northern and Eastern systems alone.

On Aug. 2 mobilization proper began. The number of trains now running

amounted to thousands. From Aug. 5 onward concentration had to be carried out, and the armies had to be grouped in the zones assigned to them by the plan of general mobilization. Nearly 3,000 trains, comprising 147,000 cars, had to be dispatched. On Aug. 9 the first detachments of the British Expeditionary Force landed in France. On the Northern line 345 trains were employed for the concentration of the British troops, and on the State railway a nearly equal number.

During this period the intensity of traffic reached such a pitch that at certain control stations as many as 200 trains per day had to be cleared, an average of one train every eight minutes.

The troops had to be supplied with fresh provisions and munitions, reinforcements had to be brought up, the wounded had to be evacuated, and large units summoned from one point to another of the line had to be carried to their destination.

HOSTILITIES BEGUN

These commitments were still further increased by events in the field during August. The retirement of our army involved both in the fighting zone and behind the front the dispatch of countless evacuation trains, including French and Belgian rolling stock, material stores of all kinds, public funds, archives, military depots, and other establishments where withdrawal was called for, and added to these there was the formidable exodus of the civilian population of the invaded

territories and of the French capital, which the enemy was daily approaching. On Sept. 3, 50,000 persons left Paris from the Orleans station alone.

In order not to overburden the lines, already strained to their utmost, and in order not to endanger the running of indispensable trains, 83 locomotives and rolling stock amounting to 45,000 units had to be abandoned. Many railway servants were killed, and a considerable number fell into German hands.

The battle of the Marne brought this first period to an end. We recovered part of the invaded railway system. But forthwith there followed the "race to the sea," in which from Nov. 1 to 13 the Northern Railway cleared no fewer than 1,271 troop trains on the Amiens-Boulogne-Calais line alone, without counting rolling stock returned empty and trains for supply and evacuation, &c.

In 1915 the Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée carried 70,000 Sikhs and Gurkhas, who were landed at Marseilles from 52 troop ships arriving from India. In 1915, moreover, the Orleans company dispatched from Toulouse to Orleans 400 trains carrying Indian troops.

These transports, however, represent little, as compared with the strain imposed by strategic troop movements. The Northern Railway alone, which served the districts where the British and French were fighting side by side, had to carry no fewer than 60,000,000 men during the war. Each offensive demanded a fresh effort on the part of the railway services. The Somme battle alone, in 1916, rendered necessary the dispatch of 6,768 trains, not counting return loads. During the most critical period of the battle of Verdun, between March and June, 1916, the Eastern Railway had to provide the transport of 90 divisions, or more than 1,500,000 men, necessitating the dispatch of 3,592 trains.

From 1917 onward the difficulties with which the railways had to contend continued to increase. In October of that year the Austrians broke through the Italian front. French and British troops had to be hastened to the assistance of the Italians. The Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée had immediately to deal with this urgent situation. Between Oct. 29 and

Nov. 18, 384 troop trains were dispatched to Italy, and between Nov. 13 and Dec. 21, 810 trains were dispatched.

AMERICAN TRANSPORT

Then America entered the war. The American transports over the French railway lines deserve a page to themselves. The movement of over 2,000,000 men accompanied by 5,000,000 tons of material across the whole breadth of French territory represented in itself an impressive achievement. Unlike the British Army, which, concentrated in a favorable position, was operating at only a slight distance from its bases, and could group the whole of its transport in a single corner of France, and, so to speak, on a single railway system, the American Army established its bases in nearly every French port and imposed upon the French railway system long journeys on lines that were least prepared to cope with such a task. From St. Nazaire and from Bordeaux, and later from Brest, Nantes, La Rochelle, and later even from Havre, Cherbourg, Bayonne, and Marseilles, American trains started, with the result that all the railway services of the interior found themselves set in motion. The American transport and supply program initiated during the Winter of 1917-18 suddenly expanded in the Spring of the latter year, in consequence of events in the field, with the result that all estimates had to be doubled. During the dramatic months of the Summer of 1918, which saw the railway crisis in France become acute, American transport trains continued ever more frequently to cover the lines assigned to them, adapting old-fashioned installations to their needs, and finally converging upon the front in Lorraine.

During April, 1918, there were carried from ports and camps and from the supply bases of the American Army 77,000 men and 195,000 tons of material; in July, 245,000 men and 290,000 tons, and in October, 430,000 men and 640,000 tons. For the Western State, Orleans and Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée lines alone, these figures represented for the month of April, 303 trains with a train mileage of 75,000; for the month of July, 848

trains with a train mileage of 240,000, and for the month of October, 1,600 trains with a train mileage of nearly 400,000. There were days on which, for example, 72 trains were crossing France in every direction and averaging nearly 250 train miles.

BATTLES OF 1918

With 1918 there began the final act of the great drama which was to impose upon the railways a greater strain than ever. At the end of March the Germans suddenly attacked. Troops had urgently to be sent to every threatened point. Every day 172 trains were dispatched. On the Northern system the train mileage in May reached the unprecedented figure of 1,200,000. On the Eastern system the figure stood at over 1,000,000 train miles. The enemy continued to advance, and his guns commanded the important railway junction of Amiens, while his troops, after occupying the lines converging on Soissons, seized in May the main line from Paris to Nancy, between Château-Thierry and Epernay. The control station had to be withdrawn to the rear, together with all stocks and stores, railway and aeronautical material, factory installations, and other stores and products of all kinds. Notwithstanding these successive evacuations, which necessitated the employment of thousands of railway cars, and notwithstanding the necessity for equipping and supplying lines that became more and more removed from the original front, from May 5 onward a service of 198 troop trains in 24 hours had been instituted. By July the German advance had been definitely stopped. To the anxious question whether the overtaxed resources of the Northern and Eastern systems would be able to respond to the growing requirements of the military situation, these two lines replied by exerting an effort which exceeded by far their previous records. On Aug. 28, 35,000 loaded cars were run over the Northern system in the twenty-four hours, and nearly equaled the record train mileage achieved by it in May, while the Eastern Railway surpassed its figure for that month. And this intensification, be it remembered, was achieved

while the railway works destroyed by the enemy during his retreat were being repaired.

Meanwhile there were leave trains requiring 2,728 cars to be provided for, together with 162 hospital trains, with 2,455 cars.

Similarly, the supply services for the army imposed upon the railways heavy additional burdens. In 1915 the Northern Company cleared 60,000 complete trains at the rate of 160 a day for these services, while the Southern line during the same year carried 617,000 tons of supply goods and 584,000 tons of other traffic.

These figures were doubled and quadrupled in succeeding years, and did not cease increasing until well into 1918. The preparation for supplying Paris against the eventualities of a siege in 1914, from Aug. 20 to Sept. 30 of that year, alone accounted for 117,000 tons of provisions carried by the Orleans line, together with 66,000 tons of fodder, 107,000 bullocks, and 211,000 sheep and pigs.

OTHER SERVICES

In 1915 the Orleans line carried 11,000 guns and gun carriages, and in addition there was an unceasing flow of machine guns, trench mortars, airplanes, tools, wire, road macadam, petrol, &c., as well as clothing, equipment, and camping material. The army postal service from 1915 onward required no fewer than 200 railway cars a day for the delivery of the army's 3,000,000 letters, not to speak of the mountains of parcels and newspapers that had to be carried.

In order, moreover, to compensate the deficiency in French agricultural production, labor had to be imported from outside. In addition, raw material had to be imported in order to keep the war factories at work, and these, too, required coal, the supply of which had been cut short by the seizure of the greater part of the northern coalfields. The provision of all these needs was the prime duty of the railways, and hand in hand there went the necessity for maintaining a continual stream of empty trucks on all lines leading to the coast in order to prevent the French ports from becoming choked. The problem was

complicated by the progressive increase of imports as shown by the tonnage returns of the French ports, which amounted in 1913 to 31,384,516, and, after a fall in 1914 to 27,224,000, to 40,156,000 in 1915, and to 51,502,000 in 1916.

PERSONNEL AND MATERIAL

It has already been mentioned that the French railways entered upon the war with 357,000 servants, 14,047 locomotives, and 373,000 cars. The two latter figures were reduced respectively to 12,361 and 358,343 by normal withdrawals for repairs. From 1914 to 1918 ton mileage increased 41 per cent.; in order to deal with this increase the establishment of the French railways in 1918 ought to have numbered 402,808 employes, 15,641 locomotives, and 457,426 cars. But the actual figures were 352,431 employes, 13,580 locomotives, and 388,050 cars. Requirements were increasingly in excess of existing resources. Everything possible was done to reinforce the personnel by recruiting discharged railway servants, women, wounded soldiers, exempted men, colonial labor, and prisoners of war. But the professional standard of these new employes was far inferior to that of the regular hands. From 1916 onward the British provided their own railway personnel for nearly the whole of their transports, but some months elapsed before the Americans provided labor

commensurate with the additional burden which they threw upon the French railways. The locomotives, for their part, were in no better case. Repairs were in arrear, and the bad quality of the coal which the railways were compelled to burn put a number of boilers out of action. The number of locomotives withdrawn from service rose from 1,720 in January, 1914, to 2,854 in January, 1919, while the number of cars withdrawn rose from 14,840 to 38,520. Important repair shops like Hellemmes and Tergnier were from the start of the war in the hands of the enemy.

During the four years of war French railways showed themselves fully equal to their task and to every demand that was made upon them. No military plan had to suffer in its execution owing to any failure on the part of the railways. It was the thanks of all France that the Minister of War, in conjunction with the Minister of Public Works, returned in the order of the day in which he paid striking tribute to the admirable devotion of the railway personnel. In this order he declared:

The whole Government expresses to officials of all ranks its gratitude for the patriotic activity which they have exerted without stint and without ceasing, day and night. In the name of the army, whose victorious labors they have so modestly and methodically promoted, the Minister of War addresses to them his warmest thanks.



Armenia's Struggle for Independence

By W. D. P. BLISS

Dr. Bliss, an American, born in Constantinople, knows the Near East intimately. He has been a lifelong student of social and political questions, and has been in Europe twice recently on investigations for the Federal Government. During the Peace Conference in Paris he obtained from the Armenian Peace Commissioners—and others—valuable documents and inside information.

TO understand the Armenian struggle for independence, one must remember that Armenia, like Poland, has had a tripartite division. Armenia, meaning by this, historic Armenia, centring around Mount Ararat, near the meeting place (before the war) of Turkey, Russia, and Persia, has been divided among those three countries.

Turkish Armenia, with an area of 101,000 square miles and a pre-war population of 3,788,000, of which 1,403,000 were Armenians, was made finally Turkish in 1451, though portions of it were conquered before that date. Russian Armenia, with 26,130 square miles and a pre-war population of 2,072,000, of which 1,295,000 were Armenians, was annexed to the Russian Empire partly in 1828, partly in 1878. Persian Armenia, with an area of 5,789 miles and 165,000 Armenians, has been definitely Persian since 1472, while much of Armenia, and sometimes all of it, was under ancient Persian suzerainty for centuries before that.

It is thus evident that even before the war Armenia was a divided country and the Armenians a much scattered race. It is estimated that in 1914 there were 520,000 Armenians in Turkey, outside of Turkish Armenia; 758,000 in Russia, outside of Russian Armenia, and some 250,000 in India, Egypt, Europe, and America, making nearly 4,500,000 Armenians in the world.

But, though scattered, these Armenians were by no means wholly divided. Political unity being lost, the Armenian Church, with its Catholicos or Primate at Etchmiadzin in the Caucasus, to a considerable extent bound the Armenians of the world together as forming one nationality.

FROM AUTONOMY TO INDEPENDENCE

At the opening of the war, in 1914, Armenians generally, both in Turkey and Russia, aimed only at autonomy. It is true that, beginning in 1888, with a few Armenians in Geneva, Switzerland, and extending to the Armenians of every country, an organization called the *Dashnakzoutiun* (Federation) aimed at independence for Armenia. But when, in 1908, the Young Turk revolution proclaimed a Constitution, recognizing all races and religions in the Turkish Empire as having equal political rights, the majority of the members of the *Dashnakzoutiun* in Turkey took the Young Turk movement at its face value, worked with the Committee of Union and Progress (the Young Turks) for the development of a new and liberalized Turkey, and, for the time at least, abandoned all thought of independence.

At first the outbreak of the great war did not change the Armenian political situation. To a council of Armenians of the Caucasus, assembled in Tiflis in August, 1914, the Russian Imperial Government, through Prince Varentzov Dashkov, promised autonomy for Russian Armenia after the war, if the Armenians would loyally support the Russian armies during the war. To this the Armenians of the Caucasus assented, though with some hesitation; 160,000 Armenian reservists served in the Russian regular army, while some 20,000 more Armenians served as volunteers.

In Turkey, during the same month, there was a conference of the *Dashnakzoutiun* in the theatre at Erzerum and before this conference came a delegation of twenty-nine leading members

of the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress, then in power in the Government, and made a proposition somewhat similar to that which Russia had made to the Russian Armenians, but with important differences—differences destined to affect the history of the world. Turkey asked her Armenian subjects not only to support her during the war, but also to induce the Russian Armenians to rise against Russia, the Turks, under a German guarantee, promising that if the Armenians would do this there should be formed a new Armenia, to include Russian Armenia to be won from the foe, and three Turkish Armenian vilayets, this new Armenia to be autonomous under Turkish suzerainty.

PURPOSE OF THE TURKS

There was in this proposition more than at first appears. The hope of the Young Turk Party, at the outset of the war, was to make it a *Hejad*, a Holy War, Pan-Islamic, and Pan-Turanian. Against Russia the Turks hoped to unite with themselves the following: Persia with its 9,000,000 inhabitants, Tartars numbering 3,000,000, Kurds 1,125,000, all Moslem races, with 2,000,000 Georgians, and others in the Caucasus whose interests might ally them with the Turks. But between Turkey and those races lay Armenia. A hostile Armenia would make it very difficult for the Turks to co-operate with the Moslem millions the other side of Armenia. But if Armenia, as a whole, would side with the Turks, it would be comparatively easy to bring against Russia in the Caucasus a Pan-Turanian force, which Russia, fighting also on the west, could scarcely resist.

Some believe, indeed, that this Armenian question was largely decisive of the war. Had Armenia as a whole gone on the side of Turkey, and had overwhelming forces attacked Russia in the Caucasus, she could not have done what she did in the early part of the war on her western front, and the Central Powers, far earlier than they did, could have transferred large forces from the east to the west front, with results perhaps fatal to the Entente; while Turkey, triumphant or at least secure in the Caucasus, could have turned her whole

army to meet and defeat the English advance from the south.

Certainly the Turkish proposal to Armenia was a momentous one, and the Turks, at least, knew it. They sent a very weighty delegation to the Armenian conference at Erzerum. They argued from the basis of friendship, and also threatened. They declared, probably with truth, that the Tartars, Kurds, and Georgians were already committed to the side of Turkey, and that if the Armenians refused they would be surrounded on all sides by foes and would suffer accordingly, as indeed they did—how terribly all the world now knows.

THE ARMENIANS REFUSE

But the Armenians at Erzerum said no; they affirmed themselves loyal citizens of the Turkish Empire; they declared that they would faithfully support the Turkish cause and serve in the Turkish Army; but for them to turn the Russian Armenians against Russia, they said, was beyond their power. The view of the conference was that, since Armenia could not be independent and must be attached to some greater power, it was for their economic and educational interest to belong partly to Russia and partly to Turkey, since if they were wholly swallowed up in either empire they would be left helplessly in its power. Loyalty to Turkey they were therefore willing to promise and to fulfill; but turn Russian Armenians against Russia they declared they could not.

With this response to their proposition the Turks were deeply embittered. It meant to them, and perhaps meant in fact, the defeat of the whole Turkish campaign. From that moment the destruction of Armenia was determined. Armenia became the Belgium of the war in the East. Soon the leaders of the Erzerum Conference found themselves persecuted, arrested, and some of them killed. A little later began the massacres of Armenians, and then the policy of deportation, by which the Armenians of Turkey were to be annihilated.

That terrible tale has been often told; but Armenia, perhaps unwittingly, at Erzerum had chosen for herself. She could no longer look for autonomy,

scarcely even for existence, in Turkey; her one hope lay in independence, freed from the Turkish Empire.

ARMENIANS IN RUSSIA

A different line of events drove the Armenians of Russia to practically the same conclusion with respect to the Russian Empire. The Armenians of Russia were loyal to the Imperial Government so long as there was an Imperial Government; but the imperial bureaucracy was not faithful to the Armenians. The Armenian regiments were not allowed to defend Armenia, but were kept chiefly on the western front. When the capture of Erzerum made the Russians believe for the moment that they no longer needed Armenian help, the Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaievitch ordered the disbanding of the Armenian volunteers. In truth, Imperial Russia cared little for the Armenians. Twenty years before, in 1896, when the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Rostonsky, was asked why Russia did not occupy Armenia and save the Armenians from the massacres then going on, he replied, cynically: "We need Armenia, but without the Armenians."

Russia's attitude to Armenia in 1916 was largely the same. To the Armenian refugees, fleeing from massacres, Russia gave little or no relief or protection, even when it might easily have been given. Nevertheless, the Russian Armenians fought steadfastly for Russia with heroism and brilliancy. Even when the Russian revolution overthrew the Imperial Government, the Armenians supported the Kerensky Administration. When, however, in November, 1917, Kerensky fell and the Russian Army of the Caucasus disbanded, leaving the Caucasus in chaos, the Armenians of Russia felt that they had nothing to hope from the Bolsheviks, and, like so many of the subject races in Russia, came to believe that there was a possibility of independence for them, and that here lay their hope. Thus by the stern logic of events both Turkish and Russian Armenians were practically driven into efforts for independence.

Against their terrible massacres and deportations the Armenians in Turkey

could do little or nothing. One of the first steps in the Turkish program was, so far as possible, to deprive Armenians of arms. Even the Armenian soldiers in the Turkish Army were rarely trusted with arms, but were assigned to camp and manual work. Nevertheless, in the few cases where they had some arms, in hopeless but magnificent bravery, the Armenians did what they could. In April, 1915, the Armenians of Van, by a gallant defense, kept the Turks at bay for a whole month, until some Armenian volunteers in the Russian Army under General Nikolaev came to the rescue of the city. The Armenians of Van kept busy a whole division of Turkish regulars, with thousands of Kurds, and so had contributed largely to defeat the Turkish plan to crush the Russian left wing in Persia.

In June of the same year, when Turks and Kurds were laying waste Moush and the surrounding villages, a little band of Armenians from Sasoun, which had been able to maintain a virtual independence of Turkey even to the nineteenth century, marched down from the mountains and enabled the Sasounians, though only 10,000 in number and equipped with antiquated weapons, for two months to keep from their city some 50,000 Turks and Kurds fully armed and equipped. The Sasounians also hoped that Russia would come to their aid; but Russia did not, though her armies were only thirty-one miles away.

At Sivas an Armenian patriot, Mourat, escaped with a little band into the mountains and resisted the Turks for a year and a half, when he escaped into Russia. At Urfa, Armenian men, with women also in their trenches, resisted a Turkish division for forty days. At Shabin-Karahissar nearly 5,000 Armenians resisted another Turkish division for twenty-seven days. When their ammunition gave out nearly 3,000 Armenian women are said to have drunk poison rather than fall into Turkish hands. In Cilicia some 5,000 Armenians of the village of Sudiah, near Zeitun, fled into the mountains, and for forty-two days resisted Turkish regulars, till, succeeding in signaling a French cruiser, they were

rescued and conveyed to Port Said in Egypt, where many of them enlisted in the British Army or in the French Oriental Legion.

Thus what the Armenians in Turkey could do, heroically they did. They kept five divisions of Turks and innumerable Kurds from joining the Turkish offensives.

IN THE CAUCASUS

The Armenians in the Caucasus were not braver, but they could do more. They had arms. The part they contributed to the Turkish defeat is not generally known, but the Turkish General, Ihsan Pasha, commanding the right wing of the Turkish Caucasus Army, said in 1915: "I must confess that had it not been for the Armenians we would have conquered the Caucasus." General Liman von Sanders, the German commander in Syria, said after the Turkish surrender: "The collapse of the Turkish Palestinian front was due to the fact that the Turks, against my orders and advice, sent all their available forces to the Caucasus and Azerbaidjan, where they fought the Armenians." Ex-Premier Kerensky said on Aug. 20, 1918: "Of all the races of the Caucasus, the Armenians alone stuck to their posts, organized volunteer forces and by the side of their Russian comrades faced the formidable assaults of the enemy and turned his victorious march into a disastrous rout." Lord Robert Cecil wrote on Oct. 3, 1918: "The service rendered by the Armenians to the common cause can never be forgotten."

Turkey during the war made five distinct offensives in the Caucasus and four of the five were defeated principally by the Armenians, while in the fifth the Russian forces which chiefly defeated it were led by the Armenian General, Nazarbekoff.

FIRST TURKISH OFFENSIVES

The first offensive was in 1914, when Enver Pasha, considering himself a Turkish Napoleon, endeavored to reach Tiflis by shattering the right wing of the Russian Army. He had under him three army corps. One corps was to capture Sarikamish and cut off the retreat of 60,000 Russians; but in the Barduz Pass

it was held up for twenty-four hours by a comparative handful of Armenians, who lost, it is said, only 600 men. But it gave the Russians time to concentrate at Sarikamish; and instead of the Turks capturing 60,000 Russians, the Turks were disastrously defeated and lost, it was reported, 30,000 men, and failed in their offensive.

The second Turkish offensive was in 1915, when the Turks endeavored to turn the extreme left wing of the Russian Army by marching through Persia. The Russians had only one brigade under the command of the Armenian General, Nazarbekoff, and one battalion of Armenian volunteers. The Turks had a whole division of well drilled, equipped troops, sent especially from Constantinople under Khalil Bey, and nearly 10,000 Kurds. The Turks easily captured Urmia and took nearly 1,000 Russian prisoners; but at Dalmost the Armenians met them in one of the fiercest battles between the Armenians and Turks, and for three days repulsed the Turks, until Russian reinforcements came and the Turkish Army was put to flight. Armenians declare that 3,600 Turkish soldiers fell before the Armenian trenches.

The third Turkish offensive in the Caucasus was in the same year, when eleven divisions of Turks, again under Khalil Bey, advanced against the Russian centre. The Russian Army retreated for a week till its left wing came to its aid, and under the Armenian General, Nazarbekoff, the Russians succeeded in driving back the Turks.

AFTER RUSSIA'S COLLAPSE

The first three offensives were won before the collapse of the Russian forces. It was, however, after the collapse that the Armenians accomplished their most important work. When the Russian Caucasus Army of 250,000 abandoned the country to its fate, the Tartars armed themselves and arose en masse, expecting to unite with the Turks and carry all before them. Against them were only 30,000 Armenians. The Turkish Army had from 50,000 to 75,000 men, besides the Tartars.

When, however, by the Brest-Litovsk treaty, the Bolsheviki agreed to surren-

der to Turkey large portions of Russian Armenia and Georgia, the Georgians, Armenians, and Tartars of the Caucasus united for their own defense. A temporary Government composed of representatives of the three races was called, with Chekhenkeli, a Georgian, as President, and in April, 1918, an independent federated republic of the Caucasus was declared. This republic did not endure. Racial enmities were too strong.

Already in 1917, when the Tartars rose against the Bolsheviks, there had been gathered at Baku a considerable body of Armenians returning from Russia, and these the Tartars attacked, declaring them partisans of the Bolsheviks. The Tartars expected to make quick work of the Armenians. But instead, in a severe battle, while the Armenians, as they declared, lost only 2,500 men, the Tartars lost over 10,000, and the Armenians remained possessors of Baku and its oil wells. For five and a half months the Armenians, with the aid of a few Russians, held Baku against the combined offensives of Tartars and Turks. A small British force of 1,400 men—with only 800 rifles among them—reached Baku, but too late, and finally the Armenians and the British were compelled to take refuge in Persia.

Even the Georgians were induced to favor the Turks by the promise that they should have Batoum. Consequently the Georgian President of the Federation ordered the Armenians to deliver to the Turks the fortress of Kars, and they had to obey. In such circumstances it was not to be expected that a republic of federated Georgians, Tartars, and Armenians could endure. As a matter of fact it lasted less than five weeks. On May 26, 1918, Georgia, depending on aid from Germany, declared herself an independent republic. Two days later the Tartars declared the republic of Azerbaijan, and the same day, May 28, 1918, Russian Armenia declared herself as an independent Armenian Republic, with Erivan as its capital.

But the Armenians alone had to fight for their republic and did so with marvelous success. At Sardarabad and Karakilissa, in two fierce battles, one of them lasting four days, they routed the Turks,

who, it is said, lost 6,000. The Turks retreated almost to the frontier and consented to negotiate for peace with Armenia. On June 4, 1918, preliminaries of peace were signed subject to ratification within thirty days. These preliminaries were, however, never ratified by the Armenian Republic and eventually Turkey surrendered to the Allies.

ARMENIA SINCE THE ARMISTICE

After the Turkish surrender to the Entente, Armenia's efforts for independence had to be transferred to the fields of diplomacy. In arms in the Caucasus they had been successful, but the Armenians had also fought elsewhere. In France 900 Armenian students enlisted in the Foreign Legion, while at the end of the war scarcely 50 survived, the majority of the remaining 850 giving their lives in 1916 at Verdun. In Syria and Egypt some eight battalions of Armenians enlisted in the French Oriental Legion or in the British Army. General Allenby said of them: "I am proud to have Armenian contingents under my command. They fought brilliantly and took a leading part in the victory."

But now Armenia had to plead before the nations. An Armenian Republic, indeed, existed in the Caucasus, but Turkish Armenia was helpless, starving, and largely depopulated. The United States generously sent large aid in the way of food and relief. England and France declared themselves favorable to Armenian independence, but their acts scarcely tallied with their words. In 1916 Armenians in the midst of their heroic sacrifices for the Entente had learned, almost with despair, that England and France had come to a secret agreement that Asia Minor; including large portions of Armenia, should be divided between them, at least as spheres of influence.

In the circumstances, who can wonder that the Armenians turned for hope to the United States, grounding their appeal partly on President Wilson's words in behalf of oppressed nationalities, and partly on the fact that for nearly one hundred years Americans had been interested in educational and religious progress among the Armenians.

AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Consequently in February, 1919, there met in Paris an assembly of thirty-one elected representatives of the Armenians of the whole world, including four from the United States; and these representatives selected a delegation of six to present Armenia's claims before the Peace Conference. The President of this delegation was the Excellency Boghos Nubar Pasha, an Armenian from Egypt, Chairman of the Railway Directorate of Egypt, whose father had been twice Egyptian Prime Minister. This delegation represented Turkish Armenia, while A. Aharonian was President of the delegation of the Republic of Armenia. This republic had been formed of the Armenians in the Caucasus in 1918, but intentionally its organization had been left provisional in order that Turkish Armenia might be added to its territory, and that then permanent organization might be effected by the elected representatives of both Turks and Armenians, united as one nation. For political and diplomatic reasons Persian Armenia had to be left out.

On Nov. 30, 1918, the Armenian National Delegation at Paris proclaimed the independence of Integral Armenia and placed it under the guarantee of the League of Nations. The Republic of the Caucasus and the Armenians of Turkey, and indeed of the whole world, came therefore before the conference as a unit and presented an earnest and dramatic appeal for independence.

SUPPORT FOR ARMENIA'S PLEA

Their demand has received almost universal support. Mr. Balfour, in a letter addressed to Boghos Nubar Pasha, Oct. 12, 1918, said: "The liberation of Armenia is one of the war aims of the allied powers." Mr. Clemenceau, in a letter to the same, of July, 1918, said: "I am happy to confirm to you that the Government of the republic, like that of Great Britain, has not ceased to place the Armenian Nation among those peoples whose fate the Allies intend to settle according to the supreme laws of humanity and justice." On Dec. 10, 1918, Senator Lodge offered the following resolution in the United States Senate:

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Senate, Armenia (including the six vilayets of Armenia and Cilicia), Russian Armenia and the northern part of the province of Azerbaidjan, Persian Armenia, should be independent, and that it is the hope of the Senate that the Peace Conference will make arrangements for helping Armenia to establish an independent republic.

Senator Thomas, a Democrat, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said: "I heartily approve of the Lodge resolution and of every resolution which favors Armenian independence." June 22, 1919, Judge Hughes, Elihu Root, John Sharp Williams, James W. Gerard, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, and four other prominent Americans cabled President Wilson at Paris: "We believe that without regard to party or creed the American people are deeply interested in the welfare of the Armenian people and expect to see the restoration of the independence of Armenia." On Nov. 30, 1918, the Italian Parliament adopted a resolution favoring an independent Armenia.

The Greeks and Armenians in the Turkish Empire, though for centuries divided by jealousies, have been brought together by their common need, and a memorandum, signed by both the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs of Constantinople, was laid before the Paris conference asking independence for the Armenians in Turkey and the union of Greek Asia Minor with the Kingdom of Greece.

ARMENIA'S NEED OF HELP

Nevertheless, in spite of all this encouragement, the Armenians feel that they have by no means won their case. A recent recrudescence of the Young Turk Party in Turkey once more threatens a Pan-Turanian movement and the final extinction of all the Armenians in Turkey. England has withdrawn most of her forces from Asia Minor. Inevitably the Armenians look chiefly to the United States.

It is generally agreed that if Armenia be made independent or even autonomous it must be under the mandate of some power to assist in the reorganization of her devastated resources and to defend her from the attacks of Turks, Kurds,

and Tartars. England and France, by secret agreement during the war, largely portioned between them Asia Minor, including much of Armenia; if either of these countries should accept a mandate for a united Armenia, the other would regard the agreement as having been violated. America is the only country that can aid Armenia, without rousing suspicion and jealousy.

The proposition is sometimes made that for political and religious reasons Turkey should be allowed even yet to retain nominal suzerainty over Armenia;

but Armenians declare that, after centuries of oppression, ending in forty years of massacres and deportations by the Turks, for the Armenians to be united in any way with the Turks is impossible; it would give rise to such complications that the peace could not be kept. They declare that Armenians, having aided and perhaps having saved the Entente at critical periods, the Entente must now save them, and that Armenia needs to receive aid from the United States or perish from the earth.

Dwindling of the Turkish Empire

A Tragic Romance of History

WHEN Generals Maude and Allenby captured Bagdad and Jerusalem in 1917-18, crushing the resistance of the last remaining Turkish armies, they wrote practically the final chapter in the long, dark history of the Ottoman Empire. The sketch maps on the four succeeding pages tell at a glance the story of more than four centuries of Ottoman imperialism. There was a time, after the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. in 1453, when all Eastern Europe, if not the whole Continent, seemed destined to pass under the Mussulman sword. By the end of the sixteenth century almost the whole of Hungary, as well as Transylvania, Bukowina, Bessarabia, most of modern Rumania, Bosnia, and Serbia, the Balkan Peninsula, Greece, Morea, and most of the Aegean Islands were under Turkish sway. The Black Sea was practically an Ottoman lake, and the Turkish fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean, despite the great defeat of Lepanto in 1572, was a formidable power.

The failure of the great Moslem assault on Vienna in 1683—thanks to the sovereign of Poland—and the loss of Budapest in 1686, marked the commencement of the ebbing of the Turkish tide, and from that day to this the Ottoman frontier has been slowly pushed back, until now the Peace Conference at Paris

has intimated its intention to confine Turkish rule to a small region in Asia Minor between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, as shown on the fourth map of the series.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century Austria was Turkey's most serious foe. The Hapsburgs recovered Hungary, Transylvania, and much of Slavonia and Croatia. By 1770 Turkey's second great European competitor, Russia, had definitely appeared upon the scene. By 1796 the buffer State of Poland, which had done some of the most effective fighting against the Turkish invasion, had ceased to exist, and Russia was claiming the right to protect the Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte. The modern phase of the Turkish question had practically begun.

In 1830 the Greek war of independence ended in the establishment of modern Greece—the first independent State created out of the Turkish Empire. Russia, too, was still advancing. The status of Turkey at that period is shown in the second of the four maps. From 1873 to 1876 a series of revolts against Turkish misrule in the Balkans precipitated the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, which brought the Russian Army to the door of Constantinople and the British fleet to the Sea of Marmora. Other wars in the succeeding decades nibbled still other portions from the dwindling empire of



OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, WHEN IT HAD ATTAINED ITS GREATEST EXPANSION

the Sultans until, in 1908, Bulgaria renounced Turkish suzerainty. The formation of the Balkan League by Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece in 1912 was followed promptly by the first Balkan war, which forced Turkey, already weakened by a war with Italy in which she had lost Tripoli, to cede to the Balkan allies all her territory north of the Enos-Media line, together with Crete. When the Balkan States quarreled and fought the second Balkan war in 1913, Turkey regained Adrianople and some minor shreds of what she had lost, but the diminished size of the Ottoman Empire is indicated in the third map of the accompanying series.

Finally, Turkey's entry into the world war on the side of the Central Powers in 1914 sealed her fate and made the difference between the third and fourth maps presented herewith. Though at

this writing the terms on which the Allies will make peace with Turkey are still unsettled, their larger aspects have already been determined by events. General Maude's conquest of Bagdad and Mesopotamia gave that region, with the sanction of an international mandate, into the hands of British rulers; the progress made there in the last year is described elsewhere in this issue. General Allenby's successful campaign in Palestine likewise determined a future under British control for that historic region; the British Government's promise of a Zionist refuge there for the persecuted Jews of Eastern Europe remains still to be worked out into tangible form. Several secret treaties made early in the war also are having a powerful influence in reshaping the map of the former Ottoman Empire.

In 1915 the British made a treaty with



TURKISH EMPIRE IN 1833, AFTER THE INROADS OF POLAND, AUSTRIA, AND RUSSIA HAD REDUCED IT

the Shereef of Mecca, now known as King Hussein, promising him the sovereignty of the new Arab kingdom of Hedjaz in return for the military assistance which he and his son, Emir Feisal, were to give and did give in the war against the Turks. This Arab kingdom, though not yet delimited, will include the mass of the population south of the highlands of Anatolia and Armenia, and in the regions south of Syria and Palestine, between the seacoast and the desert. The original promise seems to have included Bagdad, Damascus, and most of Syria and Mesopotamia; the extent to which this is to be fulfilled remains one of the problems puzzling the Peace Conference.

Later France and Great Britain made a secret treaty which divided this same area into spheres of influence, with the

Haifa-Tekrit line dividing them, and with France controlling the territory north of that line and Great Britain the region south of it, including Palestine. When the Italians entered the war the Treaty of London undertook to give them a sphere of influence on the Black Sea coast in Anatolia. British troops at the close of the war were occupying Syria, as well as nearly all the rest of the regions involved in all these changes; France, however, had protected the Syrian Christians ever since the days of the Crusades, and had very considerable interests in that country; hence there followed a rather serious misunderstanding between the two nations for a time, until a sort of *modus vivendi* was arranged. The French Government then appointed General Gouraud as Commissioner in Syria and Commander in Chief of the French



TURKEY IN 1913, AFTER THE LOSS OF ITS POSSESSIONS IN AFRICA AND IN THE BALKANS

Army in the East. He organized the French forces at Saloniki into a division, which he united with another division already in Syria under General Hamelin, and arrived at Beirut on Nov. 23, 1919, to take up his new duties. By previous arrangement with the British Government his troops relieved the British forces of occupation in Syria, and now the French and Arab armies are in control of the chief regions tentatively assigned to France and the Hedjaz.

But the problem of an independent Armenian State, which still further complicates the rivalries in Asia Minor, and which has remained unsolved because of the long delay of the United States in determining whether or not to assume a mandate for that region, still further puzzles the makers of the new map of what once was Turkey. Nor does this

exhaust the list of complications and causes of possible conflict. The Greeks, who form a large element of the population along the Aegean Sea, in the neighborhood of Smyrna, are making strong efforts to obtain a mandate for that region. Their claims are contested by the Italians, who landed at Adalia and occupied the seacoast, and who have clashed with the increasing forces which Greece is sending to protect its nationals.

It has recently become known that in 1917, when the adhesion of Greece to the Entente was greatly needed, Mr. Lloyd George made with M. Venizelos a secret treaty promising Greece a slice of Anatolia about one-third the size of France. M. Venizelos sought and obtained permission to send troops across the Aegean last May. It was understood that his intention was to occupy only Smyrna and



TURKEY'S REDUCED SIZE AS FORESHADOWED BY DISCUSSIONS AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS

the immediate neighborhood; but the Greeks proceeded immediately to push out into the hinterland, and have ever since waged war on the whole country around Aidin and devastated the beautiful valley of the Meander River. The Turks offered resistance there, and for months a war characterized by the most cruel methods has been going on. The City of Aidin has been pillaged and burned, and the garden region around it has been laid waste.

There remains the problem of Constantinople—whether it shall be internationalized or left partly in the hands of the Turks. The efforts of the Turks themselves for continuance of power also cannot be ignored, as they have had a certain degree of support from France.

Such is a bare outline of the complex situation which the break-up of Turkey has presented for the solution of the Peace Conference. Pending the publication of the treaty that shall determine

the political fate of the remnant of the Ottoman Empire, the best official summary of the case, from an optimistic viewpoint, is that given by Premier Lloyd George in his Guildhall speech, Nov. 8, 1919. He told his audience:

I think I can venture to say that there is complete agreement among all the Allies on the fundamental principles of a settlement with Turkey. First of all, we are all agreed that the Turkish misgovernment in lands populated by Greeks, by Arabs, and by Armenians shall come to an end. We are all agreed that the gates of the Black Sea must be free to all nations, and that their guardianship can no longer be entrusted to the power that betrayed its trust and closed those gates in the face of the Allies at the behest of the Prussian military power. As to all other questions there ought to be no insuperable difficulty in the distribution of the responsibility among the Allies for guaranteeing this policy, distribution among the nations whose friendliness has borne the test of a great war and whose continued co-operation is essential for the peace and freedom of the world.

Bagdad Under British Rule

How Englishmen Administered the City of Haroun al Raschid After Driving Out the Turks*

THE British occupation of Mesopotamia began immediately after the declaration of war, with an advance on Basra, from which the Turkish armies fled so hastily that all records were left undamaged and public buildings intact. Soon after came the advance to Nasiriyah on the Euphrates, to Amarah, Kut, and Ctesiphon on the Tigris. In the Spring of 1917 General Maude recaptured Kut and marched on Bagdad. The British advance on Bagdad, unlike the occupation of Basra, had been expected, and all records considered valuable had been destroyed or removed by the Turks; the Arts and Crafts School had been deliberately bombed, and fires had been started in the city. What furniture the Turks left was ransacked by the mob in the interval between the departure of the Turks and the arrival of the British, and the Government offices were a confusion of broken furniture, dirt, and piles of paper.

Order was at once restored by the Military Governor, but for some time it was difficult to obtain open assistance from the inhabitants. Too vivid was the memory of the butcheries at Kut, when those who had assisted the British were brutally massacred, together with their families. Those officials who still remained at their post, as, for instance, the officials who administered the public debt, were passively resistant, and the British were obliged practically unaided to bring order out of chaos.

BAGDAD'S POSITION

The capture of Bagdad was of transcendent importance to Great Britain. It vindicated British prestige in the East, which had undoubtedly been shaken by the failure to force the Dardanelles and relieve Kut-el-Amara. It meant the disruption of the Turkish Empire in Asia, the liberation of Persia from the Otto-

man occupation of nearly 30,000 square miles of her territory, and the security of the Indian frontier. It also stilled Mohammedan unrest in this region and prepared the way for the ultimate British victory in the East. For Bagdad, situated on both banks of the River Tigris, about 200 miles north of the confluence of that river with the River Euphrates and about 400 miles north of Basra, has always been important for its position. About a day's journey from the treeless, fertile plain of Mesopotamia, in which Bagdad lies snugly within its fringe of orange groves, date palms, and pomegranate gardens, are the ruins of the ancient cities of Babylon and Nineveh, respectively the capitals of the Chaldean and Assyrian Empires, and the Tower of Babel, all of Biblical fame.

One of the four great gates of the city that face north, south, east, and west, the Bab-ul Muazzam, an open square with bazaars, is the eastern terminus of the overland route to Aleppo and Europe, and here the caravans arrive from Central Arabia and pilgrims set out for Kerbela. Bagdad, indeed, has always been the key of the desert route to Damascus and Asia Minor and the entrance to the waterways leading to Mosul and Armenia. Germany thought so much of Bagdad's position that, with Turkey's consent, she made it one of the termini of her Berlin-Bosporus-Bagdad Railway, by which, in the event of future war, she could reach the British dependency of India.

A PAGE OF HISTORY

Bagdad was founded by Abu Jaafe-el-Mansur, the first of the Abbasia Caliphs, in 762. He built the city on the west bank of the Tigris, on the place which

* This article is based in part on an article, "Turkish Rule and British Administration in Mesopotamia," which appeared in *The Quarterly Review* for October, 1919.

the Persians had named Bagadata, or the "Gift of God." For 500 years Bagdad remained the seat of the Caliphate, until, in 1258, Hulagu, grandson of Genghis Khan, at the head of his Mongol hordes, put it to the sack. At its zenith Bagdad was the city described in "The Arabian Nights," orientally magnificent, under the rule of the famous Caliph of romantic memories, Haroun al Raschid, or Aaron the Just, who reigned from 786 to 809. Tennyson described the throne of Haroun as follows:

Six columns, three on either side,
Pure silver, underpropt a rich
Throne of the massy ore, from which
Down droop'd, in many a floating fold,
Engarlanded and diaper'd
With inwrought flowers, a cloth of gold.
Thereon, his deep eye laughter stirr'd
With merriment of kingly pride,
Sole star of all that place and time,
I saw him in his goodly prime,
The good Haroun al Raschid.

After the Mongol invasion Bagdad ceased to be the spiritual home of Islam. Again, in 1410, the city was sacked by Tamerlane; Suleiman conquered it in 1534, and the Persians in 1624. On Christmas Day, 1638, the city surrendered to Murad IV., Sultan of Turkey, and it remained in Turkish hands until March 11, 1917, the date of its capture by the British.

The Turkish administration which the British replaced had been in the hands of a Pasha, assisted by a council. The rulers were the tools of Constantinople, and were unpopular with the Arabs on account of religious differences. The population consisted of Persians, Jews, Turks, Chaldeans, Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, and Levantines, and numbered about 200,000, as against the 2,000,000 of the time of the Caliphs. Of these 200,000, about 120,000 were Mohammedans, 60,000 Jews, and 20,000 Christians, including 5,000 Armenians. Turkish and Arabic were the main languages spoken.

A DISTRIBUTING CENTRE

In ancient times Bagdad was a most prosperous city, but it had declined in importance under the inefficient and slovenly Turkish rule. Yet it had long been a busy forwarding centre. From Damascus silks and embroideries were

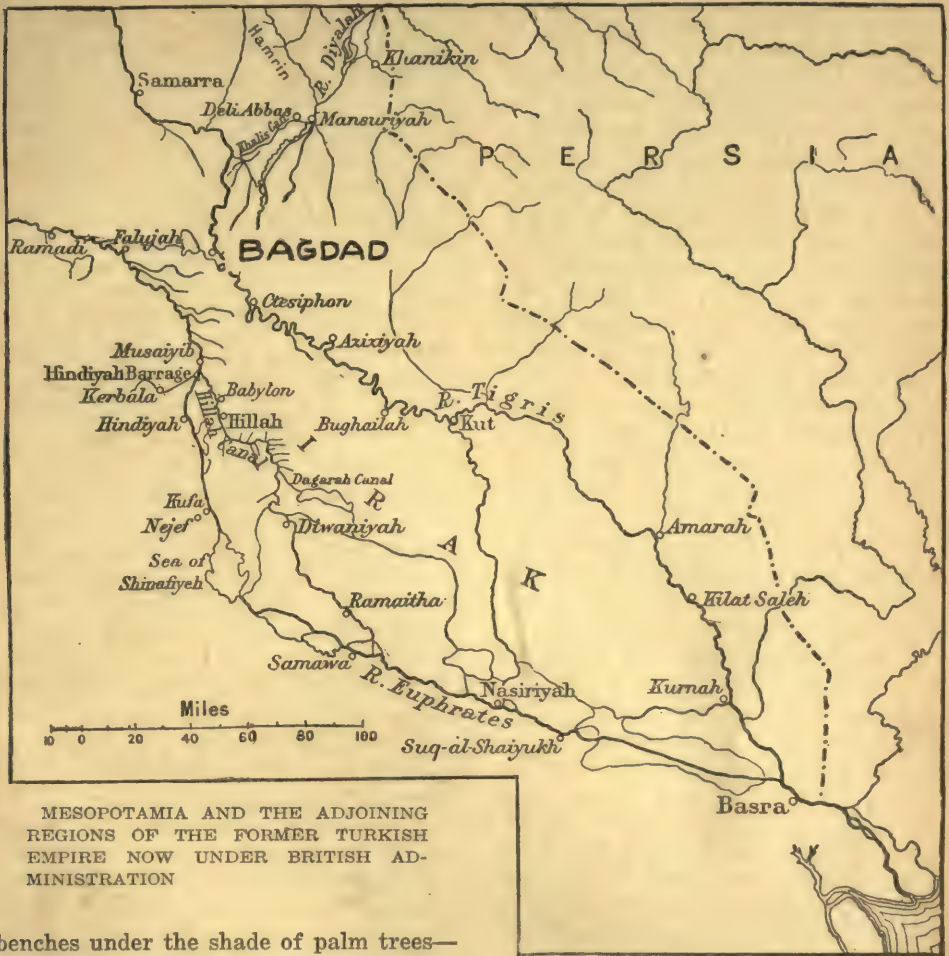
brought to it by caravans of camels and distributed to the various Persian towns, and Persian rugs, carpets, fruits, drugs and other commodities were sent back in exchange. Goods from Europe and India were transported by sea to Basra, thence up-river to Bagdad and Mosul in the picturesque dhows of which we read so much in books of the slave trade. Most of the business of the city was conducted through the Imperial Ottoman Bank, though "sarrafs" (small Jewish banks) also received their quotas.

When the British occupied the city they found that the finger of time had passed lightly over the manners and customs of the town, leaving an intact, unchanged picture of the east of ancient days. The irrigation of the fields was still carried on in primitive fashion, the water being drawn from the river by means of waterwheels driven by teams of horses; the men still spun with old-fashioned looms in the open air, the patient ox still trod out the corn, the women still ground the grain between the upper and nether millstones, the shepherd still led his flock to the green pastures.

British observers saw the travelers coming down the turbulent Tigris on rafts composed of inflated goatskins, and Bible scenes rose again before their eyes as they saw the Arab ride past on a steed worthy of the name, the goatherd surrounded by his flock, the money-changers plying their trade in the dusty streets, the Jews shuffling by, with their long white beards, the camels swaying slowly over the sands, and heard the raucous cries of the water-sellers, the patter of water-donkeys, the clatter of vehicles driven at top-speed. But under the setting sun they saw the Bagdad redolent of romance, a glorified Bagdad, pervaded with the atmosphere of mystery and adventure evoked by Sir Richard Burton's translation of "The Arabian Nights."

Bathed in this sunset the river seemed to be a stream of liquid fire, while the domes and minarets of the mosques stood clearly outlined against a pale blue background.

In the coffee gardens—collections of



MESOPOTAMIA AND THE ADJOINING REGIONS OF THE FORMER TURKISH EMPIRE NOW UNDER BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

benches under the shade of palm trees—the merchants met to discuss business, and as they sat cross-legged, drank the thick, delicious coffee served in cups without handles. Beyond, the city bazaar offered a feast of color. The gorgeous Eastern dyes made vivid splashes of color; the gleam of silver and gilt-embroidered goods from Damascus caught the eye.

THE BRITISH RULE

But these were only the romantic and picturesque features of Bagdad. When the British came in they found the city almost wholly lacking in the essentials of good government. At first they had to play their civilizing hand alone, and were the object of much distrust and suspicion. The Arabs of the Euphrates had never been much governed, and it was not until the Sheiks had come to Bagdad and been personally received by

the British Political Officer, and had seen and heard what was being done under British rule, that real progress was possible.

There was much to give them confidence. Bagdad, from a picturesquely beautiful but disorderly, unhygienic, unpoliced and drink-loving city, had in a very short time become orderly; it possessed clean streets, electric lighting, a municipal government under a military Governor, a police force, night watchmen, a prison, a hospital, and even a fire brigade. Religious and civil tribunals had been established. The liquor laws were reformed, and all drinking shops licensed. The salt monopoly was suspended, the tobacco supply was regulated officially as a necessity to the Arab population. The functions of the public debt were taken over by the

British authorities in such a way as to increase confidence.

Bagdad had always prided itself upon its learning, its libraries, and its traditions, and education was a problem that required immediate attention. An education committee was appointed consisting of five of the notables. Of eighty schoolmasters who applied for positions and who were obliged to take an examination, only five were found qualified to teach, and these five had been headmasters. A primary school was opened at once under these five, while for the remainder an advanced class was started, and lectures in Arabic, geography, history, and the science of teaching were arranged. Fifteen teachers declined to attend this course, and of the remaining sixty only twenty-seven passed the examination held at the end of the first three months. Another course was begun at the Normal School, private schools were reopened, and on passing inspection were granted substantial financial assistance. The Boy Scout movement was inaugurated, Arabic was made the official language and the vehicle of instruction. English also was taught, and eagerly enrolled for. Map drafters and engineers were trained and put to work. By the Summer of 1918 the work had become so heavy that an education department under a director was established, and the Revenue Office was relieved of what till then had been an additional duty.

All this was not without influence on the Sheiks of the agricultural tribes, but what appealed still more to them was the attention which the British administration paid to the agriculturist. The oil-driven pumping plants, of which there were over 300 in the neighborhood of Bagdad, were again busy on the banks. The oil-fuel, of which the natives had been deprived for two years, was provided by military transport; stolen parts were traced and recovered; assistance was given; and eventually a separate branch of the military workshop was established for the repair of agricultural machinery. Seed, including that of the potato, hitherto unknown, was distributed, and advice on cultivation given.

Side by side with these tangible evi-

dences of British good-will was the ever widening influence of Sir Percy Cox, who had been appointed Chief Political Officer in the Autumn of 1914. "Kokus," as his name was Arabicized, had become a hero; songs in his honor were sung at the camp-fire; and a mythical Saga of his doings and the motives therefor was passed on from Arab to Arab, and repeated by those who had never seen him.

MESOPOTAMIA'S REVIVAL

So the ancient city of Bagdad was transformed. Elsewhere throughout Mesopotamia the same story of British achievement could be told. All towns occupied were at once placed under military Governors, districts were shaped, guarantees were exchanged with Sheiks, revenue contracts were revised, and courts of civil justice were established. Sympathetic treatment when the crops were bad and the elimination of oppressive taxation went far to gain native confidence. Sheiks, subject to Governmental control, were made responsible for order among their tribes, and for the payment of revenue. Justice was summary, and sentences were more varied and effective than those found in the Code. A public servant found stealing Government property, for instance, was sentenced to carry through the bazaar an inscription in either hand, one reading: "With this hand I receive from the Government," the other, "With this hand I steal from the Government I serve." Dispensaries were opened, and much of the blindness that cursed Mesopotamia even more grievously than India was relieved. Measures for the training of competent teachers were taken, and as these became available schools in which Arabic was the medium of instruction were opened.

The general situation in 1917 throughout Irak gave reason for disquietude; the agricultural situation was serious, and there was also a general feeling^o of insecurity. Kerbala and Hillah had openly risen against the Turk, and there had been pillage and massacre; Nejef was raw with irritation. It was stated that Turks had invaded harems on the plea of searching for men in hiding to evade military service. The populace was nervous of all authority. The British mili-

tary situation at this time, also, was none too secure in the eyes of the calculating Arab. The British were indeed at Bagdad, and their forces were established at Falujah on the Euphrates and at Samarra on the Tigris, but Turkish guns commanded the headworks of the five canals that are drawn from the Diyalah, Ramadi still held out, and there was an unsubdued little garrison in Diwaniyah.

The influence of the Chief Political Officer and the Revenue Board, however, soon made itself felt. The canal system, which had gone to pieces during the war, was repaired and made available for active use; an agricultural development scheme was devised and applied with considerable success; meanwhile military operations were continued which led to the capture of the points still held by the Turks; Diwaniyah fell in August, Ramadi in the early Autumn, and the Turks were also driven from their position commanding the Diyalah canals. Relieved at last of the fear that the Turks would return and take revenge, the Sheiks came in and brought their submission, and the work of regeneration throughout Irak went on smoothly and without obstruction.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The success of the agricultural development scheme exceeded all expectations, for it produced 253,000 tons of crop and 50,400 tons of revenue. By October, 1918, 49,000 tons of revenue corn had been handed over to the army for its support; by February, 1919, approximately 80% of advances had been repaid. The total area under cultivation in 1917-18 was calculated at 1,000,000 acres, of which 600,000 were in the Bagdad vilayet. It was proposed for the 1918-19 cul-

tivation to increase this to 1,500,000 acres, the maximum for which water could be made available, population found, and cattle provided.

Of many urgent schemes of improvement considered, one of the most important was the provision of a new head for the Khalis canal. This engineering feat, which involved the driving of a passage through the rocks of the Jabal Mansuriyah, saved a valuable cereal and garden area of over 100,000 acres from a precarious situation, a bend of the river having dangerously threatened the old headworks. Two additional canals made available on the Euphrates brought 60,000 new acres under cultivation. Plow oxen were introduced from India, valuable results from cotton experiments and tests of sugar, beet and wheat were obtained, and cattle breeding received great attention.

At this point the war ended. Both Irak and the rich province of Mosul were provisionally in British hands. Mesopotamia was a country of great promise, and though the difficulties in the way of reconstruction were still considerable, though land problems and the adjustment of rights between Arab cultivators and city proprietors called for skillful handling, it was already clear that, given continued good government, the future of this portion of Arabia might develop a prosperity reminiscent of the semi-mythical and romantic days of good old Haroun al Raschid.

Meanwhile the fate of Mesopotamia, and of Bagdad, the "City of the Gift of God," has remained undecided by the Peace Conference at Paris, and what the future will bring to this Arabic-Turkish country in the way of government no man as yet can tell.



Persia and the Young Shah

Picturesque Scenes Marking the Ruler's Visit to London— The Anglo-Persian Agreement

SULTAN AHMED SHAH KAJAR, the ruler of Persia—a young man of only 21 years—arrived in London on Oct. 31, 1919, and received a welcome of international significance, in view of the recent agreement between the two nations. At the Victoria Station a large company of British royalty, statesmen and notables awaited the guest; the platform had been reserved, carpeted and decorated for the occasion. The outer walls of the royal waiting room were covered with crimson cloth, and on each side of the doorway leading from the platform to the waiting room were banks of flowers and plants, above which floated the Persian flag. The interior was beautifully decorated, and the station yard outside was hung with British, Persian and other national flags. A guard of honor of the Coldstream Guards, with band, was posted in the station yard; a sovereign's escort of Household Cavalry was in waiting at the exit; and the King sent five four-horse open carriages with attendants in royal scarlet to convey the Persian ruler from the station to Buckingham Palace.

As the time of arrival drew near, distinguished personages began to arrive, and took up their positions on the carpeted platform in readiness to meet the Shah. Among these were included the Prime Minister, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Mr. Balfour, Viscount Milner, Mr. Shortt and other Ministers; the Marquis of Crewe, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, the Mayor of Westminster, Lord Downham (Chairman to the London County Council), Earl Haig (Commander in Chief, Great Britain), Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson (Chief of the Imperial Staff), the Earl of Chesterfield (Master of the Horse) and many others.

Presently a sharp military command and the playing of the national anthem indicated to those inside the arrival of a member of the royal family. It was

Prince Arthur of Connaught, who almost immediately joined the group on the platform. Still later the national anthem again was played as the King arrived.

When the Persian ruler, arriving from Dover, stepped from his special train, King George shook hands with him very cordially and said a few words of warm welcome. The young ruler, who has a very portly figure and an intelligent-looking face, wore a Persian military uniform. A notable feature of his dress was an Astrakhan fez, ornamented in front with a richly jeweled white aigrette. The King presented Prince Arthur of Connaught, and immediately afterward the Prime Minister.

The next few minutes were occupied in a series of presentations on both sides, and then the visitor and the members of the reception party passed through the royal waiting room to the station yard. The guard of honor gave a royal salute, the band played the Persian national anthem and the Shah proceeded to make an inspection of the guard. At the close of this ceremony the visitor stepped into the leading carriage and was driven to Buckingham Palace amid cheers and friendly demonstrations from the crowds in the streets.

HONORS AT THE GUILDHALL

Among the many honors paid to the Persian ruler in the next few days the most important were those at the Guildhall on Nov. 1, when the Lord Mayor presented an address to the Shah from the City of London and entertained him at a luncheon.

On arrival at the Guildhall, where a guard of honor was furnished by the Grenadier Guards, the Shah was received by the city officials and a procession was formed to the library, where the presentation ceremony took place. Headed by the city trumpeters, in their picturesque golden tabards, the proces-

sion comprised the City Marshal and the Under Sheriffs, the Chairman and members of the Reception Committee, the Town Clerk, the Sheriffs, the Recorder, the royal suites, Prince Arthur of Connaught, Prince Albert, the sword bearer and mace bearer, the Lord Mayor, in his robes of black and gold, with Princess Arthur of Connaught, and the Shah with the Lady Mayoress. His Imperial Majesty, who was received with cheers, wore a blue coat with scarlet facings, and a fez with an immense diamond and an aigrette.

LORD MAYOR'S ADDRESS

The Lord Mayor, rising at the close of the luncheon and after the toast of the King had been honored, proposed that of the Shah. He said:

His Imperial Majesty is the ruler of a people whose ancient glories are without a parallel even in the wonderful history of the great empires of the East. Five hundred years before the opening of the Christian era, the power established by Cyrus and Darius united under a single sway all the races of the Near and Middle East. From age to age the Persian national genius endured. In the fourteenth century the vast conquests of Tamerlane in Asia and Eastern Europe were made; and as lately as the eighteenth century Nadir Shah marched through Northern India and gave the empire of the moguls its deathblow. The Persian name has stood not merely for conquest, but for civilization and the things of the mind. Persian poetry is the finest flower of Oriental culture. The arts in Persia have known periods of the most splendid development.

With such memories to inspire them it is no wonder that the Persian people in recent years have felt more and more the impulse to play an active part in the new life which has opened for the nations of the Middle East. The talents and the gifts of character which have made so much history are still strong in the Persian race; and those Englishmen who have most deeply studied the life of modern Persia are the most fully convinced that a future of new greatness lies before it.

That is a prospect in which Great Britain must feel the keenest and most sympathetic interest. For more than a hundred years the relations between the two countries have been of cordial friendship. The great-grandfather of our Imperial guest visited this country on three occasions. His grandfather came among us in 1902. Both monarchs received the

warmest popular welcome. The visit of his Imperial Majesty the present Shah takes places in profoundly changed conditions and under still more favorable auspices. Two of the powers which were the neighbors of Persia are today in ruins; there remains Great Britain, so long her firmest friend, the power to which the Persian State has always been most ready to turn for such assistance and counsel as we were able to give.

The Anglo-Persian agreement, so happily concluded three months ago, brings the two countries into a more intimate relationship than has yet existed, and will bring about, I am convinced, a yet closer and more cordial friendship. With the new strength and security which it is the purpose of the new agreement to confer on Persia, she will, we trust and believe, play that important rôle in the world to which her remarkable history entitles her.

ANGLO-PERSIAN AGREEMENT

Lord Curzon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in supporting the toast, said many complimentary things about the guest of honor, and at length referred to the Anglo-Persian agreement, which had been concluded at Teheran, Persia, on Aug. 9, 1919. (See November CURRENT HISTORY.) The London Times summarized Lord Curzon's statements on this subject as follows:

What did we desire to do by that agreement? We wished to assist his Majesty and his Government in the restoration of peace and order to his country, sadly vexed and agitated by the disturbance of the recent war. We wished to assist him in developing the resources of his native land. Those resources were indeed considerable; resources both above and below soil. They were the resources of trade and the resources of a naturally industrious and capable population. What Persia wanted at the present time was security of her frontiers to prevent their being crossed by any foe; and internally, order and law, the authority of his Majesty to be felt in every quarter of his country; pacification of the trade routes along which she carries goods in exchange for produce with foreign lands. In this respect land transport and communication were lamentably difficult. Then there was the administration of justice for her people, and, above all (which was the secret of all successful administration), a sound and economic finance.

If his Majesty's Government with Great Britain's friendly assistance could develop the resources to which he had referred, Persia had a great future before her. Her trade could develop and her soil

could be made to sustain a much larger population than at present. There was no reason why Persia should not recover a great and resounding position as one of the independent Mussulman nations of the world. The object of the present Government—as it was the object of every patriotic Englishman—was to assist Persia in the maintenance of her independence and integrity and to render easy the execution of that task. I recall—and I see it blazoned on one of the flags at the end of this hall—the national emblem of Persia. It is the Lion and the Sun. May we not find in that juxtaposition [concluded Lord Curzon] a happy omen; the British Lion stands forth as the proud and vallant champion of the rights and liberties of Persia. Over his shoulders rises the orb of the steadily increasing progress and prosperity of Persia itself.

THE SHAH'S REPLY

The Shah, who responded in French, said he was profoundly touched by the welcome accorded to him in this ancient and historic hall. He continued:

As, representing a new and liberal régime from which my people expect a regeneration of the country, a regeneration unhappily retarded up to now by external influences, I am happy to take this opportunity to refer to the strong bonds of friendship which have existed for so long between Persia and Great Britain. This moment is particularly well chosen for the strengthening of them, thanks to the new spirit of co-operation and fraternity between the peoples, consecrated by the League of Nations, which guarantees the free development of all countries in the full enjoyment of their independence and their integrity.

Not only does Persia, on account of her great riches, open a vast field of economic enterprise, but, thanks to her geographical position in the Middle East, she affords the easiest access to the immense resources of Central Asia. Even as Persia in the olden days was the most direct road between the West and the East, so today she will provide a new and important thoroughfare between neighboring countries and will bring to the heart of Asia the civilizing influence of the West. She will serve at the same time to develop the economic relations between the Western Hemisphere and that part of the world.

I have come to your country for the purpose of studying your methods, and I intend to visit some of those great industrial centres for which, quite rightly, you are famous throughout the world. The advancement of the material and social progress of my people and the improvement of their position, are my most cher-

ished wish, and I am confident that I shall take back with me most valuable suggestions and instructive ideas on which we can base our program of reform and reorganization.

I express faithfully the feelings of my people when I say that Persia is resolutely determined to co-operate in the establishment of law and order in the Middle East, a condition which is essential to economic relations and commercial enterprises. Persia is helped in this by the removal of certain restrictions which hitherto had hindered international commerce between her and neighboring States. For myself I shall take every occasion to advance commercial relations by or with my country.

As a consequence, my attention is specially directed to the importance of the improvement of the communications by the construction of railways and the improvement of roads for motor transports—two conditions which are absolutely essential for the development of our country. My earnest desire will be to assist my country to become the intermediary connecting the industrial countries of the West with those of the Middle East, which are possessed of such vast natural resources.

After attending various other functions the Shah left London a few days later to visit various cities of the British Isles, including Edinburgh.

PERSIAN RULER'S CAREER

Born on Jan. 20, 1898, Ahmed Shah was a boy of 9 when he exercised his first important duty of statecraft. As heir-apparent he added his signature to that of his father, the Shah Mahomed Ali, to the ratification of the newly written Constitution drawn up by the Majlis (National Assembly) on Western lines. Within two years Mahomed Ali lost his throne in consequence of his futile attempts to stamp out the constitutional system and to regain the absolutism of his ancestors. On July 18, 1909, Ahmed Shah, then in his twelfth year, was proclaimed sovereign, his father being a refugee at the Russian Legation. For five years the boy was under the regency, first of Azad-ul-Mulk, a member of the royal family, and after his death of Nasir-ul-Mulk, a man of European education and high character.

His coronation took place with impressive ceremonial on July 21, 1914, so that he attained ruling powers on the

very eve of the great war. In the preceding five years the administration was carried on largely in accordance with the views of the Majlis, though considerably tempered by the ominous power of Russian troops, not only in the "sphere of influence" assigned to the Czarist Government by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, but also in the "neutral sphere." The Teheran Government was most impecunious and the country beyond the reach of Russian Cossacks was in a state of continuous turbulence.

These were favorable conditions for Teutonic intrigue, which had long been active in the region of the Persian Gulf. German and Turkish emissaries did their utmost to force Persia into an open, or at least a covert, breach of the neutrality Teheran had declared. The die was definitely cast by the action of the young ruler in November, 1915, when there was a close trial of strength between the hostile powers. Torn by conflicting advice, Ahmed Shah, a mere boy of 17, took a strong stand for the Allies, and refused to leave Teheran to join the German, Austrian, and Turkish emissaries waiting for him six miles away. But further difficulties were created by the subsequent collapse of Russia, whose troops had dealt harshly with the Persians. The

situation was not secure from the allied point of view until the overthrow of the military prestige of the Turk put an end once for all to the danger of Turkish aggression across the border.

Though the tendency of some of the greybeards in power had been to treat the Shah as little more than a figure-head, he showed through these critical years a growing capacity for statesmanship. His careful education at Teheran, mostly by foreign professors, had provided him with keys to first-hand study of the case of the Allies.

He knows English and Russian, and talks French fluently and accurately, though with a marked accent. He has shown himself friendly to European influences. In appearance he is short and stout. He is a good lawn tennis player and a staunch supporter of outdoor sports. As a boy he was much attached to his father, and he visited him in his exile at Prinkipo when traveling westward last August. He has had some military training at the hands of young Persians who had been attached to the French Army. There can be no doubt of his intention to adhere to constitutional rule or of the popularity he has attained, while still on the threshold of manhood, among his people.

New Republics in Europe

The Eastern Europe Review gives the names and population figures of ten new Eastern republics as follows:

Esthonia—47,500 square kilometers, 1,750,000 inhabitants, of whom 93 per cent. are Esthonians.

Latvia—64,196 square kilometers, 2,552,000 inhabitants, of whom 72 per cent. are Letts.

Lithuania—125,000 square kilometers, 6,000,000 inhabitants.

White Russia—300,000 square kilometers, 14,075,000 inhabitants, of whom 70 per cent. are White Russians.

Ukraine—800,000 square kilometers, 45,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 72 per cent. are Ukrainians.

Kouban—85,000 square miles, 3,500,000 inhabitants.

North Caucasia—150,000 square kilometers, 4,300,000 inhabitants.

Azerbaidjan—100,000 square kilometers, 4,500,000 inhabitants, of whom 75 per cent. are Turko-Tartars.

Georgia—90,000 square kilometers, 3,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 75 per cent. are Georgians.

Armenia—320,000 square kilometers, 4,000,000 inhabitants, of whom 75 per cent. are Armenians.

Inner Aspects of China's Civil War

By FELICIEN CHALLAYE

M. Challaye, a French publicist, made extended visits to China in 1917 and 1919, each time obtaining interviews with party leaders, and at length completing a unique and illuminating study of all the political parties of new China, their inter-relations and programs, and the profound differences that have long caused the republic to be torn by civil war. The results were contributed to the Revue de Paris, Oct. 15, 1919, in an article, "Inner Politics in China." The present study, translated and abridged for CURRENT HISTORY from that article, throws new light on Chinese parties and leaders, the forces underlying China's declaration of war on Germany, and the main political events of the civil war up to the present period.

CHINESE politics resembles Japanese politics in its mingling of remote traditions and ancient national customs with institutions imitated from Europe and America. China, however, is differently situated in time and space from Japan. Its civilization is the older, but the introduction of European civilization, apart from the coast regions, was more recent in China than in Japan, and it still remains more limited.

While the Japanese Empire remained faithful to tradition, though adhering to a Constitution, China suddenly leaped from the most retrogressive form of government to the most advanced—from the empire to the republic. The inner politics of modern China is the work of parties created on the European model, opposing really modern programs, but struggling bitterly for material advantages of power, at the risk of disorganizing the whole country, according to the most immemorial traditions of Chinese history.

Three fundamental tendencies are observable in present-day Chinese political life, two of which correspond to organized parties: (1) The reactionary tendency, represented, above all, by the Manchus, who regret the empire and the former advantages which they enjoyed; (2) the Shin-pu-tang, or Party of Progress, representing the tendency of moderate reform, and (3) the Kuo-min-tang, or Party of the People, representing the tendency of radical and revolutionary reform. The Shin-pu-tang is the successor of the Reform Party, which,

under the Manchu rule, through the paper of its principal representative, Kang Yu-wei, demanded a constitutional empire. The Party of the People originated in the secret societies which, under the direction of Sun Yat-sen, succeeded in replacing the empire by the republic. Besides these parties, corresponding to profound and enduring tendencies, and representing an opposition of ideas, there are two other groups, representing powerful interests: (1) The military group, called in the North, Pei-yang, and (2) the Chiao-tung-si, or "communication" group, representing particularly financial and material interests.

MANCHU REACTIONARIES

The reactionaries, first of all, are adherents of the past. They push their attachment to tradition so far that they refuse to adopt the modern organization of the political party, thus depriving themselves of a useful instrument of action. They lament the past, rather than seek to revivify or reconstruct it. The restoration of the monarchical power, made effective at the beginning of July, 1917, by General Chang Hsun, gave the reactionaries more disquietude than satisfaction. Distrustful of the permanence of this new empire, and fearing the serious consequences to themselves of the failure of this bold enterprise, they did nothing to support the General who had replaced their Emperor on his throne. There are all kinds of possibilities in China, and even the most clear-sighted hesitate to prophesy; but the permanent restoration of a Manchu Empire is the

one solution which all agree in admitting is the most improbable of all.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The Shin-pu-tang, or Progressive Party, was represented mainly by Liang Chi-chao, Minister of Finance, when I was passing through Peking, and Tang Hua-lung, then Minister of the Interior. Liang Chi-chao was born in Kuang Tung in 1863. He was early converted to the ideas of the Reform Party, which demanded a constitutional monarchy, and became the favorite disciple of Kang Yu-wei. Forced to flee to Japan after the abortive coup d'état of 1898, he published there a Chinese paper with the object of spreading the new revolutionary ideas. He returned to China after the revolution, edited a paper at Tientsin, was named Vice Minister of Justice in the first Cabinet of President Yuan Shih-kai, but declined to accept office; he became Minister of Justice in the Hsiung Hsi-ling Cabinet in September, 1913, and Minister of Finance in the Tuan Chi-jui Cabinet of April, 1916. He is not only an influential statesman, he is also the greatest writer of contemporary China, one of the greatest writers of modern China, the author of lyrics, dramas, criticisms, and philosophical essays. In subject matter and the abundance and diversity of his ideas he has been compared to Voltaire, and in matters of form, for his light and elegantly simple style, to Renan.

Tang Hua-lung was born in Hupé in 1873, studied law in Japan, was member and then President of the Provincial Assembly of Hupé, Vice President of the National Council, Minister of Education, and Minister of the Interior. I had the honor of being received by both of these leaders of the Progressive Party, in a room of their Ministry, furnished in the European style. They answered my questions courteously, sipping from time to time their tea. I give below a summary of their statements, which were completed, on certain points, by some of their political friends.

The Progressive Party is strongly republican. It believes in utilizing European and American institutions, but only on a basis of adaptation to China's tra-

ditions and conditions. Universal suffrage is only the far-off goal, dependent on the development of education, which is still extremely low. A Government centralized like that of France is advocated by the party. The United States were States before they were united, said Mr. Liang, while China has been unified for centuries. The decentralization of the revolution led to anarchy. The army also must be "nationalized." This has already been begun by standardizing uniforms, arms and military grades. A limited degree of decentralization may be admitted in the case of educational instruction and unimportant economic matters and the appointment of small local functionaries. Popular instruction must be encouraged on a strong democratic basis. The monetary and tax system must be improved.

From the point of view of foreign policy, the Shin-pu-tang declares itself in favor of the Entente. Liang Chi-chao is proud of having been the first of the Cabinet to call for the intervention of China on the side of the Allies. China declared war on Germany, first, because Germany showed herself by her acts "the enemy of all mankind," and also because the rights and the interests of China are in accord with the essential interests and ideals of the Allies. The latter, he declared, because of their own principles, will be obliged to guarantee the integrity and independence of China.

Such is the program which the leaders of the party described to me. The Shin-pu-tang fundamentally has the same ideal as the Kuo-min-tang, but it wishes to realize it by peaceful means. It is the party of the *juste milieu*, which wishes progress along the lines of order. And Liang Chi-chao sums this difference up in a very neat metaphor: "The old conservative Mandarins are the past. The Kuo-min-tang is the future. But the present belongs to the Shin-pu-tang."

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

As with the Ministers of the Shin-pu-tang and their friends, so also I entered into touch with the principal representatives of the People's Party, the Kuo-min-tang, first at Peking and subsequently at Canton.

At Peking, one of my friends brought together one evening in a hotel room four former Ministers, the leaders of the Opposition Party, who at that time were staying in the capital. I also saw several times the main representative of an important tendency of the Kuo-min-tang, Mr. Tsai Yuan-pei. Mr. Tsai was born in 1867 in Che-Kiang. After brilliant literary studies he was made a member of the Academy of Letters of Peking and occupied the post of professor at the Shanghai College, the National Institute of Shanghai, and the School of Modern Languages at Peking. From 1908 he studied philosophy and esthetics in the universities of Berlin and Leipzig. On his return to China, after the outbreak of the revolution, he was appointed Minister of Education in the Provisional Government of Nankin, and then in the first republican Cabinet. In 1913 he went to France. He is one of the founders of the Chinese Society of Rational French Education—whose object is to diffuse a system of democratic instruction for laymen in China on the French model, with the aid of France—and the Chinese President of the Franco-Chinese Educational Society.

Mr. Tsai, at the time I saw him, was rector of the University of Peking. He is the author of numerous philosophical works and of a Utopistic novel called "The Dream of the New Year," in which he expounds a plan for the constitution of a harmonious society based on universal liberty. Personally he belongs to a small group of Chinese who practice austere morality, monogamy, vegetarianism and temperance.

But the principal representatives of the Kuo-min-tang were in Canton. It was to that large southern city that the members of the Chamber dissolved by the Minister, Tuan Chi-jui, withdrew, and it was here that they formed a new Parliament at the instigation of their leader, Sun Yat-sen.

SUN YAT-SEN

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was born in the Province of Kuang-Tung in 1866. Educated in the College of Honolulu, then at Queen's College in Hongkong, in an atmosphere of European culture, he stud-

ied medicine at the Canton Hospital and at the School of Medicine of Hongkong. He was especially interested in political and economic problems, accepted the boldest solutions, joined the secret society, The Triade, and was appointed its President. On the verge of being arrested at Canton he fled to New York, then to London, where in broad daylight he was seized and imprisoned by members of the Chinese Legation; he was released only on the intervention of the English authorities. He lived subsequently in Japan, in Singapore, at Saigon, in Chinese circles converted to revolutionary ideas. It was he who formulated the program conceived in common.

Sun Yat-sen, by means of an active propaganda, prepared the revolution which broke out at the end of 1911. On Dec. 29, 1911, the delegates of the provinces which proclaimed independence named Sun Yat-sen President of the republic. But the revolutionists, fearing that the triumph of the republic could not be effected by their own efforts, offered the permanent Presidency to Yuan Shih-kai, a Mandarin of the old régime affiliated with the republican cause, who accepted office. Sun Yat-sen was appointed by the latter Plenipotentiary Commissary of the Railways at an annual salary of \$30,000. Sun Yat-sen refused the salary, but consented to undertake a loan for the railways. In this venture he lost much of his prestige, and was accused of having "sold out to the tyrant." He opposed Yuan Shih-kai, however, when the latter openly manifested his desire to become dictator and even Emperor. Subsequently he also opposed Tuan Chi-jui, whom he accused of aiming to become dictator. He then convoked at Canton the Parliament which Tuan Chi-jui dissolved, and was named General in Chief of the republican armies which the rebellious provinces of the South raised against the Peking Government.

Unable to see Sun Yat-sen personally because of the latter's illness, I had interviews with his Chief of Staff, General Hoang Ta-wei, with the former President of the Senate, Chang Ki, and other eminent representatives of the

Kuo-min-tang, including the President of the Chamber and Wang Chao-min, celebrated for having attempted the life of the Regent under the empire. The principal tenets of the party, as I learned them from these interviews, were as follows:

AIMS OF PEOPLE'S PARTY

The Kuo-min-tang, combining elements which we might call radical and socialist, is ardently republican; but at the present time China is not a republic, since the powers do not proceed from the people, since the Constitution has been violated, since the Parliament has been illegally dissolved. "We have no proper form of government," General Hoang said to me, "since there is no representation of the people." And Chang Ki said to me: "The Prime Minister, Tuan Chi-jui, lived in Germany at the time of Bismarck; he has preserved a keen admiration for the man and his country; he is an autocrat, a Prussian militarist, the antithesis of a democrat in the French sense."

First of all, say the People's Party, the republic must be actually realized, the provisional Constitution must be re-established, the dissolved Parliament which was spontaneously created in Canton must be reconvened officially in Peking. The Constitution to be re-established must not contain the clause of universal suffrage. The Kuo-min-tang denies that it intends to establish universal suffrage immediately, as its opponents declare. The imperial régime has lasted too long, its consequences will endure too long: the Chinese people are not sufficiently enlightened. Yet even now a very wide degree of suffrage may be basically established, and every educated man, every merchant, every rice-owner should have the right to vote, at least in the first degree.

The leaders of the Kuo-min-tang protest energetically—and those of Canton more than those of Peking—against the accusation of federalism. "It is for a united China that we are struggling," the members of the Parliamentary delegation told me; "we are all Chinese, we wish to remain Chinese." Not the North

and the South, but the partisans of the old and new ideas are in conflict. It is only because they find more partisans in the southern provinces of China that the republicans have established their centre of activity there. But they are working to conquer all China, and they declare that they desire to perpetuate a united China.

With regard to foreign policy, like the Shin-pu-tang, they favor the Entente, condemn Germany, and declare for the cause of right as opposed to despotism. All the leaders, except Sun Yat-sen, are in sympathy with the aims and aspirations of the Entente; Sun Yat-sen intervened personally against the declaration of war, and is considered an admirer and partisan of Germany. The friends of Dr. Sun reply that he is only one member of the Kuo-min-tang, and that on this point he represents only the ideas of a very limited number of Germanophil Chinese. On the larger issues the members of the Kuo-min-tang say: "The Shin-pu-tang is the party of the minority of the people; we are the party of the majority."

Though each of the two parties just studied has a program of its own, the two groups which have most actual influence represent interests and not ideas. It is only by analogy and a misuse of words that they are also called parties. These two further groups are respectively of the Military "Party" and the Communications "Party."

MILITARY PARTY

Under the convenient title of the Military Party are grouped the most influential Generals, although their attitude is often quite opposed, and it is quite impossible to find any link of common ideas. The power of these Generals is one of the characteristic features of modern China, but it is by no means a modern development. There have occurred constantly in the past revolts of Generals seeking to make themselves independent of the Court and to gain power to satisfy their ambitions and their greed. The republican cause was won by Chinese Generals. The Generals continue to exert in republican China a predominant

influence. Their armies, even though they are maintained by the nation's resources, are less in the service of the nation's interests than in the service of the special interests of their leaders. Often composed of former brigands, more feared by the great mass of the population than the piratical bands that infest the country, these armies are the "great companies" of modern China. They afford an excellent means of pressure on the Government, which is obliged to furnish their leaders with the funds necessary for their support. (These leaders are accused of drawing sums of money for a greater number of soldiers than they have under their command and pocketing the difference.) The Government makes every effort to obtain the support of certain of these Generals, who hold the real power, and the latter link their fortune with the fate of one political personage or another.

In the Pei-yang, the Military Party of the North, there were distinguished in Peking in October, 1917, the partisans of the President of the republic and those of the Prime Minister. The President of the republic was Fong Kuo-chang. Born in the Province of Chih-li in 1863, he was alternately under the empire director of the College of Nobles, director of the Military Council, and chief director of the General Staff. He commanded the First Imperial Army, and took Han-yang from the revolutionists on Nov. 27, 1911, for which he won the title of Baron and the command of the Imperial Guard. Under the republic he was named head of the Military Council of the President. He abandoned Yuan Shih-kai when the latter sought to become Emperor. He became Vice President of the republic in October, 1916, and succeeded Li Yuan-hong as President when the latter resigned after the coup d'état of July, 1917.

The President of the Council was then General Tuan Chi-jui, the most eminent personality of the Military Party of the North. Born in the Province of Anhui in 1865, he was the principal military counselor of Yuan Shih-kai when he was Viceroy of Chih-li. He contributed especially to modernize and organize on

European lines the army of Northern China. He succeeded Fong Kuo-chang at the head of the First Army, and was one of the principal Generals who demanded the Emperor's abdication. He was Minister of War in the first Republican Cabinet, from which he subsequently resigned. Charged in May, 1913, by Yuan shih-kai with the Presidency of the Council, he renounced office after two months and a half and opposed the President when he sought to become Emperor. They say at Peking that he was the only man whom Yuan Shih-kai feared; that he escaped several times attempts made upon his life; some say that he had a share in the mysterious death of Yuan Shih-kai. In April, 1916, he became Prime Minister. He is considered a convinced republican, and even his opponents do not question his loyalty to the new régime. But they reproach him with "despotism," "militarism," tendencies toward dictatorship. No one denies his energy; many consider him the greatest man of action of the republic, and some say the only man of action, the only realizer of present-day China.

In the south, the great leaders are General Lu Yun-ting—a former pirate master of a powerful army and Inspector General of Kuang-Tung and Kuang-Si—and General Tang Chi-yao, the master of Yunnan, the successor of the remarkable military leader and good republican, General Tsai Ngo. These important leaders are accused of wishing to establish hereditary fiefs and to inaugurate a species of military feudalism under the name of republicanism.

"COMMUNICATIONS" GROUP

The party, or rather group, of Communications, the Chia-tung-si, is composed of a certain number of politicians and business men who seek to enrich themselves through their influence on the Government. This group has no fixed program, and limits itself to following the dictates of its own interests. A former Deputy of Sze-chuen gave me this definition of the group: "It is a capitalistic party: it steals a great deal of money." The means of action of the

group is the Bank of Communications, from which its name is derived. It was this bank which loaned the President, Yuan Shih-kai, the sums necessary for the projected restoration of the empire, sums which the republic is now reimbursing.

Under Yuan Shih-kai the principal representative of the group was Liang Cheu-yi, born in Kuang-Tung in 1858, who was alternately in charge of the Bureau of Communications, the railway service, the Bank of Communications, the Ministry of Communications. He was the General Secretary and financial agent of Yuan Shih-kai. He compromised himself to such an extent that at the death of the dictator he was compelled to flee to Japan. In October, 1917, the leader of the group was Tsao Ju-lin, born in 1876 in Kuang-Su, one of the first Chinese students who studied in Japan, a man who knows Japanese thoroughly, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1913, Minister of Communications from April, 1916. I do not believe that there is a more unpopular man in China. He was considered by many as being the agent of the Japanese in the Cabinet of Tuan Chi-jui. Certain papers publish the sums which he is said to have received from them (amounting to a million dollars) for obtaining for the Japanese company the German and Austrian ships interned by China. The press coldly announced that certain members of the secret society, Rather Death Than Slavery, had arrived at Peking to kill Mr. Tsao and his accomplices, who, it was said, were unable to protest otherwise against his selling China out to the nationals of a foreign power.

PARTIES IN POLITICS

[After having thus analyzed the ideas and tendencies of the various parties or groups, M. Challaye studies their reciprocal relations in the complexity of Chinese political life, and gives an interpretation of matters now a record of history in the light of inter-party oppositions and jealousies. Briefly this interplay of political forces may be summed up as follows:]

The decision to break diplomatic relations with Germany, after her failure to answer China's protest against the submarine war, was taken by the Cabinet

of Tuan Chi-jui in March, 1917, at the specific request of the leaders of the two main parties in the Ministry, Liang Chi-chao of the Shin-pu-tang, and Chang Yu-tseng and Ku Tsung-sui of the Kuo-min-tang. The further step of declaring war officially was opposed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the revolutionary leader of the latter party, who, influenced by Germany, as some charge, or at least by his pro-German sympathies, as well as by his suspicions of Tuan Chi-jui's intentions of becoming dictator, argued publicly that China should content herself with breaking relations and should not go to war, and addressed an appeal to Lloyd George, invoking the fear of Chinese hatred of foreigners and a Mahometan-Chinese outbreak.

Tuan, thereupon, fearing that the Kuo-min-tang would oppose the declaration of war on Germany, at Sun Yat-sen's urging, convoked a number of Generals in Peking in May, and had all Parliamentary deputies opposed to war hissed down by his paid partisans. The Ministers of the People's Party withdrew from office, but the Parliament, moved by opposition to Tuan's projected dictatorship and his arbitrary methods, refused to vote the declaration of war. At this juncture the President of the Republic stepped in and dismissed Tuan, and called on Wu Ting-fang and then on Li King-si to form a new Cabinet, thereby evoking a strong protest from the Military Governors, who demanded Tuan's recall and the dissolution of Parliament and proclaimed their respective provinces independent. An advance on Peking and the restoration of the empire was also threatened.

COUP OF GENERAL CHANG

Then came the coup of General Chang Hsiun, the commander of the imperial troops during the revolution, who had withdrawn with 30,000 men to the frontiers of Shantung, Kuang-su, and Nganhoei, and who, on the pretext of mediation between the President and the rebellious Generals, entered Peking with several thousand soldiers, who wore the queue and smoked opium contrary to the edicts, demanded and obtained the dissolution of Parliament from the Pres-

ident, and on the Ministers' refusal to approve this act had the decree countersigned by the commander of gendarmes, whom he named Premier for this especial purpose. Pushed on by Germany, who had financed his expedition, on July 1 General Chang proclaimed Pu Yi, a boy of eleven years, Emperor before the frightened Manchus. This coup, however, ended in disastrous failure; Chang was abandoned by all his supporters, and Tuan himself at the head of a large army entered Peking, drove Chang's troops out in confusion, and Chang himself was forced to take refuge in the Dutch embassy.

Fong Kuo-chang, the former Vice President, assumed the Presidency. Tuan then called to office the leaders of the Shin-pu-tang, Liang Chi-chao, and Tang Hua-long, and Tsao Ju-lin of the Communications group, formed a Cabinet, in which he himself represented the Military Party of the North, on a coalition basis, from which only the leaders of the People's Party were excluded, and proceeded to rule without a Parliament. He pushed through the declaration of war on Germany, which was made on Aug. 14. The Kuo-min-tang, however, from the middle of July contested his authority, declared his Ministry illegal, and sent an appeal to France and other democratic countries to aid the cause of the republicans against Chinese military rule.

THE SOUTH REVOLTS

Subsequently, on Aug. 25, 1917, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, supported by leaders of the navy, convoked the dissolved Parliament at Canton; a military Government was organized, and Dr. Sun himself was made General in Chief of the army of opposition. War with Germany was also approved by this Canton Government.

The arbitrary procedure of Tuan, however, led the new President to establish secret relations with the new Government, and the opposition to Tuan became so strong in various quarters that on Nov. 17, 1917, Tuan was virtually forced to hand in his resignation. The President then named General Chang Che-tseng to take Tuan's place, who, on

taking office, naively admitted his complete ignorance of the duties to which he had been assigned, and further declared that he had learned that all things were impossible for mankind. One of his most useful acts was to appoint Lu Cheng-hsiang, a distinguished linguist and diplomat of European training, as Minister of Foreign Affairs. The tendency of the new Cabinet was to make peace with the Southern Government, though influenced by the Military Party, which demanded war to the bitter end. At the end of December, nevertheless, the President signed a decree suspending hostilities. Since this time the deadlock between the two opposing Governments has continued, the Peking Government declining to recall the old Parliament and the Canton Government refusing to admit the election of a new Parliament.

EFFORTS TO RECONCILE

It will be remembered that a conference held at Shanghai during the first months of 1919 tried to reconcile the political parties violently opposed in China. Representatives of the North and South, delegates from Peking and Canton, respectively, tried vainly to find a ground of agreement and arrange a compromise. Negotiations were alternately broken off and resumed. The honest-minded President, Hsu Chu-chang, had made every effort to bring about an understanding indispensable to the re-establishment of order and progress in the country, and the great allied powers had intervened to advise the reaching of such an understanding. Their last action in this regard was taken in August, 1919. The Minister of Great Britain at Peking, Sir John Jordan, dean of the Diplomatic Corps, at that time handed to the President of the Chinese Republic a memorandum in which Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan expressed their wish for a speedy peace between the North and the South; meanwhile the memorandum voiced the hope that hostilities would not be resumed.

The question of Shantung might have and should have brought about an understanding between the Chinese of all parties. The solution of this problem

offered by the Peace Conference was troubling China deeply when I crossed the country for the second time in May, 1919. From one end of the country to the other the Chinese were aroused by this decision. In all legations and consulates of friendly nations patriotic people gave utterance to noval protests. Manifestations occurred everywhere; the boycott of all Japanese products was everywhere announced. One might have believed that the common sorrow would have brought the conflicting parties nearer. On the contrary, it separated them still more: the defeat of the Peking Government's policy exasperated the Canton Parliamentarians, and offered them an excellent opportunity to renew their opposition. Meanwhile China re-

mains disunited and disorganized by this interparty strife, and exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the first strong power that attacks her independent existence as a nation. This is the greater pity, because of the remarkable progress that China has made in the last decades, and still is making, despite the heavy handicap of a dual Government and a state of civil war between the two most important sections of the country. The younger elements of all parties and sympathies are accomplishing this evolution, and in this transformation China must be helped by the modern powers, by her allies of Europe and America, and even by Japan. But this assistance must free and not enslave her. China must have her chance.

Forces Behind Japan's Imperialism

By PUTNAM WEALE

[AUTHOR OF "THE FIGHT FOR THE REPUBLIC IN CHINA"]

TO have an adequate appreciation of Japanese policy today, as in the past, it is necessary to set down in the very centre of the canvas one fact and always to remember it. It is that the Clans of Choshu and Satsuma, which carried out the so-called Restoration of the Meiji Emperor in 1868, not only fought their way to power solely by the use of the sword, but are today as solidly intrenched in the old Tokugawa capital as they were half a century ago.

It is indeed no exaggeration to declare that the power of the clans since 1905 has been increased and that they hold the imperial family and the Ministry of the day so firmly in their grasp that both are prisoners. The incumbents of the two supreme Cabinet offices—supreme in the sense that they overtop the others—the Choshu Minister of War and the Satsuma Minister of the Navy, not only have the right of audience at any time but, as has been recently disclosed, have established since 1908 the iron rule that no civil functionary of any description may be present when they report to the Emperor.

As an additional guarantee, there are the old regulations which prescribe that both appointees shall be officers on the active list, thus making them virtually independent of Cabinet changes, as each new Ministry must bargain with the army and navy chiefs before an officeholder is provided. The Prime Minister is thus quite powerless to control them. The limited intervention in Siberia in 1918 clearly proves this, for the civil authorities were honest in their arrangement with the United States to send only 7,500 troops, the army chiefs of their own volition deliberately changing this to 70,000 men and defying the Cabinet to interfere.

The budgeting for both services is likewise practically independent of the civil budget, a system having been evolved whereby expenditure for expansions of the services is spread over a long period of years and placed beyond the control of the Treasury, large additional funds often being spent which the Audit Office, established under the Constitution, is powerless to recover. Inasmuch as the only authorities in practice superior to these two Ministers—the

Genro or Elder Statesmen—are mainly composed of military clan leaders such as Prince Yamagata, it can be said that there is today in full vigor in Japan, in spite of the new industrial conditions, a replica of the Shogunate, with this reservation—that the double-capital system of yore has been abolished and all power concentrated at the gates of the Imperial Palace in Tokio.

NO POPULAR CONTROL

The franchise, even with the recent lowering of voters' qualifications to the payment of direct taxes amounting to \$1.50 per annum, is limited to 3,500,000 persons out of a total population of 60,000,000, the device of the direct-tax qualification disfranchising most of the modernized urban population and concentrating the vote in the conservative country districts, tens of thousands of educated men paying no direct taxes at all. Furthermore, the Cabinet, under the Constitution, is not responsible to the Diet; that is to say, it has no direct responsibility whatsoever toward the people's representatives in the lower house, an adverse vote simply bringing about a forced dissolution of the whole Diet by imperial rescript. This has happened so often that it has become a commonplace.

Moreover, by an article deliberately introduced into the Constitution, it is specifically provided that when the budget has not been voted by the Diet the budget of the preceding year is automatically enacted by the Ministry. Thus there are three deliberately devised checks to prevent the people from exercising control. A Ministry responsible only to the Emperor; a limited franchise concentrating the vote in the agrarian districts; a device whereby the essential prerogative of every popular chamber, the money power, is deliberately taken out of the hands of Representatives. * * * Superimposed on these civil disabilities you have an all-powerful military autocracy of the nature already described.

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of Japan is based on power-politics in a conscious and well-thought-out effort to crush and assimilate all neighboring peoples. This is

the considered policy in Korea in spite of the great passive resistance movement of the present year and the brutal suppression by soldiery, which has aroused so much indignation throughout the world. Although all newspapers in the Far East now agree that assimilation of the Korean people is a physical and moral impossibility, the Japanese do not relax their efforts to bludgeon the national consciousness of the Koreans into insensibility, disregarding the argument that it would be child's play to work out a system whereby "the subject-nation" would be conciliated by a modified form of autonomy.

In reply to the assertion that there is "a civil war in China every week," the plain fact is that there has been very little fighting in China since Yuan Shih-kai died, three and a half years ago, the marshaling of the rival forces of north and south over the constitutional issue having been attended by slight bloodshed, comparatively speaking, the greatest harm being economic and moral. When we remember that the populations of Europe and China are roughly equal (440,000,000) and their areas practically the same, an accurate statistical survey would probably show that in spite of the armed posture of the northern and southern provinces the actual loss of life due to battle during the last three years has been smaller per hundred million than the normal loss of life for the whole of Europe by murder.

But, as in mediaeval Italy, armies manoeuvre backward and forward as "political gestures" rather than to destroy their fellows. It is this which has been largely responsible for the accounts of battles that have never been fought and for the slaughter of thousands who are still peacefully living the lotus life. And that this sensational journalism has been promoted by Japan is self-evident when the rôle her soldiers play as advance agents is duly considered.

INFILTRATION TACTICS

It is supremely important to get the idea that the Japanese soldier is an advance agent firmly fixed to understand that the tactics followed are the Luden-

dorff battle tactics of the period March-July, 1918, namely, infiltration—i. e., pushing in in small numbers to find weak spots, and then by means of these small groups turning the main positions. For fifteen years—ever since the Russo-Japanese war—Japan has always pushed soldiers into every troubled situation and then attempted to exploit the crisis politically, commercially, and economically in any way that has seemed feasible. Thus she maintains today in Hankow, 600 miles up the Yangtze River, one infantry battalion with machine-gun detachments absolutely illegally, these men having been landed nearly eight years ago during the revolution of 1911-12, although a few days before they arrived a commission of foreign naval officers at that port, presided over by the ranking Japanese Admiral, had officially announced that no further protection from foreign detachments was needed.

The files of the State Department in Washington can be consulted for official confirmation of this singular fact, which in an almost perfect illustration of the working of Japanese policy. Had Great Britain protested in 1912 at this invasion of her "sphere of influence," as it was then the fashion to call it, Japan would have retreated, pointing to the decision of the Naval Council, presided over by her Admiral, as the binding one for her, the other being "a mistake." But as there was no British protest, the infantry battalion remains in 1919 precisely where it was placed in 1912. And it will still be there in 1929, unless China fights, or alternately unless the world takes the Far Eastern problem more seriously.

JAPAN POLITICALLY ISOLATED

And this is precisely why the Tokio War Office sent 70,000 men to Siberia instead of 7,500, as had been agreed upon at Washington. For the Japanese General Staff is so hidebound and so blinded by its power that it has not yet caught sight of the fact that the collapse of all the military empires of the world has automatically isolated Japan, and that exploiting situations by this method of infiltration may yet bring an ugly corrective from sea power, if it does not

lead to internal explosions owing to the growing labor crisis in Japan due to the great rise in prices.

It was the late Herbert Spencer who many years ago wrote a letter to the Japanese strongly counseling them not to allow foreign ownership of land in Japan,* as, in his opinion, if they did so foreigners would gradually buy up the country, the Japanese being weaker than white men and unable to resist their pressure and their superior organization. This letter is the secret of Japanese policy in China.

For, given a true open door and true equal opportunity, the Japanese know that three things must infallibly occur in China before many years have passed: First, that Western nations will supply capital and equipment at a far more rapid speed than Japan can do, and therefore will outstrip her; secondly, that the effect of this will be that in open competition, with their superior banking and industrial facilities and their abundant supplies of raw materials, Western nations will command the market with better and, relatively speaking, cheaper goods; third, and most important, that the Chinese, being apt pupils and good workers by hand and by machine, and very excellent accumulators of wealth, will in the end acquire by purchase all established Western interests, the net effect at the end of the present generation—say by 1940—being that China, with her teeming population, which is now increasing at the rate of 38,000,000 every decennium, will be the dominating power in Eastern Asia—commercially, economically, politically.

This is the secret of Korea, Manchuria, and Shantung. The whole policy of Japan since 1905 and the Russian war has been a last desperate mistaken attempt to be saved, as she thinks, from being cast back into the sea by climbing on China's back and holding on there like grim death. Every move made by

* The Tokio newspaper, Nitchi Nitchi, announced on Dec. 6, 1919, that the revised Land Ownership bill to be offered by the Government in the Diet early in the new year removes practically all limitations on foreign ownership of real estate in Japan. The new law is announced as a step toward fuller harmony with modern international principles—EDITOR.

her during the world war to prevent China from participating in the struggle has been dictated by this policy; for that Japan is destined to fall back in the international race and resume the position she occupied prior to 1894 is certain unless there are great revolutionary changes in her constitutional structure and a complete destruction of her militarism.

OVERFLOW OF POPULATION

There is a last point, which has some significance—the implication that since Japan is excluded from directing her emigration to the white man's lands she must have a quid pro quo.

This statement is as misleading as the rest, for the assumption is that her population must overflow in some direction. The plain fact is that in fifteen years she has sent less than 350,000 emigrants to Korea and that in other eastern regions, notably Formosa, Japanese appear to be actually decreasing. Why is this? Because it is the presence of the white man, the development work he has put in, and the great markets and high wages in his countries, which are attractive to the Japanese—not the land as land. That is to say, if California and Australia were today totally uninhabited, no Japanese of any sort would ever think of going to them. It is the white man and his wealth that form the attraction. This magnet has nothing to do with the overflow of Japanese population, which is still far less dense than in many industrialized regions of Europe. That the

Japanese as a man is congenitally disinclined to go abroad is proved by the embittering experience of the colonization companies in Brazil and other South American countries.

Finally, China is changing, not fast but slow and surely. Her commerce and industries are creeping up; her education is improving; the student classes are influencing public opinion more and more; her communications are on the eve of a vast development. This year her commerce will exceed \$2,000,000,000 for the first time in her history. She has now fifty complete cotton mills on order, and when these are added to the seventy already working a chain of mills from Tientsin to Shanghai will be throbbing with life, and the cotton industry will be well established in the cotton-growing areas.

China's political reorganization depends upon her industrial awakening; it is the growth of the coal and iron trade, now commencing on a heavy scale, and the building of railways and hard-surface roads which will insure her stability and her peace, much more than making of paper constitutions or agreements between political leaders. It has been industrial backwardness, the absence of modern communications, and the non-development of a modern credit system, coupled with the double-dealing of Japan, which have led to "civil wars"—really armed provincial rioting. To talk of Japan as the master of the destiny of Asia is a pre-war conception of the period 1911-13, remembering that Japan cannot even control Korea.



Torture of Prisoners in Korea

Evils Under Japanese Rule

Dr. Frank W. Schofield contributed to the Seoul Press in October, 1919, an article in regard to the prevailing custom of torturing Korean prisoners to make them confess. After professing his faith in the promises of reform made by the present Japanese Governor General of Korea, and after remarking that the higher officials seemed to be unaware of the barbarous methods of their subordinates, Dr. Schofield continued:

ONE of the highest officials in the Police Department, when asked why he did not employ torture to find out who had burned the Christian churches, absolutely denied the existence of torture in the police system of Korea. It is, therefore, necessary that the high officials in the Police and Judiciary Departments should be made fully cognizant of the fact. This is the more imperative because of the attitude of the under officials who believe torture to be necessary. Recently a Judge when speaking on the subject of torture said that he deplored its existence, as it made the administration of justice difficult at times, yet he continued, "Torture is an old Korean custom, and the Korean will frequently only tell the truth when placed under torture." The fact is that the Koreans rarely tell the truth when tortured, but merely say what the torturer demands of them. * * *

For the information of those officials who are unaware of the existence of torture I will mention a few of the most common forms used by the police.

Suspending the body from the ceiling by a cord tied around the middle finger, the toes just touching the ground; suspending in a similar way with the cord tied around the wrists; suspending or merely lifting the body by a cord tied to the wrists after the hands have been first tied behind the back; squeezing the body in a box, the sides of which can be made to draw in equally; holding in a fixed position and pouring water over the face until the person almost suffocates; burning the body with red-hot irons; placing a heavy stick above the ankles, the person being in a kneeling position, and two policemen standing one on either end of the projecting stick, which almost causes

dislocation of the ankle joints; pricking the body with small sharp splints; twisting the joints till they almost dislocate; placing some solid object between the fingers and then tightly squeezing the hand; beating over the head and body until unconscious; refusal to give water until, as in some cases, the prisoner is forced to drink his own urine; stripping of women. These and many more forms of torture which the writer has not been able satisfactorily to verify are frequently practiced by the police on suspected criminals.

The strongest argument against torture is that it is inhumane and has long since been abolished in all civilized countries. In what other civilized country except Japan do prisoners constantly state to the Judge that the evidence being brought against them is false and was extorted under torture? Apart from being inhumane, torture results in gross injustice. When a prisoner is under torture he will not only make false statements with regard to himself, but also with regard to other innocent people. While I was informed by a Judge that few innocent people are finally condemned because of such false testimony, yet many suffer detention and other injustices. Spies and torture form the stronghold of the police system of Korea, the police relying upon these two agencies instead of learning the native language and studying the methods employed by European detectives.

In closing I briefly cite two cases which have been satisfactorily authenticated by the writer.

In one case a young man of about 19 was beaten unconscious three times in six days and burned once with a red-hot iron. This was done to make the young

man divulge where the Independence newspaper was being printed. Having taken an oath of secrecy he refused to tell. When I last saw this young man he was a physical wreck.

The other is the case of a student who had been arrested no less than three times in the last six months and various charges brought against him. On one occasion the police found a letter in his pocket which, after falsely translating into Japanese, they used as evidence against him. He absolutely denied the truth of one sentence which the police had added to the letter, stating that he was connected with the Independence movement. He demanded that the original letter be produced, so that he could prove his innocence. This the police refused to do, and continued to beat him, trying to obtain a false confession that would only result in his own condemnation. After beating him until he was unconscious the police desisted, realizing that their efforts had failed. A few days later they tried another method; the young man was informed that a for-

eigner while under police examination had admitted that he—the prisoner—was connected with the Independence movement. But the young man stood firm, and, although severely beaten, refused to tell a lie that would most likely result in his imprisonment. After being detained for sixteen days and beaten three times he was released as innocent.

About ten days ago—since the reform of the police administration—he was again arrested and this time subjected to torture. He was made to kneel on the ground, his hands tied behind his back, then a cord was placed around his wrists which when pulled upward by the police almost caused dislocation of the shoulder joint. The man, being innocent, received his discharge a day or two later.

I could cite several cases which clearly show that instead of getting the truth the torturer generally extorts from his victim lies. * * * Ought not the police system to be further reformed so that innocent and guilty people alike might be saved from the terrible cruelties of the police "preliminary examination"?

REMEMBRANCE

By HAROLD BEGBIE

[On the first anniversary of Armistice Day, Nov. 11, 1919, every city and village throughout the British Isles paid a unique tribute to the allied dead. At the stroke of 11 o'clock everybody stood silent and uncovered for two minutes, wherever he happened to be. This impressive memorial, known as "the great silence," is the theme of Mr. Begbie's poem, which appeared that day in The London Chronicle:]

Stay the hammer, stay the wheel,
Stay the arm, and bow the head;
Silently let every place
Take the roll-call of its Dead.

By the furnace, at the forge,
In the dark mines lantern-lit,
These two moments fall like drops
Cooling Dives in his pit.

Silent lie our British Isles
On the bosom of the sea,
Silent while two minutes knit
Time into Eternity.

While from Heaven fall the thoughts
Of our loved ones and our brave,
Blessing work they left to us
In the land they died to save.

Stay the thunder of the mill,
Stay the needle, stay the pen;
Britain prays. Arise, and make
Work her seven-fold Amen—

Work, to fill their parents' store:
Work, to clear their children's way:
Work, to make their dying dreams
The sunrise of a nobler day.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

[Austrian Cartoon]

The Hunger-Peace



—From *Die Muskete*, Vienna

"Take a ride, Sir?"

[American Cartoon]

The Dawn of a New Day Is Often a Cold, Gray Dawn



Nelson Harding

—From The Brooklyn Eagle

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Profiteer as God of Provisions



—Esquella, Barcelona

"You have had increases in wages. You have gained the eight-hour day. What else do you want?"

The Adjournment of Congress



—Cincinnati Post

"That hired man's quit again, and the wood ain't sawed!"

Columbia and the Prince of Wales



—San Francisco Bulletin

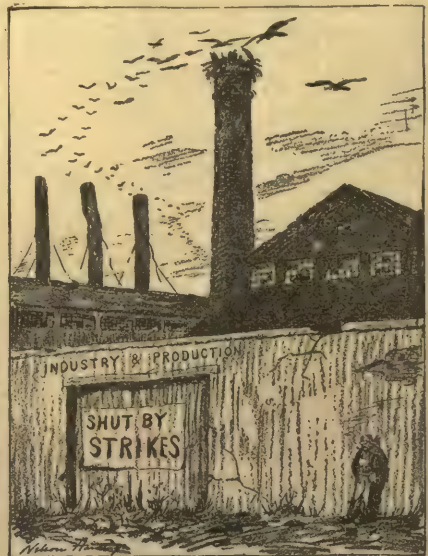
"Good-bye, Prince Chap—I hope we shall always be good friends" (*even relations!*)

A Pick to Open the Lock



—Dayton News

A "Closed" Shop



—Brooklyn Eagle

[English Cartoon]

The Man in the Middle

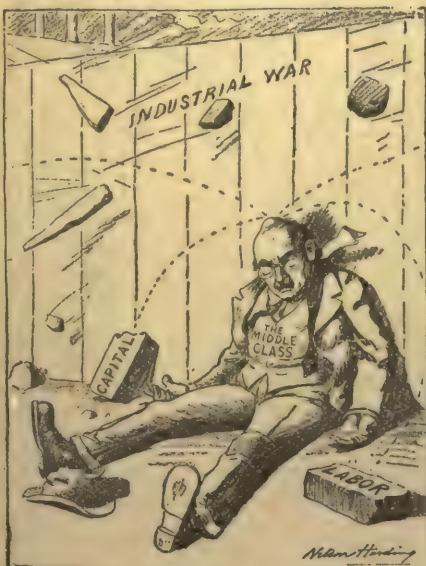


—Pall Mall Gazette, London

MR. MIDDLECLASS: "Well, it's not much protection in a storm like this, but I'll have to put the old gamp up again!"

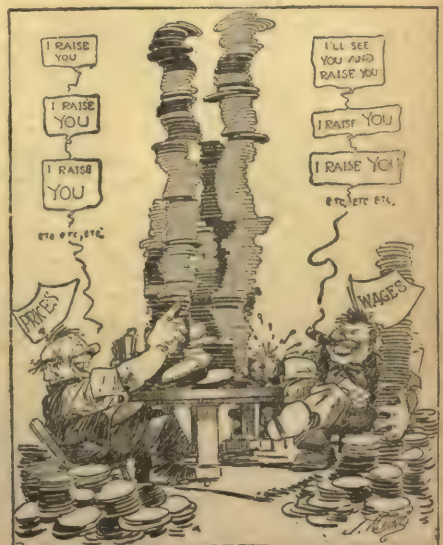
[American Cartoons]

And We Also Have Class Unconsciousness!



Brooklyn Eagle

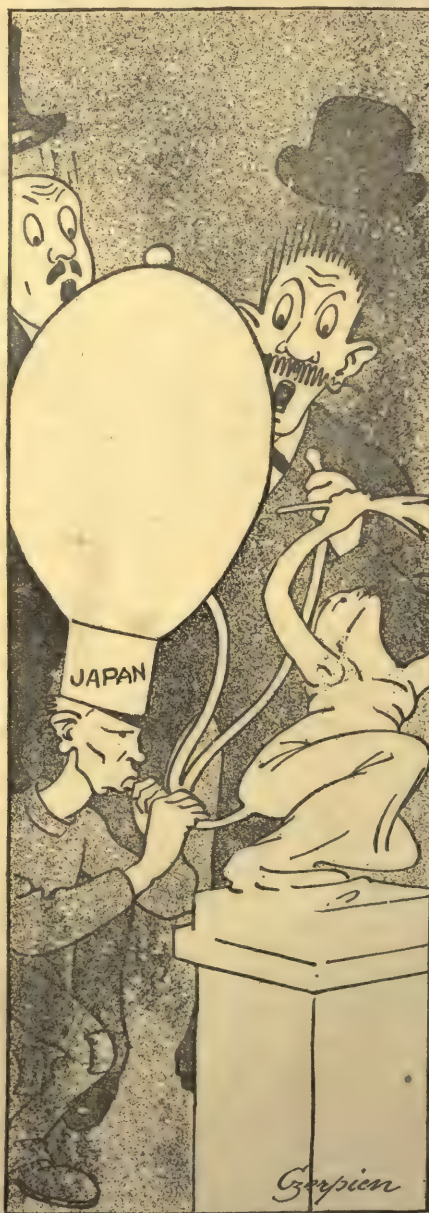
One of Those No Limit Games



—New York Tribune

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Collapsing Peace



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

[German Cartoon]

The Effect in Heaven



—From *Lustige Gesellschaft*, Berlin

In the heavenly spheres they are all holding their noses. It is the Peace Treaty that smells to heaven

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Downfall of Bolshevism



—From *De Amsterdammer*, Amsterdam

ATLAS-BOLSHEVIK: "If I can't keep it up it will flatten me"

[American Cartoon]

Without a League for Peace



—Dayton News

[Dutch Cartoon]

The International Puzzle



—De Amsterdamer, Amsterdam

How to get him out without breaking the bottle

[American Cartoon]

D'Annunzio at Work



Feeding the fire

—New York World

[English Cartoon]

Tit for Tat



—The Passing Show, London

BRITISH PRESS: "Don't you think it's time, Mr. Bull, that we also started a Monroe Doctrine for the British Empire?"

[Australian Cartoon]

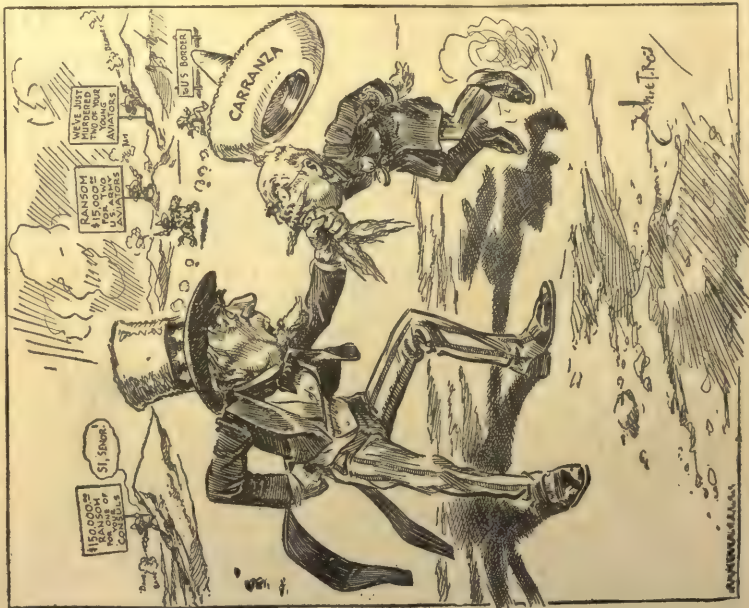
The Gift



—The Sydney Bulletin

PRESIDENT WILSON: "Dear Madam, in token of our eternal friendship we offer for your protection this ferocious Dove of Peace, keeping only for ourselves this timid and gentle Bird of Freedom."

Not One Cent for Ransom



—National Republican

UNCLE SAM: "Can't recognize the Monroe Doctrine, eh? Well, I may have something you *can* recognize"

Don Whiskeranza's Playful Way

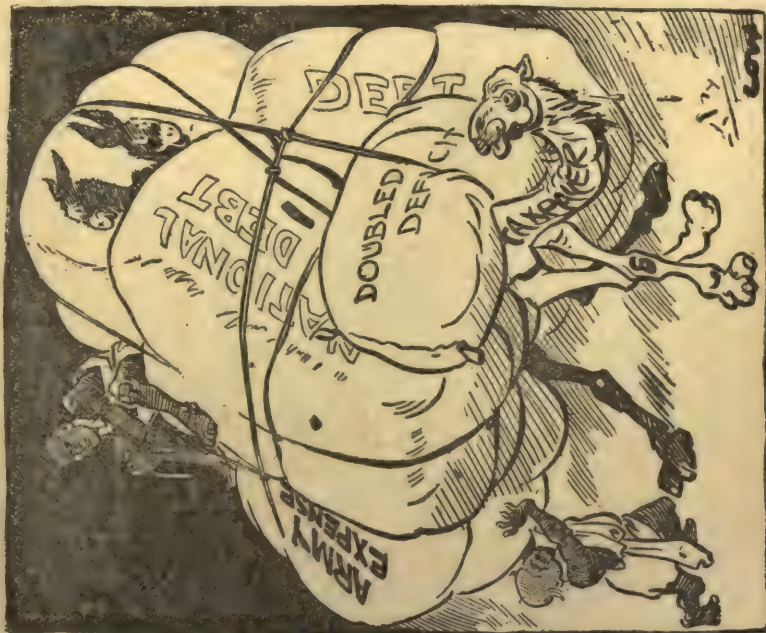


—New York Herald

[General Carranza's reply to America's demand for the release of Consul Jenkins was that Mexican laws prevented him from complying]

[English Cartoons]

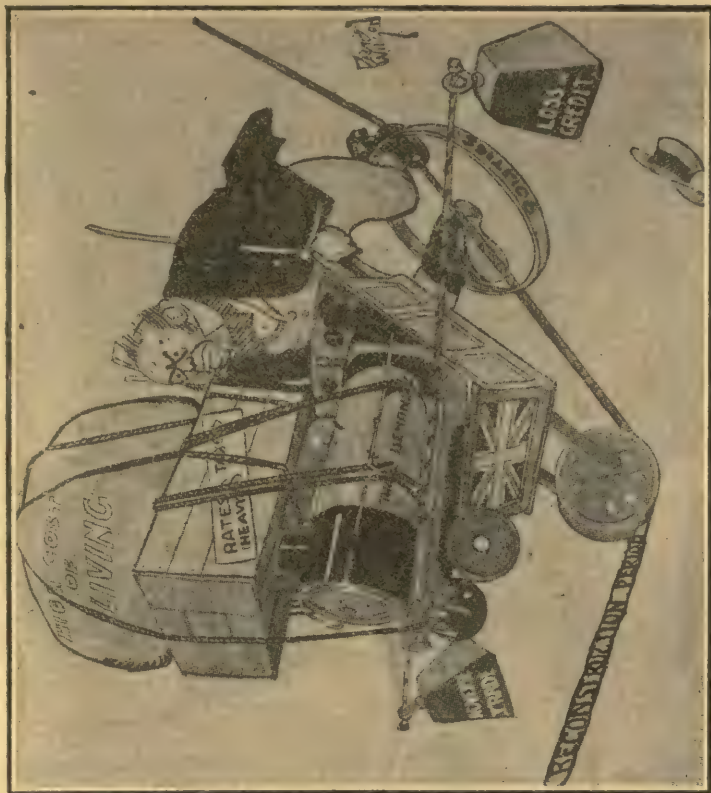
The Overstrained Hump



THE CAMEL (taxpayer): "By the way, have you heard that old saying about a Camel's Back and a Last Straw?"

—The Star, London

Trying to Keep His Balance



John Bull in the difficult act of getting over the abyss without going into it

The Passing Show, London

[Austrian Cartoon]
Unpopular Diplomacy



"What is all that noise?"

—From Figaro, Vienna

"The latest Austrian diplomats are shouting their revelations about Austria's having begun the war"

CLEMENCEAU: "In that case we had better stiffen the Austrian peace terms"

[Italian Cartoon]
Unnecessary Trouble



—From Il 420, Florence

ADJUTANT: "What steps shall we take?"
PRESIDENT WILSON: "We will starve Italy"

WILSON: "I have come to starve Italy"
PROFITEER: "Don't trouble yourself; I am attending to that"

**"A Banner With This
Strange Device"**



—New York World

A Reckless Performance



—New York World

While He's Keeping Her Out



—From The New York Times

[American Cartoons]

Marriage on the Senate Plan



—Detroit News

“Aw-w, Look What You Went an’ Done!”



—Philadelphia Evening Ledger

Unpalatable Medicine



—San Francisco Chronicle

Snip!



San Francisco Chronicle

[Spanish Cartoon]

An Admirer



—Esquella, Barcelona

"Thanks to thee, Aviation, the Universal Graveyard has increased its population"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Children of Vienna

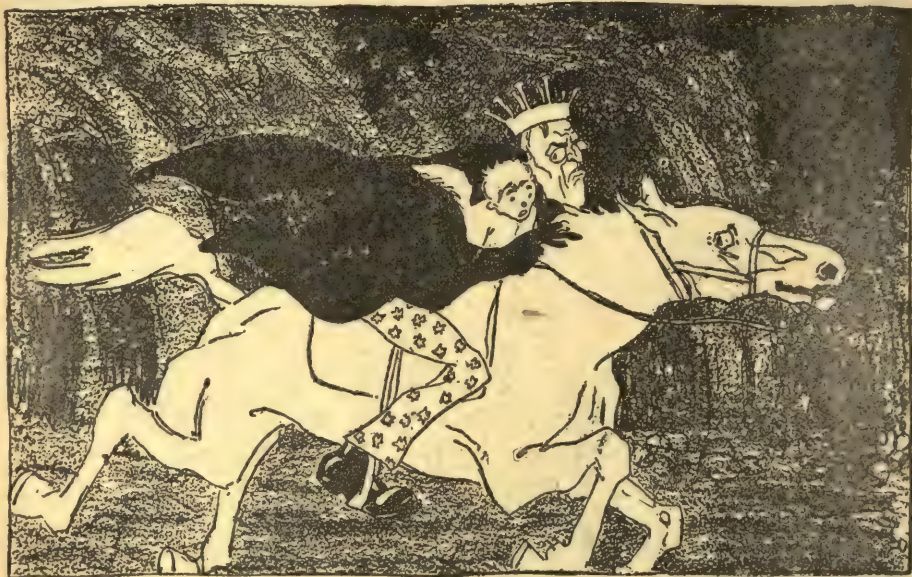


—De Notenkraaker, Amsterdam

The God of War is a jealous god. He punishes mankind even to the second and third generation.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The Erlkoenig Up to Date



—From Nebelspatter, Zurich

Who rides so late through the night so wild?
Wilson it is with his young Peace child.
Onward he hurries with his little pal—
To get him into a hospital!

[German Cartoon]

France and Race Suicide



—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

CLEMENCEAU: "France expects every stork to do its duty"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Mistress of the World



Esquella, Barcelona

HUNGER TO MILITARISM: "Get off the earth! You've had your turn—it's mine now"

[Spanish Cartoon]

Modern Problems and Their Solution



THE BARBER PROBLEM



THE FUEL PROBLEM



THE TRANSPORT PROBLEM



THE BOOT PROBLEM



THE HOUSING PROBLEM



THE TAILOR PROBLEM

—From Esquella, Barcelona

[American Cartoons]

The Red: "Let's Go to the Bottom First"



—Brooklyn Eagle

They Can't Get By With That Kind of Stuff With This Bird!



—Central Press Association

The Quicker and Harder, the Better



St. Louis Republic

Liberty



—New Tribune, Duluth

UNCLE SAM: "Free, but with reservations. Get out!"

PEACE WITH GERMANY

Final Exchange of Ratifications on January 10, 1920, Puts the Treaty of Versailles Into Operation— Other Peace Conference Activities

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 20, 1920]

ALMOST exactly fourteen months after the date of the original armistice with Germany the Peace Conference at Paris ended its long verbal conflicts with the German delegates and made the final exchange of ratifications which brought complete peace with Germany and set into operation all the complicated machinery of the Treaty of Versailles, including the League of Nations. The United States alone of the great powers was without a representative at this historic ceremony—owing to the Senate's failure to ratify the treaty.

The event had long been delayed, partly by the Allies' hope that America might yet come in, and partly by the reluctance of the German delegates to sign the protocol articles demanding reparation for the scuttling of the German battleship fleet at Scapa Flow. Agreement on this point was finally reached, however, and on Jan. 10, 1920, the allied and German representatives met in the Clock Room of the French Foreign Office at Paris, and signed the protocol and the procès-verbal which placed the final seal of ratification upon the German Peace Treaty. The deposit of these documents with the others in the French Foreign Ministry archives completed the required formalities. After five years of tragedy and many months of disputation, Germany was again at peace with the rest of the world, and was, at least officially, a friendly member of the family of nations.

While handling this main problem the Peace Conference had been busy with other matters that remained to be settled before peace could come to certain portions of Eastern Europe and the Near East. Peace treaties with Turkey still remain to be signed, and the German envoys were then escorted to the Clock Room, where the diplo-

the final ratification of the Austrian and Bulgarian treaties was still to come, and of several bitter territorial disputes were calling for settlement. In special conferences between the allied and Italian Premiers a substantial adjustment of the Fiume dispute was reached, and a draft of its terms was forwarded to Belgrade for Yugoslav concurrence. By the terms of this agreement the Italian character of Fiume was recognized, but the port and railways were internationalized under the League of Nations.

Another important task was disposed of with the delivery to a Hungarian Peace Delegation headed by Count Albert Andrássy of the terms of peace to be imposed on Hungary, and Count Andrássy took this treaty draft back with him to Budapest for submission to the Hungarian Parliament. Various other questions were discussed and acted on when necessary. The question of peace with Turkey was still deferred, though important discussions of this perplexing problem were held by the Supreme Council.

Regarding Russia, the policy of non-interference in the war on Bolshevism was approved by all the allied nations. It was announced on Jan. 16, furthermore, that the Supreme Council had decided to open trade relations with the many co-operative societies of the interior of Russia, to embrace exchange of clothing, medicines and agricultural machines for grain and flax; this change of policy in the partial raising of the blockade against Soviet Russia, it was specifically stated, was in no way to be interpreted as a change of policy toward the Soviet régime.

The Scapa Flow negotiations between the allied representatives and Baron von Hirschner's German delegation reinforced the Italian position in the Foreign Ministry for consultation.

by a special German shipping commission, which arrived on Dec. 15, were begun anew after several interruptions, and the prospect of a speedy solution of all outstanding difficulties looked bright shortly before Christmas. The allied experts had presented figures showing that Germany possessed some 700,000 tons of docks, dredges and other maritime equipment. The Allies demanded 400,000 tons of it in payment for the Scapa Flow fleet, leaving 300,000 for Germany's needs. The German experts said Germany had 600,000 tons, and that she needed 400,000. It was the German contention that the allied figures included 80,000 tons at Danzig, which did not exist, and 20,000 tons at Hamburg, equally mythical. The allied diplomats asked the British Government about the apparent discrepancy, and received the reply that the British figures were correct.

The allied note bearing on this question which was sent to Germany, however, was accompanied by a promise that if the Germans could prove that they really needed 400,000 tons the Allies would reduce their demands to 300,000, but would retain the allied experts' total of 700,000 tons as a basis for calculations.

It developed that the difference between the allied and German estimates of available floating dock tonnage would occasion a considerable delay, and the hope of winding up the business of making peace by Christmas was abandoned. The Supreme Council, therefore, adjourned until Dec. 26.

The Supreme Council on Dec. 27 decided to send an allied naval commission to Hamburg and Danzig to review the allied estimates on German dock facilities in those ports. Further action was made contingent on the report of this commission. Meanwhile matters of subsidiary importance were taken up.

HITCH OVER PLEBISCITES

The council, among other matters, received information of the results of the first meeting between German and allied military experts to discuss arrangements for the execution of the Versailles treaty. It appeared that on the first

change of views the railroad material offered by the Germans for the transportation of allied troops to plebiscite districts was considered insufficient. The report of these negotiations was laid before the council by General Weigand. The report stated that the Germans had declared that because of lack of material it was impossible to supply the six trains daily demanded by the Allies, and that they had offered four trains for this purpose.

General Weigand subsequently reported that the allied and German military experts had reached an agreement on this question. Difficulties, however, arose in arranging for the plebiscites to be held in Upper Silesia, Allenstein, Memel and other territories. Herr von Simson, head of a special delegation sent by Germany, declared that he had no power to change the German interpretation of these arrangements.

Meanwhile the Supreme Council received a letter from Marshal Foch stating that his agents had observed that in Upper Silesia, one of the main plebiscite districts, there were stationed 80,000 German soldiers, including large numbers of the former troops of General von der Goltz, who had made trouble in the Baltic Provinces until the allied powers forced them out. In this letter Marshal Foch expressed his strong belief that before the 20,000 allied soldiers agreed upon should go to Upper Silesia to conduct the plebiscite it was expedient that the German troops be withdrawn. The Supreme Council approved the suggestion and decided to ask Germany to see that this was done. This new note was dispatched on Jan. 2.

SCAPA FLOW AGREEMENT

Baron von Lersner on Dec. 30 asked the Supreme Council to put into writing the verbal assurance given him by M. Dutasta that if the Germans proved their figures regarding maritime equipment the Allies would reduce their demands by 100,000 tons. M. Dutasta was authorized to reply that this request would be complied with, and the German envoy communicated this new phase to the Berlin Government.

The terms of the Supreme Council for the final settlement of the Scapa Flow

sinkings were handed to Baron von Lersner on Jan. 5. They embodied a diminution of 125,000 tons from the 400,000 tons of naval material originally demanded from Germany. The ultimate figure conceded by the Allies was 275,000 tons, to which the German delegates agreed. The final settlement was delayed by failure of the Germans to fix terms relating to the plebiscite arrangements. On Jan. 6, however, on the strength of an assurance given by Baron von Lersner that Germany would consent to the signing of the protocol, the Supreme Council announced that the ceremony of exchanging ratifications would take place on Jan. 10.

One last difficulty arose over a request from Germany that the allied forces to be sent into Upper Silesia be reduced one-fourth, in order to lower the cost for Germany. On the advice of Marshal Foch the council granted this request, which had already been virtually met by the inability of 25 per cent. of the American contingent to participate in any such activities, owing to the Senate's failure to ratify the treaty.

THE FINAL CEREMONY

In order to have everything ready for the ceremony M. Clemenceau, the Supreme Council, and the various commissions worked feverishly day and night. No new obstacles arose, and on Saturday, Jan. 10, the final act of the great European tragedy was staged. Fourteen allied and associated powers on one hand and Germany on the other met at 4 o'clock in the afternoon in the Clock Hall of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to consummate the ratification of peace.

The representatives of England, France, Italy, and Japan had already met in secret session with the two German envoys, Baron Kurt von Lersner and Herr von Simson, in the office of the French Foreign Minister, and the Germans had signed the much-disputed protocol binding their nation to pay for the sinking of the German fleet at Scapa Flow and to carry out the unfulfilled terms of the armistice. The Premiers and the German envoys were then escorted to the Clock Room, where the diplo-

mats of nearly all the nations of the world had assembled, for many Ambassadors and statesmen had been invited to attend the ceremony.

Around the long, green-covered tables gathered the allied Premiers and Foreign Ministers, with Germany's representatives at a separate small table. As they were designated by the master of ceremonies they rose each in turn and affixed their signatures to the procès-verbal spread upon a stand in the centre of the long chamber.

It was two minutes after 4 o'clock when Premier Clemenceau took his seat, closely followed by Premiers Lloyd George and Nitti, with Baron Matsui of Japan not far behind. The ceremony began without any formality. The Master of Ceremonies called the name of Baron von Lersner. The German envoy arose, and, walking quickly to the stand, affixed his signature to the document that ended the war. He was followed by Lloyd George, and then by Signor Nitti and Baron Matsui. The delegates of the following nations signed in the order named: Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Guatemala, Panama, Peru, Poland, Siam, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay. America, China, Greece, and Rumania, not having ratified the treaty with Germany, did not sign. The ceremony of signing lasted until about 4:16 o'clock.

A letter from the Supreme Council promising Germany in writing, as agreed, that the Allies would reduce their demand for maritime equipment to 275,000 tons to pay for the ships sunk at Scapa Flow was then handed to Baron von Lersner. This done, M. Clemenceau rose and said:

The protocol between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany has been signed. The ratifications of the treaty with Germany have been deposited. From this moment the treaty enters into effect. It will be enforced in all its terms.

At the conclusion of M. Clemenceau's remarks, all the delegates rose, and the Germans, after slight hesitation, led the way out, with no attempt to greet or to hold converse with any of the other delegates. Clemenceau and the British and Italian Premiers remained in the Foreign Ministry for consultation.

The outstanding comment after the ceremony was that it left the United States the only great power still technically at war with Germany. The allied Governments did not even have the satisfaction of seeing Ambassador Wallace at the ceremony. The American envoy had received a pressing invitation to attend, and had telegraphed to Washington for instructions; receiving no answer in time to attend, he had returned his invitation to M. Clemenceau.

VON LERSNER'S COMMENTS

Interviewed after the ceremony, Baron von Lersner said:

I am naturally happy that peace has finally become effective. My great regret is that the United States is the only country with which Germany is still in a state of war. I hope, however, that the situation will soon be changed.

Execution of the Treaty of Versailles imposes on Germany the heaviest sacrifices ever borne by a nation in modern times. We have lost in the west and in the east territories that belonged to Prussia for many centuries. We have assumed enormous economic obligations. Nevertheless, I am glad that peace is at last re-established, because it will give back to Germany her beloved sons and prisoners abroad.

Regarding the execution of the terms of the treaty Germany will do her utmost. We have already, even without being obliged by the terms of the treaty, delivered a considerable quantity of products, including two and one-half million tons of coal to France, and I can say that Germany will go to the utmost limit of possibility in fulfilling all the obligations she has incurred. It will mean hard times for Germany, but with the recovery of our ardor for labor and production we hope to meet every emergency.

The recovery of our economic prosperity is as much to the interest of the Entente as it is to us, on account of the great economic difficulties that threaten all Europe. It is obvious, speaking chiefly of France, that her economic prosperity depends upon the economic recovery of Germany.

Baron von Lersner said he had had several very satisfactory conferences with Louis Loucheur, French Minister of Reconstruction, regarding the resumption of trade relations between Germany and France, and added that he hoped the European nations, working together, would solve the great economic problems. The most thorny remaining problem ap-

peared to him to be the question of the extradition of a considerable number of German officers, officials, and soldiers to be tried abroad for crimes alleged to have been committed during the war. In this regard he said:

I do not want to give up all hope that among the Allies the conviction will finally prevail that by availing themselves strictly of rights conceded in the treaty for the extradition of those accused they may cause the gravest consequences not only for Germany but for quiet and order in Europe generally. We pointed out two months ago very frankly to the Allies the harmful consequences that might ensue if their right to demand extradition should be executed literally. At the same time we submitted written suggestions for the solution of the delicate problem.

The principal features of this proposition were that Germany would undertake to arraign before the Supreme Court of Germany all persons accused by the Entente, would except all such from the law of amnesty, and would consent to the presence of the representatives of the Entente at the trials as public prosecutors, with fullest rights of control. Germany in the meantime has enacted laws to this end.

The Entente did not accept our proposal before peace became effective, but that does not preclude serious examination anew of the problem after the establishment of peace. Your conviction must be the same as mine, that the desire of the Entente is by no means to satisfy revenge, but to punish the guilty with equity and justice.

The Entente proposal for obtaining this object, however, far exceeds the demands made by Austria upon Serbia for the punishment of the assassins of the Archduke—demands which were rejected by Serbia, with the approval of the Entente. I cannot believe that our former adversaries have any interest in compromising the re-establishment of normal life in Germany by insisting on this question of extradition, upon availing themselves unsparingly of rights the real end of which might be attained otherwise.

After the settlement of a few details concerning the execution of the treaty Baron von Lersner returned to Germany for a short rest.

TEXT OF PROCES-VERBAL

The procès-verbal of ratification which the allied and German representatives signed at the Foreign Ministry contained the name of the United States, though

the Americans did not sign. The text of this instrument is as follows:

Procès-verbal of the ratification of the treaty of peace signed at Versailles June 28, 1919, between the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay on the one hand, and Germany on the other hand, as well as of the following acts:

Protocol signed the same day by the same powers, arrangement of the same date between the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, France, and Germany concerning the occupation of the Rhine Provinces.

In the execution of the final clauses of the treaty of peace signed at Versailles June 28, 1919, the undersigned have met at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris to proceed to deposit ratifications and to consign them to the French Government.

Instruments of ratification or notice of their dispatch by four principal allied and associated powers—that is to say, the British Empire for the treaty of peace, protocol, and arrangement; France for the treaty of peace, protocol and arrangement; Italy for the treaty of peace and protocol, and by the following allied and associated powers: Belgium for the treaty of peace, protocol, and arrangement; Bolivia for the treaty of peace and protocol; Brazil for the treaty of peace and protocol; Guatemala for the treaty of peace and protocol; Panama for the treaty of peace and protocol; Peru for the treaty of peace and protocol; Poland for the treaty of peace and protocol; Siam for the treaty of peace and protocol; Czechoslovakia for the treaty of peace and protocol, and Uruguay for the treaty of peace and protocol have been produced and after being examined have been found in good and true form and are confided to the French Government to be deposited in its archives.

Conforming to the provisions of the final clauses aforesaid, the French Government will give notice to the contracting powers of the deposit of ratifications at another time by States which are signatories of the aforesaid treaty, protocol, and arrangement, but which have not been ready to proceed today to this formality.

In confirmation of which the undersigned approve the present procès-verbal and affix their seals.

Done at Paris, Jan. 10, 1920, at 4:15 o'clock.

LETTER ON THE PROTOCOL

The text of the letter which the Supreme Council handed to Baron von Lersner after the exchange of ratifications was as follows:

Now that the protocol provided for by the note of Nov. 2 has been signed by qualified representatives of the German Government, and in consequence the ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles have been deposited, the allied and associated powers wish to renew to the German Government their assurance that, while necessary reparations for the sinking of the German fleet in Scapa Flow will be exacted, they do not intend to injure the vital economic interests of Germany. On this point, by this letter, they confirm the declarations which the General Secretary of the Peace Conference was charged with making orally to the President of the German delegation on Dec. 23.

These declarations are as follows:

First—The General Secretary has been authorized by the Supreme Council to assure the German delegation that the Interallied Commission on Control and the Commission on Reparations will conform with the greatest care to the statements in the note of Dec. 8 relative to safeguarding the vital economic interests of Germany.

Second—The experts of the allied and associated powers, believing that part of the information on which they founded their demand for 400,000 tons of floating docks, floating cranes, tugs and dredgers may have been inaccurate on certain points and details, think they have committed an error as concerns 80,000 tons of floating docks at Hamburg.

If the investigation to which the Interallied Commission on Control will proceed shall show that there has really been an error, the allied and associated powers will be prepared to reduce their demands proportionally in a manner to lower them to 300,000 tons in round numbers, and even below that if the necessity of such reduction shall be demonstrated by convincing arguments. But most complete facilities should be accorded to authorized allied and associated representatives to enable them to make all necessary inquiries, with a view to verifying the German assertions, before any reduction from the original demands of the protocol can be definitely admitted by the allied and associated powers.

Third—The allied and associated Governments, with reference to the last paragraph of the letter which contains their reply, do not consider that the sole act of sinking the German ships at Scapa Flow constitutes a crime of war for which individual punishment will be ex-

acted in conformity with Article 228 of the Peace Treaty.

On the other hand, the allied and associated powers wish to point out that, without losing sight of the vital economic interests of Germany, they have presented a demand for 400,000 tons on the inventory established by them.

German experts have furnished details, which we will verify, and which give a smaller figure. Consequently there will eventually be deducted from the 400,000 tons of floating docks, cranes, tugs and dredgers claimed by the Allies a tonnage of floating docks, which, after verification, we will recognize as figuring by mistake on the interallied inventory and which consequently does not exist. Nevertheless, such deduction shall not exceed 125,000 tons.

The allied and associated powers add that the 192,000 tons proposed by the German Government, of which a list was handed over during the deliberations of the Technical Commissions, must be delivered immediately. For the balance of the tonnage, as shall be determined by the Commission on Reparations, a delay will be allowed the German Government, which cannot exceed thirty months, for delivery of the total amount.

CLEMENCEAU.

BITTERNESS IN GERMANY

On the evening of ratification the bells of London were pealing in celebration of the conclusion of peace. Otherwise, neither in London nor in Paris were there any unusual demonstrations of rejoicing; all these had found vent on the termination of armed hostilities and the signing of the treaty. In Berlin, likewise, the event aroused no special interest. The press comments, which were not given first place in the various papers, were, however, pervaded with a distinct bitterness. The heading chosen by the *Lokal-Anzeiger* was "Under the Knout of the Enemy!" The *Tägliche Rundschau* said: "This peace is worse than war!" It denounced the regulations of the Interallied High Commission for the Rhineland as a breach of the ratified treaty. The *Berlin Tageblatt* declared that Germany had shown political unwisdom in not refusing to sign the treaty. Since it had been signed, this paper said, Germany had only one course to follow: to carry out the treaty to the best of her ability and to strive for revision. The *Vossische Zeitung* said: "It is not the written word, but the creative

deed that can remove the traces of physical and spiritual damage caused by the war. For Germany the first duty is to honor her pledged word and to work so determinedly that she will help the world's kultur forward."

Lord Kilmarnock left London on Jan. 12 for Berlin to take up his duties as British Chargé d'Affaires in the German capital. The British Government had announced its intention to maintain only a legation until Germany had proved her honest intentions of carrying out the terms of the treaty, when the Ambassadorship would be restored. Germany was not expected to send a diplomatic representative at once. German affairs in London were still in care of the Swiss Legation, which had taken over that responsibility at the departure of Prince Lichnowsky. Sir Harold Stuart had been named the British High Commissioner for the Rhineland. France and Belgium at this time were preparing to dispatch representatives to Berlin.

POSITION OF UNITED STATES

The Department of State at Washington issued a statement on Jan. 10, announcing the signing of the procès-verbal, as agreed upon in the Treaty of Versailles, and added:

Inasmuch as the United States has not ratified the treaty, it is the position of this Government that the armistice continues in full force and effect between the United States and Germany, and that accordingly the provisions of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, as well as the provisions of the extensions of that agreement, remain binding on these two nations. Notice of this was given to the German Government by the United States.

Another statement issued on Jan. 13 announced that the United States had refused to accept any part of the indemnity to be paid by Germany for the destruction of the German fleet at Scapa Flow. This decision was based on the ground that the United States Government objected in principle to the settlement made by the Supreme Council. An allotment of 2 per cent. of this indemnity had been made to the American Government. Just before Frank Polk, the American representative at the Peace Conference, left Paris, the Allied Gov-

ernments drew up a plan for reparation which gave Great Britain 70 per cent. and divided up the rest among the other powers. Mr. Polk's experts estimated that the 2 per cent. assigned to America would give this country one German cruiser and one U-boat. It was further specified that America must sink her share received after one year. The share of maritime equipment would have been one 8,000-ton dock. Mr. Polk protested against this apportionment, refused to give his consent to the scheme, and referred the matter to Washington.

EXTRADITION OF KAISER

After the ceremony of signing the final procès-verbal had been accomplished, the Supreme Council resumed its activities. Despite the forebodings of Baron von Lersner, there was every indication that the allied Governments intended to insist on the extradition of the German officers accused of atrocities in Northern France and Belgium, as well as on the extradition of the Kaiser himself from Holland. On Jan. 15 a note was drafted to the Dutch Government asking for this extradition. It referred to Article 227 of the Treaty of Versailles, and invited Holland to join the allied powers in the accomplishment of this act. Besides taking up the text of the demand on Holland, Premiers Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Nitti inspected the lists of German officers and soldiers accused of war crimes. This list comprised 880 names, of which 330 were those of men demanded by France. The list had been completed at a meeting held on Jan. 13 by Baron Birkenhead, Lord Chancellor of England; Edouard Ignace, French Under Secretary for Military Justice, and representatives of other allied nations.

INTEGRITY OF AUSTRIA

The Supreme Council profited by the visit of the Austrian Premier, Herr Renner, undertaken to discuss Austria's financial and economic situation, to notify the Austrian Republic of the decisions reached by the allied and associated powers concerning the separatist movements which had shown themselves, or that might show themselves in the

future, on Austrian territory. A letter bearing on this question was addressed by M. Clemenceau to M. Renner on Dec. 16, mentioning specifically the Provinces of Vorarlberg, Salzburg, Tyrol, and Western Hungary as secedent units, and assuring Austria, in a resolution forwarded, of the allied Governments' intention to oppose all such separatist movements and to see that the territorial integrity of the Austrian Republic was not impaired.

The question of commercial relations between Turkey and the Central Powers was discussed at the sessions of Jan. 5, and it was decided that the status created by the armistice should continue until peace was signed with Turkey. By the terms of the armistice, such relations were prohibited.

PEACE TERMS TO HUNGARY

The long-awaited Hungarian Peace Delegation arrived in Paris on Jan. 7. It came to receive the treaty with Hungary, which had been held for three months pending the establishment of a stable and representative Government. The delegation, made up of sixty-four members, was headed by Count Apponyi, who stated that he expected to take the treaty terms back with him to Budapest, where the Hungarian Parliament would act upon them. Count Apponyi had previously described the scope of his mission as follows:

We are going to Paris with the hope of obtaining the integrity of Hungary for ourselves and for the future of Europe. Hungary, intact, has been a barrier in that trouble-breeding area between the Occident and the Orient. We stood firm for 1,000 years against invasions from the East and we saved the West. Remove that barrier, and the reservoir of evil will infect all Europe. * * * If the integrity of Hungary is refused, I will have to ask that the disposition of the people be submitted to themselves. I will inquire whether people can be exchanged like cattle. There are 400,000 Hungarians under the Rumanians, who are remaining along the Theiss River, laughing at the Entente's orders. We will never submit to this. If we are refused a plebiscite to decide the fate of Hungary, we will ask: "Can one believe the word of a President of the United States in the future?"

On Jan. 14 Count Apponyi sent a

rather aggressive letter to M. Dutasta, Secretary General of the Peace Conference, demanding to know where America stood with regard to the Hungarian treaty. A reply was sent saying that Ambassador Wallace would represent the United States at the Supreme Council meeting when the treaty was delivered.

DELIVERY OF THE TERMS

The terms of peace between the allied and associated Governments and Hungary were handed to the Hungarian delegation in the afternoon of Jan. 15. The Hungarians were given fifteen days in which to present their reply.

The treaty was received by Count Apponyi from the hands of the Secretary General in the office of the French Foreign Ministry, in the presence of Premiers Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Nitti, and of Ambassador Wallace and Baron Matsui, the Japanese Ambassador. Premier Clemenceau made a short address, in the course of which he specified the time allowed Hungary to reply. He added that the council had unanimously decided to grant the request of Count Apponyi that he be permitted to explain verbally before the allied council the present situation of the Hungarian Government, provided that no discussion ensue. The entire ceremony of the presentation of the treaty lasted barely five minutes.

The Hungarian peace treaty provides that Hungary shall formally waive claim to Fiume and all the former Austro-Hungarian territories awarded to Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Hungary must adhere to the clauses of the treaty with Austria, signed at St. Germain, concerning national minorities.

Under the terms of the treaty the Hungarian Army must not exceed 35,000 men, with guns of not more than ten centimeter calibre. Hungary assumes a proportional share of the Austro-Hungarian debt. Most of the remaining clauses are similar to those of the treaty of St. Germain.

A special economic clause provides that an arrangement shall be made for the exchange of foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactured goods between

Austria and Hungary. By the provision of this clause Hungary undertakes not to restrict the export of foodstuffs to Austria, and insures to Austrian purchasers terms as favorable as those given to the Hungarians.

THE FIUME AGREEMENT

It was announced on Dec. 18 that Premier Nitti and Foreign Minister Scialoja had been invited to meet Premier Lloyd George and Premier Clemenceau in an endeavor to settle the question of Fiume. On Jan. 5 Signor Nitti arrived in London with his colleague, Signor Scialoja. After conferences with members of the British Government they left with the British Premier for Paris. On Jan. 11 the Italian envoys discussed with Lloyd George and Clemenceau the whole Adriatic problem. The Fiume question was particularly difficult because of the uncompromising attitude of Gabriele d'Annunzio, who had ordered the taking of a third plebiscite in Fiume and who was virtually defying the Italian Government, the Peace Conference, and the decisions of President Wilson.

Long discussions were held, and on Jan. 15 Premier Nitti stated in Paris that he regarded the Adriatic problem as on the verge of settlement. An agreement, he said, had been reached by Italy, France and Great Britain, to which it was hoped that the United States would give its sanction. The details of this agreement he did not disclose. He admitted that Italy had made important concessions in renouncing sovereignty over Fiume, and in agreeing that it should be a free city touching on Italian Istria. Its Italian character, however, was to be recognized and its port and railway facilities were to be placed under the League of Nations.

When asked how Italy intended to oust d'Annunzio from Fiume, he replied that this was easy, but was non-committal as to the means to be employed. The agreement reached was sent to Belgrade for Yugoslav consideration, with an intimation that if it were not accepted the allied Governments would insist on the execution of the Treaty of London. No answer from the Yugoslav Government

had been received up to the time when this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* went to press.

THE RUSSIAN QUESTION

Another big question was the policy to be adopted toward Russia. In an important statement made by Lloyd George in the House of Commons on Dec. 18 the British Premier disclosed the fact that all the allied representatives in Paris had agreed to keep hands off in the war against the Bolsheviks, though Japan and the United States were negotiating with a view to future action should the Bolshevik advance progress beyond Lake Baikal.

An official communiqué was issued, however, by the Supreme Council on Jan. 16, embodying a distinct change of policy with regard to trade relations with Soviet Russia. The text of this statement is given herewith:

With a view to remedying the unhappy situation of the population in the interior of Russia, which is now deprived of all manufactured products from outside of Russia, the Supreme Council, after taking note of the report of a committee appointed to consider the reopening of certain trade relations with the Russian people, has decided that it would permit the exchange of goods on the basis of reciprocity between the Russian people and allied and neutral countries.

For this purpose it decided to give facilities to the Russian co-operative organizations which are in direct touch throughout Russia so that they may arrange for the import into Russia of clothing, medicines, agricultural machinery and the other necessities of which the Russian people are in sore need, in exchange for grain, flax, &c., of which there is a surplus supply.

These arrangements imply no change in the policies of the allied Governments toward the Soviet Government.

OTHER QUESTIONS CONSIDERED

In a response to a communication regarding the Eupen-Malmédy districts on the frontier between Germany and Belgium, the Council on Dec. 5 sent a reply saying that the interpretation of the German Government regarding these districts, for which plebiscites had been ar-

ranged, conformed neither to the letter nor to the spirit of Article 34 of the Versailles Treaty. The impartial attitude of Belgium in administering this plebiscite was defended by the council's note.

Measures were also taken to send allied troops to Slesvig for occupation during the plebiscite in this territory. Word came from Copenhagen on Jan. 13, that Entente ships had arrived at Flensburg, and that the inhabitants were already anticipating the passing of Prussian rule; the gendarmerie was being replaced by natives, and German County Judges were being superseded by Danish officials. The International Plebiscite Commission was scheduled to leave Copenhagen for Flensburg on Jan. 17. The Danish capital was planning a warm welcome for the allied troops, and entertainment committees had formulated plans for parades of foreign and Danish troops, and other festivities. On Jan. 12, President Wilson received a cable dispatch from King Christian X. thanking him for his part in the Slesvig settlement, whereby "Danish Slesvig would be given an opportunity to be reunited with its old fatherland." In reply President Wilson congratulated Denmark on this result, which he characterized as "one of the ideals for which I strove."

Toward the end of December the Supreme Council received a memorandum from the Pan-Epirotic Union in America, setting forth the allegedly Greek character of the City of Korytsa in Northern Epirus (Albania), in opposition to claims made on Albania's behalf by the Pan-Albanian Federation in America. Besides allotting Eastern Galicia to Poland, the council early in December approved the draft of a treaty between the principal allied powers, Poland and Czechoslovakia, including the settlement of the frontier of the two latter States. Regarding the Teschen coal fields, the council adhered to its decision of Sept. 27, 1919, for the holding of a plebiscite there, to decide how the region was to be divided between the Poles and the Czechoslovaks.

League of Nations Created

World Organization for International Peace Holds Its First Sessions in Paris

WITH the proclamation of peace with Germany, which occurred on Jan. 10 in Paris, the way to the initiation of the League of Nations, whose establishment was provided for explicitly by the Versailles Treaty, was cleared of obstacles. President Wilson had accepted the duty of calling the first meeting, and on Jan. 16 he sent out the formal call to the principal nations concerned, which made the League a reality.

The first meeting of the League was held in the Clock Room of the French Foreign Ministry, the same room in which the Peace Conference had met and in which peace had been proclaimed. This new-born League of Nations faced problems such as no assembly, national or international, has ever had to solve. Numerous disputes between nations, large and small, over boundaries, plebiscites, right of free determination of ethnical minorities, and the formidable task of issuing and controlling mandates confronted this tribunal at its birth. And before it, in the future, lay all the possibilities connected with the object for which the League was formed, the prevention of war among the races and nations of mankind.

PROBLEMS DISPOSED OF

Some of its problems had been simplified by agreement. After long conferences in Paris, the allied Ministers had reached a quasi-agreement with the Italian Premier and Foreign Minister regarding the internationalization of Fiume. By decree of the Supreme Council, the district of East Galicia had been given to Poland for a provisional period of twenty-five years. Belgium had assumed control of the plebiscite in the Eupen-Malmédy regions on the German frontier. The first zone of Slesvig had been evacuated by the Germans, and allied troops had been dispatched to Den-

mark to control the plebiscite there. Disputes between the military experts of the allied nations and of Germany over the providing of transportation trains for the allied troops to be sent to East Prussia and other districts of Germany where plebiscites were to be held had been finally settled before the proclamation of peace. Various mandates had already been assigned to certain of the powers over other nations, notably to the French for Syria, to the British for Persia, to the Japanese for Shantung, to the Belgians, British, French, Japanese, and Australians for the former German colonies. Yet a multiplicity of matters were left for the new international body to resolve.

QUESTIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

The question of the adhesion of the neutral nations to the League still remained unsettled. The invitation to the thirteen neutrals named in the annex to the covenant of the League of Nations became effective from the coming into force of the Versailles Treaty. None of the nations in question had declined to join the League, though several had shown a disinclination to take any action until ratification by the United States. A few had ratified.

Japan's official ratification of the treaty and covenant was received by the Secretariat of the Peace Conference on Dec. 26. It was transmitted by Baron Matsui, the Japanese Ambassador to Paris. Up to Jan. 2 the Secretariat had received the ratifications of England, France, and Italy, the last-mentioned country having ratified the treaty by imperial decree. The failure of the United States to ratify had no effect upon the coming into force of the treaty and League of Nations, but the League had to begin its life without an American representative.

It was stated in Paris on Dec. 24 that

Japan's representatives in the Supreme Council had objected to the form of the mandates under which Japan would administer the former German colonies in the Pacific allotted to her charge, and that time had been asked to submit the matter to the Tokio Government. The details to which the Japanese delegates objected were not officially disclosed, but it was stated semi-officially that they involved the question of Japanese migration to colonies which would come under the Australian mandate, as well as the economic advantages the Japanese formerly enjoyed under the most-favored-nation clause. In connection with the promulgation of the Versailles Treaty, however, the Japanese Government issued an imperial rescript which, in referring to the League of Nations covenant, called upon all Japanese subjects to work "for the attainment of that durable peace contemplated by the institution of the League of Nations, always abiding by the principle of universal justice and following the path of progress in the world."

SENTIMENT FOR LEAGUE

Sentiment for the league, despite the failure of the United States to ratify, had grown steadily abroad, especially in Great Britain. The momentous significance of the new institution was eloquently set forth by Mr. Arthur Balfour and the Archbishop of Canterbury at a great meeting held in London on Armistice Day.

The attitude of America was deplored. In the course of an appeal for the ratification of the League covenant General Smuts, the South African Prime Minister, on Nov. 17 urged the United States to give its official sanction to the covenant, which he characterized as "the hope of the world." A special article was devoted to the American situation by Winston Churchill in *The Illustrated Sunday Herald* of Nov. 29, in which he argued that the whole idea of the League had been conceived and urged upon the Peace Conference by America, as a consequence of which the whole plan for peace had been affected, and that a half-way policy on America's part would leave Europe disrupted. The article concluded by pre-

dicting that the United States would eventually ratify.

As a result of the sessions of the third Congress of National Associations, which met at Brussels on Dec. 1, all national societies for the establishment of the League were drawn together into a federation, and four commissions, one, presided over by M. Albert Thomas, who had been appointed Director of the International Office of Labor of the League, dealing with labor and international education; a second, dealing with international law; the third, with disarmament, and the fourth, to deal with all questions relative to the composition and powers of the League.

Information reached Washington on Dec. 31 that plans had been perfected to permit the extension of invitations to certain jurists of international reputation to form a managing committee for the elaboration of the details of the Permanent Court of International Justice and the definition of its activities.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S CALL

The first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations was set in the call issued by President Wilson for the morning of Friday, Jan. 16, 1920. This date was fixed immediately after the ratification of the treaty with Germany by Premiers Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Nitti, at the session of the Supreme Council on Jan. 10. Premier Clemenceau then notified the powers concerned to have their delegates in Paris on the day set. The place designated for the first meeting was the French Foreign Office.

The text of President Wilson's call for this first meeting was addressed to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, and Spain. The invitations were telegraphed through the American Embassies to the respective Foreign Offices, and the text of the call was given out publicly by Mr. Lansing after receiving notice of delivery to each of the countries called. The form was the same in all cases, except for the name of the Government addressed. The invitation to Great Britain, typical of all the rest, was as follows:

In compliance with Article V. of the

covenant of the League of Nations, which went into effect at the same time as the Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, of which it is a part, the President of the United States, acting on behalf of those nations which have deposited their instruments of ratification in Paris as certified in a *procès-verbal* drawn up by the French Government, dated Jan. 10, 1920, has the honor to inform the Government of Great Britain that the first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations will be held in Paris at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Friday, Jan. 16, at 10:30 A. M.

The President ventures to hope that the Government of Great Britain will be in a position to send a representative to this first meeting. He feels that it is unnecessary for him to point out the deep significance attached to this meeting, or the importance which it must assume in the eyes of the world.

It will mark the beginning of a new era in international co-operation, and the first great step toward the ideal concert of nations. It will bring the League of Nations into being as a living force devoted to the task of assisting the peoples of all countries in their desire for peace, prosperity, and happiness. The President is convinced that its progress will accord with the noble purposes to which it is dedicated.

INAUGURATION OF LEAGUE

On Jan. 16, 1920, the League of Nations became a reality. At 10:30 o'clock the Executive Council of the League opened its first meeting in the Clock Room of the French Foreign Ministry. At one end of the salon, tapestried in crimson and gold, around a green-covered table, gathered nine men to set in motion the machinery of this unprecedented experiment in government, while a hundred or more diplomats from the four corners of the world looked on at the historic event. Only the chair of the United States was empty. Through the windows overlooking the Seine shone bright sunshine.

The nine men who sat about the table were M. Bourgeois, in the centre; on his right, Lord Curzon; next, Ambassador Matsui of Japan; then M. da Cunha for Brazil and Premier Venizelos for Greece. On the left of M. Bourgeois sat Signor Ferraris for Italy, Ambassador Quinones de Leon for Spain, and M. Hyman for Belgium. Across the table

from M. Bourgeois sat Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary of the League.

OPENING ADDRESS

In his speech as presiding officer, M. Léon Bourgeois opened the historic session in the following words:

Today, gentlemen, we are holding the first meeting of the council, convened by the President of the United States. The task of presiding at this meeting and of inaugurating this great international institution should have fallen to President Wilson. We respect the reasons which will delay the final decisions of our friends in Washington, but we may all express the hope that the difficulties will soon be overcome, and that a representative of the great American Republic will occupy the place which awaits him among us. The work of the council will then assume that definite character and that particular force which should be associated with our work.

M. Bourgeois added that of the thirteen neutrals invited to become members of the League, Spain, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Persia had accepted. He continued as follows:

Jan. 16, 1920, will go down to history as the date of the birth of the New World. The decision to be taken today will be in the name of all the States which adhere to the covenant. It will be the first decision of all the free nations leaguering themselves together for the first time in the history of the world to substitute right for wrong.

M. Bourgeois then made a plea for patience with the League. If the world should be disappointed in its first achievement it must remember that each act, however small, was great in its significance.

SPEECH OF LORD CURZON

Lord Curzon spoke for England, and expressed her belief in the League. He said:

Alone through the League can we hope to insure that such horrors and miseries as the world has experienced in the last five years shall not be repeated, and that a new era of international relationship shall dawn.

The League of Nations is an expression of the universal desire for a saner method of regulating the affairs of mankind. It is not a mere expression in platonic language of the necessity for international friendship and good understanding. It provides the machinery by which practical effect may be given to these principles.

Lord Curzon concluded his address with an appeal for American participation in the League. In this regard he said:

While I am in entire accord with all that M. Bourgeois has said I should wish especially to express my full concurrence in his observations regarding the United States of America. The decision must be her own, but if and when the United States elects to take her place in the new council chamber of nations a place is waiting for her and the warmest welcome will be hers.

Ambassador da Cunha of Brazil laid emphasis upon the honor he felt in being the only representative of the Western Hemisphere in the Council. He said he

felt empowered to say that he represented not only Brazil, but the Pan-American Union.

Signor Ferraris said that Italy entered in the best spirit into the work of the League, and that the Rome Government had the fullest confidence in the ultimate success of the great project.

The English, Japanese, and Belgian members of the Sarre Basin Commission were then named. France and Germany will name the other two. This business done, London was chosen as the next meeting place, and M. Bourgeois declared the meeting adjourned.

The United States and the German Peace Treaty

THE German Peace Treaty had not been brought before the United States Senate for further consideration up to Jan. 20, 1920. Its status remained unchanged since its rejection by the Senate on Nov. 19, 1919. There were continual conferences between groups of Senators in an endeavor to reach a compromise agreement, but there was no word from President Wilson.

The President's first and only public declaration regarding the treaty after the beginning of his illness in September was in the form of a letter read at the Jackson Day dinner in Washington on Jan. 8 to representative Democrats who had assembled from all parts of the country to celebrate the anniversary. In this declaration President Wilson came out strongly and squarely for the treaty without any textual changes. After deploring the failure of this country "to effect the settlements for which it had fought throughout the war," he said:

None of the objects we professed to be fighting for has been secured, or can be made certain of, without this nation's ratification of the treaty and its entry into the covenant. This nation entered the great war to vindicate its own rights and to protect and preserve free government. It went into the war to see it through to the end, and the end has not yet come. It went into the war to make an end of militarism, to furnish guarantees to weak nations, and to make a

just and lasting peace. It entered it with noble enthusiasm.

He said the maintenance of the peace of the world depended upon the wholehearted participation of the United States, the "one nation which has sufficient moral force with the rest of the world to guarantee the substitution of discussion for war. If we keep out of this agreement, if we do not give our guarantees, then another attempt will be made to crush the new nations of Europe." Referring to the action of the Senate he wrote:

I have asserted from the first that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country desire the ratification of the treaty, and my impression to that effect has recently been confirmed by the unmistakable evidences of public opinion given during my visit to seventeen of the States.

I have endeavored to make it plain that if the Senate wishes to say what the undoubted meaning of the League is I shall have no objection. There can be no reasonable objection to interpretations accompanying the act of ratification itself. But when the treaty is acted upon, I must know whether it means that we have ratified or rejected it.

We cannot rewrite this treaty. We must take it without changes which alter its meaning, or leave it, and then after the rest of the world has signed it, we must face the unthinkable task of making another and separate treaty with Germany.

But no mere assertions with regard to

the wish and opinion of the country are credited. If there is any doubt as to what the people of the country think on this vital matter, the clear and single way out is to submit it for determination at the next election to the voters of the nation, to give the next election the form of a great and solemn referendum, a referendum as to the part the United States is to play in completing the settlements of the war and in the prevention in the future of such outrages as Germany attempted to perpetrate.

On the same occasion William J. Bryan, who was President Wilson's first Secretary of State and was responsible for his first nomination for the Presidency—and who himself had been three times the Democratic nominee for President—delivered an address in which he directly joined issue with the President. He argued that the treaty should be ratified without delay; that there should be compromise on the part of the Democratic Senators if necessary to bring about this outcome. To Mr. Bryan the main thing was to ratify the treaty and establish peace with Germany. With the Republicans controlling the Senate, he held, theirs should be the responsibility, and the Democratic minority should not put obstacles in their way. He added:

We cannot afford, either as citizens or as members of the party, to share with the Republican Party responsibility for further delay. We cannot go before the country on the issue that such an appeal would present.

Neither can we go before the country on the issue raised in Article X. If we do not intend to impair the right of Congress to decide the question of peace or war when the time for action arises, how can we insist upon a moral obligation to go to war which can have no force or value except as it does impair the independence of Congress? We owe it to the world to join in an honest effort to put an end to war forever, and that effort should be made at the earliest possible moment.

A majority of Congress can declare war. Shall we make it more difficult to conclude a treaty than to enter a war?

The President's implied suggestion for a referendum was not indorsed by any of the Democratic leaders; it was maintained that to submit the treaty to a vote of the people would involve a further delay of fourteen months in ratification, with no prospect that there could be elected enough Senators favorable

to unconditional ratification. Senator Lodge, leader of the Republicans and sponsor for the reservations, declared he was willing to let the matter go before the people, and this position was indorsed by the Senators who were opposed to the treaty in any form. It was clear, however, that there was no sentiment of any importance for the referendum, and discussion regarding it ceased in a few days.

Meanwhile private and unofficial discussions between the Senators continued. The most promising development came on Jan. 15, when five Democratic leaders and four Republican leaders met for a round-table discussion in an endeavor to reach a basis of compromise. Both parties announced that all political phases of the question had been eliminated, and that the treaty was being approached strictly from a non-partisan point of view. Considerable progress was made toward a compromise, the chief stumbling block being Article X., wherein the military and naval strength of the country is pledged to repel external aggression against the territory of any member of the League. It was conceded by all Senators favorable to the treaty that it could not be ratified without definite reservations, the only question being how broad they would be.

All the indications on Jan. 20 pointed to an ultimate compromise, which would be a practical acceptance of the original reservations with the clause omitted which required a formal acceptance of the reservations by the other powers.

An interesting side light on the sentiment of the country respecting the treaty was a referendum ballot by 410 colleges. Votes were cast by 158,078 students and professors. As originally submitted, the referendum covered six propositions, and 43,125 ballots in eighty-nine colleges were registered on this basis. Later the referendum was limited to four propositions, 114,953 votes being cast in 311 colleges on this basis. For both sets of propositions, of 158,078 ballots, 61,494 favored a compromise to permit immediate ratification, 48,232 opposed any reservations, 27,970 expressed themselves for the Lodge program, 13,943 favored killing

the treaty and the League, and 6,449 would negotiate a new treaty with Germany.

The preponderant vote in the four proposition basis was given to Proposition 4, favoring a compromise between

the Lodge and the Democratic reservations in order to facilitate the ratification of the treaty. This received a combined Faculty and student vote of 44,789 out of a total number of 114,953 votes cast.

IRELAND AND ENGLAND

Official Statement by Premier Lloyd George—Irish Republicans Reject Plan—Sinn Fein Wins Elections

THE Sinn Fein movement, seeking the secession of Ireland from Great Britain and the establishment of an independent republic, received fresh impetus on Jan. 15 at the municipal elections. Coming closely on the heels of the proposal for home rule, to which the Lloyd George Government is irrevocably committed, the elections indicated that the Irish Republicans do not accept the home rule measure, and are stronger for complete independence than ever before. The municipal elections were held to fill 1,470 vacancies; the Sinn Fein won 422, Labor 324, Nationalists 213, Unionists 297. The Sinn Feiners made some gains in Ulster and won Dublin by a considerable majority. The reports cover 1,256 of the 1,470 vacancies; the results indicate an overwhelming sentiment against the Unionists, who represent the present Government.

Mayor Hylan of New York City, who a few weeks previously had conferred the freedom of the city on the Prince of Wales, performed a similar service on Jan. 16 for Eamonn de Valera, who was elected President of the proposed Irish Republic by the Sinn Fein. Mr. de Valera has been in the United States for months to promote the cause he represents. The freedom of the city was conferred on him at the City Hall, and the Mayor lauded the independence movement in his address. The exercises were held to inaugurate the movement to raise a fund of \$10,000,000 in this country to aid the Irish Republicans. The first subscription was for \$1,000, made by Archbishop Hayes of New York; it was an-

nounced that the first day's subscriptions had reached \$2,550,000, and that the \$10,000,000 would be easily raised. The subscribers receive certificates to be exchanged for bonds to be issued when the republic is established.

On Dec. 19 an unsuccessful attempt was made in Phoenix Park, Dublin, to kill Lord French, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and three days later the Prime Minister outlined the new home rule scheme in a speech in the House of Commons.

These two events shaped the course of Irish history through the month under review. In spite of the fact that the assault on Lord French was denounced by the higher Irish clergy as both wicked and futile, similar attacks under the direction of the Sinn Fein continued to be made against the constituted authorities. Counter-raids were made upon Sinn Fein quarters, particularly in Dublin, by the Constabulary and troops. Sinn Fein raids, principally in County Cork, were made upon the farms of known sympathizers with the Home Rule bill, and cattle and produce were carried off or destroyed.

Meanwhile, the Irish Unionists, principally of Ulster, showed their antipathy toward the home rule plan as expounded by the Prime Minister, and their Executive Committee adopted a resolution on Jan. 8 declaring that he had placed a "dangerous weapon in the hands of the declared enemies of the empire."

Failing to gain the approbation of the Unionists for the scheme, the Govern-

ment promoters turned to the Irish Nationalists, who at the last elections were superseded in almost every seat by the Sinn Fein, practically leaving Ireland without representation in the House of Commons, as the Sinn Fein members declined to sit. John Dillon, ex-leader of Constitutional Irish Nationalism, was approached by the Blackrock Urban District Council, County Dublin, and replied in part as follows:

The military Government which has been placed in complete control of Ireland by the policy of Sinn Fein is determined, so far as its power goes, to make any constitutional movement in Ireland impossible, and to goad the people to acts of violence and folly and to crime in pursuance of a policy of providing plausible grounds for still further developments of military rule, and with a view to defeating any attempt to arrive at a rational and friendly settlement of the Irish question.

I am convinced more firmly than ever that the object aimed at by the Sinn Fein is unobtainable, and that the policy of the Sinn Fein leaders has been disastrous to

the Irish cause, and is bound, if persevered in, to lead to even greater disasters. To throw away, in the face of able and unscrupulous enemies, one of the most effective, if not the most effective weapon ever possessed by Ireland—an Independent United Party in the British House of Commons—and to declare war against the British Empire when Ireland had no means of carrying on that war in a civilized or decent fashion, was foolish in the extreme.

The results are already painfully evident, and if this policy be persevered in there can, in my judgment, be no doubt that it is bound to plunge the country deeper and deeper in chaos and disorder; play into the hands of the military party and all the bitterest enemies of the Irish people, and alienate from the cause of Irish nationality the sympathies of democratic nations throughout the world.

Holding these views as I do most strongly, I am unable to give any support to the Sinn Fein Party now in control of Irish Nationalist politics; and, on the other hand, in face of the last election and of the infamous character of the present Government in Ireland, I do not feel free at the present time to take any prominent part in any attempt to reorganize Ireland on constitutional lines.

The Home Rule Proposal

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, delivered his address on the Irish problem in the House of Commons on Dec. 22, 1919, at the time the Government measure for Irish Home Rule was introduced. He went at length into the whole Irish question and analyzed the proposal in detail. It is a historic utterance of much importance and for that reason it is given herewith in full:

MR. SPEAKER: I feel I have a task which is about as difficult as one as any Minister has ever been presented with to perform.

It is to attempt to compose an old family quarrel—a quarrel which has engendered many a time a bloody feud. It is difficult under any circumstances, but difficult indeed immediately after such a disgraceful outrage as was perpetrated recently in Dublin. [The unsuccessful attempt on Dec. 19 to assassinate General French, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.] An atmosphere charged with a reek of attempted assassination is not a favorable one in which to promote a measure of reconciliation.

The dastardly attack on a brave Irish soldier—who by his gallantry had added lustre to the renown of his race—is not merely one of the most cruel, it is one

of the most foolish incidents in the history of political crimes. Unfortunately, such incidents have happened before.

I recall the time when, in 1882 I think it was, Lord Cavendish had been sent over to Ireland with a message of peace and reconciliation, came that terrible crime at the mere memory of which we still shudder. The history of Ireland is full of untoward incidents. I am glad that the chiefs of the Catholic Church in Ireland have lost no time in denouncing in unmeasured language the outrage. Experience of the past has shown us that these murder societies which arise now and again are small and disreputable. They choose opportunities like this because they do not seek conciliation. They want to make reconciliation impossible, and to turn back when we had

started on the path would be to play into their hands.

It makes the task of statesmanship more difficult, but it also makes the test of statesmanship more real. On similar occasions in the past the British Parliament has declined to allow its judgment to be swept away even by honest indignation, and it would be to play the game of these miscreants to take any other course now. They fortunately missed the object of their crime. They inflicted a serious injury alone upon the interests of the country they were pretending to serve.

I should like to review shortly the present position with reference to self-government for Ireland. The first fact the House will take note of is that there is a Home Rule act on the statute book. Unless it is either postponed or repealed or altered, it comes automatically into operation when the war ceases. That is the first fact the House will take cognizance of. Legislation, therefore, is indispensable. We may be asked—"Why not allow it to come into operation?" I am afraid it is no answer to that question to say, "Because no one wants it." There is no section in Ireland that wants the act of 1914. That is not a sufficient answer, because, I am sorry to say, that I cannot think of any proposals that you can put forward from this court which would be in the least practicable or acceptable to British opinion at the present moment or which would have any chance of acceptance now in the present condition of Ireland.

We must get that fact right into our minds. Therefore we must take our responsibility and propose what we think is right, fair and just. Settlement will be found not in the enactment, but in the working. But there are two reasons why the Act of 1914 is inapplicable. The first is, it is not workable without fundamental alterations. That, I think, is acknowledged on all hands. The second is that when it was placed on the statute book its promoters gave an undertaking that it would not be brought into operation until an Act of Parliament had been carried dealing with the peculiar position of Ulster. That was a definite undertaking given with the assent of the Irish

Nationalist representatives. It was given by Mr. Asquith. Therefore we cannot contemplate allowing the Act of 1914 to come into operation without changes adapted to the changing conditions, and the changes which would deal with the case of Ulster, which has been recognized by the leaders of all parties in this house. Now, what is the problem we have to meet?

TWO BASIC FACTS

There are two basic facts which lie at the foundation of any structure you are going to build up in Ireland. The first is this, that three-quarters of the population of Ireland are not merely governed without their consent, but they manifest the bitterest hostility to the Government. That is the fact. It is the one country in Europe, except Russia, where the classes who elsewhere are on the side of law and order are out of sympathy with the machinery of the law. What makes this more serious is the fact that it is not due to material grievances. I remember when it used to be argued that if you improved social and economic conditions, if you got rid of agrarian trouble, improved housing, if you created a peasant proprietorship and built railways, constructed harbors, and did everything possible in order to make Ireland as prosperous as conditions would allow, all this objection to British rule would vanish. What has happened? Ireland has never been so prosperous as she is today.

Mr. J. Jones (Lab., Silvertown)—She has never been so national.

Prime Minister—The vast majority of the cultivators of Ireland are the possessors of their own soil. Houses and comfortable cottages for working men have been built at the expense of the British taxpayer.

Men who traveled through Ireland a generation ago and revisit that country would not know it today. It is completely transfigured. The fact remains that Ireland has never been so alienated from British rule as it is today. Therefore the grievance, such as it is, is not a material one. Irishmen claim the right to control their own domestic concerns without interference from Englishmen, Scotsmen or Welshmen. That is the fundamental fact. They have fought for it for hundreds of years. They have never held it so tenaciously as they do today. Now, what is the second fact? It is also a fundamental one—that there you have a considerable section of people of Ireland who are just as opposed to Irish rule as the

majority of Irishmen are to British rule. Both those facts must be taken into account—the first perhaps disagreeable to one body of members of the House; the second equally disagreeable perhaps to another body. It is not our business to seek for agreeable facts for anybody, but to seek for the facts, whether they are agreeable or otherwise. In the Northeast of Ireland you have a population—a fairly solid population; a homogeneous population—alien in race, alien in sympathy, alien in religion, alien in outlook, from the rest of the population of Ireland, and it would be an outrage upon the principle of self-government to place them under the rule of the remainder of the population.

In the northeast of Ireland, if that were done, you would inevitably alienate the best elements from the machinery of law and order. I do not say it would produce exactly the same results, but it would recreate exactly the same condition which you are trying to remedy in the south and west.

THE CASE OF ULSTER: TWO PRIESTS' VIEWS

This point is so important, and has been challenged on such a scale, and the case for it has been so little stated outside the United Kingdom, that I think it vital that I should dwell for a short time upon it. It is not because I attach less importance to it than I do to the first proposition; it is because the first proposition is accepted, outside. In the Dominions, in the United States of America, in European countries, the second has not been stated, and it is not known. I shall state it, not in my own words, but in two quotations from witnesses who certainly are not biased in favor of the northeastern part of Ireland. The first is a quotation from a very remarkable letter written in June, 1916, by Father O'Flanagan, a very able Irish Catholic priest. He, I believe, afterward became Vice President of Sinn Féin. I do not know whether he holds the position still, and no one can doubt at any rate that he is in sympathy with Nationalist claims in Ireland. This is what he says upon this particular subject:

"If we reject home rule rather than agree to the exclusion of the Unionist part of Ulster, what case have we to put before the world? We can point out that Ireland is an island with a definite geographical boundary. That argument might be all right if you were dealing with a number of island nationalities that had these definite geographical boundaries. Appealing as we are to Continental nations, with shifting boundaries, that argument can have no force whatever. National and geographical boundaries scarcely ever coincided. Geography would make one nation of Spain and Portugal. History has made two of them. Geography did its best to make one nation of Norway and Sweden; history has succeeded in making two of them.

Geography has scarcely anything to say upon the number of nations on the North American Continent; history has done the whole thing. If a man were to try to construct a political map of Europe out of its physical map he would find himself groping in the dark (well do we know that who attended the Peace Conference in Paris). Geography has worked hard to make one nation out of Ireland; history has worked against it. The island of Ireland and the national unit of Ireland simply do not coincide. In the last analysis the test of nationality is the wish of the people. A man who settles in America becomes an American by transferring his love and allegiance to the United States.

"The Unionists of Ulster have never transferred their love and allegiance to Ireland. They may be Irelanders, using a geographical term, but they are not Irishmen in the national sense. They love the hills of Antrim in the same way that we love the hills of Roscommon, but the centre of their political enthusiasm is London, whereas the centre of ours is Dublin. We claim the right to decide what is our nation. We refuse them the same right. We are putting ourselves before the world in the same light as the man in the Gospel who was forgiven ten thousand talents and proceeded to throttle his neighbor for one hundred pence. After three hundred years England has tired of compelling us to love her by force. We are anxious to start where England left off, and to compel Antrim and Down to love us by force."

That is a very remarkable letter. I quote it not merely because it is a forcible, pregnant, eloquent statement of the case, but because no man can say that that comes from the lips of a reviler of Ireland or one who has no sympathy with national and Catholic Ireland. I think I must trouble the House with one other short quotation, because it is so much better that this testimony should come from the lips of those whose right to speak on this subject cannot be challenged, and whose sentiments toward Ireland cannot be disputed even by the strongest Nationalist. Now I will give another quotation from another very able Irish priest, a professor of theology in Maynooth College—Father Macdonald:

"Were Ireland made a republic, fully independent of Great Britain, it seems to me that she would be bound to allow home rule for the northeast corner on the principles underlying our claim for home rule in the United Kingdom, which I regard as well-founded. The Protestants of Ulster differ from the majority of the race of the island, not only in religion, but in race, mentality, culture generally. They are at once homogeneous and heterogeneous—homogeneous in their districts and heterogeneous as compared with the rest of Ireland. A minority in Ireland, they are a majority in the northeast corner, and therefore, on the principles we have been advocating, are entitled to home rule."

TO FORCE UNION WOULD PROMOTE DISUNION

These two quotations state the case in favor of the treatment of Ulster. If they unite they must do it of their own accord. To force union is to promote disunion. There may be advantage in union. I do not deny that geographically the conditions are such as to make it desirable. There is an advantage in mingling races and religion so as to constitute a variety of ideas, so as to have a different outlook, and there is undoubtedly an advantage in having industry and agriculture working side by side in the same Parliament, but that is a matter for these populations themselves. Lord Durham attempted to force Quebec and Ontario—Lower and Upper Canada—into the same Parliament. That plan had to be abandoned. Separate Parliaments had to be given them; and it was only after that was done that federation became possible. Keeping them together would simply have created antagonism.

The third fundamental condition is that any arrangement by which Ireland could be severed from the United Kingdom, either nominally or in substance or effect, would be fatal to the interests of both. You have only to look at what happened in the late war to realize what would have happened if Ireland had been a separate unit. A hostile republic, or even an unfriendly one, might very well have been fatal to the cause of the Allies. The submarine trouble was difficult enough in all conscience. There were many moments when we were full of anxiety. Our experts were full of anxiety, not of fear, for they were men of great courage, but because they knew the difficulty. But if we had there a land, one whose harbors and inlets we had no control of, we might have had a situation full of peril, a situation which might very well have jeopardized the life of this country. The area of the submarine activity might have been extended beyond the limits of control. Britain and her allies might have been cut off from the Dominions and from the United States. We cannot run the risk of a possibility such as that, and it would be equally fatal to the interests of Ireland.

IRELAND'S BEST CUSTOMER

Irish trade interests are intertwined with those of Great Britain. Britain is Ireland's best customer. If Great Britain, with all its infinite resources, found it difficult to govern a hostile Ireland, I cannot see how Ireland could control a hostile northeast. There would be trouble; there would be mischief; there might be bloodshed; and then the whole black chapter of misunderstanding between Great Britain and Ireland would be rewritten all over again. We must not enter upon that course, whatever the cost; and I think it is right here, in the face of the demands put forward from Ireland with apparent authority, that any attempt at se-

cession will be fought with the same determination, with the same resources, with the same resolve, as the Northern States of America put into the fight with the Southern States. It is important that it should be known not merely throughout the world, but in Ireland itself.

Subject to these three conditions, we propose that self-government should be conferred upon the whole of Ireland. Our plan is based upon the recognition of these three fundamental facts: First, the importance of not severing Ireland from the United Kingdom; secondly, the opposition of Nationalist Ireland to British rule; thirdly, the opposition of the population of Ulster to Irish rule.

The first involves the recognition that Ireland must remain an integral part of the United Kingdom. The second involves the confirming of self-government of Ireland in all its domestic concerns. The third involves the setting up of two parliaments, and not one, in Ireland. That is the first proposal we recommend to Parliament. What, then, should be the two parliaments, two legislatures, set up in Ireland?

TWO PARLIAMENTS

I will deal first of all with the areas—one will be the Parliament of Southern Ireland and the other will be the Parliament of Northeastern Ireland. There are four alternative proposals which have been discussed with regard to boundaries. The first is that the whole of Ulster should form one unit, the other three provinces to form another unit. The objection to that is that this would leave large areas in which there is a predominant Catholic and Celtic population in deep sympathy with the southern population.

The second suggestion is county option. The objection to that is that it would leave solid communities of Protestants who are in complete sympathy with the northeastern section of Ireland outside under a Government to which they are rootedly hostile. It is sometimes impossible to avoid that, but it is desirable to avert it wherever practicable, and no boundary has ever been fixed in the United States of America or in the dominions by that process.

The third suggestion is that the six northeastern counties should form a unit. There is the same objection to that because there are solid Catholic communities in at least two of these counties which are co-terminous with the southern population, and it would be undesirable from the point of view of the northeastern province to attach them to the Ulster Parliament. The fourth suggestion is that we should ascertain what the homogeneous northeastern section is and constitute it into a separate area—take the six counties as a basis, and eliminate wherever practicable the Catholic counties, while including Protestant communities co-terminous with the Catholic counties, and produce

an area as homogeneous as it is possible to achieve under these circumstances.

I now come to two additional features in the Government proposals which differentiate them from the act of 1914 and even from the American precedent. The first is that we propose that every opportunity should be given to Irishmen, if they desire it, to establish union, but the decision must rest with them if they agree. It would require no act of the Imperial Parliament in order to enable them to accomplish it. But there are two proposals which we have got in mind to attain that object.

THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND

The first is that there should be constituted from the outset a Council of Ireland consisting of twenty representatives elected by each of the two Irish legislatures. This council would be given the powers of private bill legislation from the outset, but otherwise we propose to leave to the two Irish legislatures complete discretion to confer upon it any powers they choose within the range of their own authority. The council, therefore, will not only serve as an invaluable link between the two parts of Ireland—an assembly of the leaders of the North and South, wherever they may come together and discuss the affairs of their common country—but it constitutes the obvious agency upon which the two parliaments, without surrendering their own independence, may secure that certain common services which it is highly undesirable to divide can be administered jointly as a single Irish service.

The Government does not propose in the bill to lay down what services should be so controlled. It is proposed to leave this matter to be settled by the two Irish legislatures themselves by agreement. Nothing can be done except by agreement. For instance, take transportation, railways and canals. They are great trunk systems, which serve both areas. If the two Irish legislatures agree, they can leave the control to this National Irish Council. That is an illustration of the kind of subject which might very well be delegated by the two Irish legislatures to this council, which represents both and which can only be delegated by agreement. Now I come to the second proposal we have put forward, with a view to enabling Ireland to attain unity, if both sections desire it.

We propose to clothe the Irish legislatures with full constituent powers, so that they would be able, without reference to the Imperial Parliament and by identical legislation, to create a single Irish legislature, discharging all or any of the powers not specifically reserved to the Imperial Parliament. It would then rest with the Irish people themselves to determine whether they want union and how they want union. The British Parliament will have no further say in the matter. If the Irish elect or determine, they can return a majority to the Irish Parlia-

ment, even in the very first election, to bring about a union of the North and South.

The Government propose that certain additional taxing powers, which I shall refer to later, shall be handed over to the Irish Parliament as soon as the Irish Parliament agree to that. With regard to the Irish representation in this Parliament, we propose to adhere to the scheme of the act of 1914, that is, a reduction to the number of forty-two members for all purposes.

THE FEDERAL POWERS

I now come to the powers of these two legislatures. We propose to proceed on the basis of the act of 1914—that is, reserving Federal power to the Imperial Parliament and leaving the rest of the powers to the two legislatures. What I call the Federal or Imperial power, which is reserved for this Parliament, will include the Crown, peace and war, foreign affairs, army and navy defense, treason, trade outside Ireland, navigation including merchant shipping, wireless and cables, coinage, trade marks, lighthouses, higher judiciary, until an agreement is established by the two Parliaments as to how they are to be appointed.

Sir E. Carson (C. U., Duncairn)—When you say the higher judiciary do you mean there is to be a different judiciary for each parliamentary area?

Mr. Lloyd George—It is proposed that all the Judges should be appointed by the Imperial authorities until there is an agreement between the two Legislatures as to their appointment. I do not mean Magistrates.

Sir E. Carson—I am referring to the question of areas.

Mr. Lloyd George—With regard to the area the appointment will be made by the Imperial Parliament, and the Imperial Parliament will have to make arrangements as to the areas to which they will be allocated. These powers correspond to the powers preserved wherever there is a Federal Constitution, whether in America or on the Continent of Europe.

IRISH PARLIAMENT'S POWERS

The powers of the Irish Parliament will be very considerable. There will be full control over education, government land, all roads and bridges; transportation, including railways and canals; old age pensions, insurances—may I say that under the act of 1914 they were reserved for the Imperial Parliament—and municipal affairs, local judiciaries, hospitals, licenses, all the machinery for the maintenance of law and order, with the exception of the higher judiciary, of the army and navy, and housing.

Mr. A. Henderson (Lab., Widnes)—What is the position of the two Parliaments in regard to labor legislation?

Mr. Lloyd George—Labor is not a reserved power, and labor legislation will also be dealt with by the local Legislatures.

I come now to the question of constabulary. The Irish Legislature must be responsible for the maintenance of law and order. It would be idle to set up a Legislature in a country with administration that was not responsible for the administration of the law. It is the first duty of any Government. There is no provincial Legislature in the world which has not got this for one of its primary duties. If that duty is not discharged that Government has no right any longer to remain a Government. It is inconceivable that should happen. It is inconceivable that it should be tolerated, but no administration can undertake the responsibility of order unless the machinery of maintaining order is placed at its disposal. It is therefore proposed not to retain the control of the police in imperial hands beyond three years. The Government proposes to give security to all members of the police force and all Irish civil servants by making provision whereby their pension rights will be secured on Irish revenue in the event of their dismissal or resignation.

I now come to the Post Office. Under the act of 1914 that was an Irish service, but if Ireland is divided into two areas the administrative difficulties, we are advised, would be so serious that we have come to the conclusion it would be preferable to postpone the transfer of the Post Office to Irish control until such time as the two Parliaments unite in asking that it should be transferred to the control of the Council of Ireland or of any other common machinery they may set up. There will be a clause for the protection of the rights of minorities in Ireland.

Now I come to the all-important problem of finance. I think the best method of approach would be that I should take the proposals of 1914 as the basis of explanation. The act of 1914 transferred no existing taxes. There was no power to impose new taxes if any one could find them, but they must not be substantially the same in character as any imperial taxes. There was power to vary imperial taxes within limitations. Home rule administration was financed under that act by a lump sum taken out of the Imperial Exchequer. There was also a provision for a surplus. To deprive Ireland of the right of taxation, and to simply give her a sum of money equal to the cost of the service at that time, without any margin, was to start the Parliament bankrupt. There was a surplus of £500,000, which was reduced by £50,000 a year until it reached the figure of £200,000. I need hardly say that was obviously an inadequate figure, and one can say now that surplus was like the sand castles, which have disappeared.

IRISHMEN AND THE WAR

Since then we have had a great war, which has produced two-fold consequences which have altered the whole character of the problem. The first is that the national debt has

increased; and the second, that the cost of the whole of the services has doubled. Taxation and the value of money has depreciated. Under the act of 1914 there was no contribution toward the maintenance of the empire. That was a supreme injustice, especially under present conditions, to the taxpayers of Great Britain.

Irishmen throughout the world are bearing their share of the burdens of this great war. It was undertaken in order to emancipate a small Catholic nationality on the Continent of Europe, and it has achieved emancipation for several other Catholic nationalities. Irishmen of the United States are bearing their burdens in consequence of the wars—also in Canada, in Australia, and in Great Britain. I am sure Irishmen should be ashamed not to pay their share of the burden so much in sympathy with their ideals.

How is that to be ascertained? There are two alternative methods of arriving at the contribution to imperial taxation and the sum available for Irish loyal services. The first was that of the 1914 act, which was to transfer a lump sum equal to the cost of the services. It has its advantages, but there are conspicuous disadvantages, to which at the present moment great weight must be attached. In the first years, before Ireland has felt her way and expressed her contentment with this experiment, it must be remembered that the machinery for the enforcement of the law will be in the hands of Irishmen—the machinery for the enforcement of law against those who do not pay the duties or taxes. The Government, therefore, suggests another method, which will give the Irish Government the whole advantage of the duties and taxes raised in Ireland in excess of a fair contribution to the imperial service. Commission after commission has been appointed to ascertain what a fair contribution is.

FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

It is quite obvious that no fair apportionment is possible as long as the expenditure is abnormal. Therefore we propose to take the present yield of existing taxes as the basis, and for a short period of two years to assume that a fair contribution shall be the amount contributed after deduction of local services. In the year 1919-20 there will be, in addition to that, a free gift in order to finance the Irish Parliament, or rather to give it a margin for development and improvement.

I think the best plan will be to give the actual figures by way of illustration. The total estimated revenue for 1920 derived from Ireland is £41,430,000. Local services, including old age pensions and insurance, come out at £12,750,000. Reserve services, including police, Post Office, and Revenue Department, bring that up to £19,550,000. Now the House of Commons has incurred additional liabilities during this session. One of them was incurred on Friday last, and the others are

in respect of local loans in Ireland, old age pensions, education, housing, and health insurance. Then there is another item which the House must take into account. Under the Irish Land Purchase act agreements have already been entered into which, in the aggregate, amount to £1,701,000,000 to £1,702,000,000. It is an imperial obligation which the Government has undertaken to put through on terms very favorable to the Irish tenants, but which, under present conditions, is extraordinarily unfair to the Exchequer. That will cost another £500,000, which brings the total of Irish expenditure up to £23,500,000. If you deduct that from the total revenue of £41,500,000 that will leave a contribution of £18,000,000 toward imperial expenditure.

This is the amount which at the present moment, taking all these things into account, the Treasury derives out of Ireland, and which can be applied to the cost of the national debt, the army and navy, to trade, the running of the machinery, and war pensions. Before the end of the two years' period a Joint Exchange Board will settle a fair contribution for the future, having regard to the relative taxable capacity of North and South Ireland and the United Kingdom. In the south it will hold for five years. The Joint Exchequer Board will consist of an equal number of representatives from the United Kingdom and the two Irish Parliaments, with an independent Chairman. This method does justice to the two Governments in Ireland. It is based upon the taxable capacity. There are means of revision. There is room for economy in local services.

BRITISH FINANCIAL AID

Now I come to the surplus, which we propose to recommend to the House of Commons should be placed at the disposal of the two Irish Parliaments for the purpose of improvement and development in Ireland. No doubt there are many services which stand greatly in need of it. There are education, payment of teachers, and pensions. No doubt public opinion in Ireland expects that a sum of money should be spent in industrial, economical, and agricultural development.

I think it is desirable that the Imperial Parliament, having regard to the past of Ireland, for which we are largely responsible in this country, should deal generously with the two Irish Legislatures, so that they should not start with crippled finances. I believe to this end it would be wise expenditure for Great Britain if we could achieve contentment in Ireland by this process. We propose, first of all, to deal with the initial expenditure which the two Parliaments must necessarily incur before they can set things going. The North of Ireland will need new buildings. It is proposed that there should be a grant to each Government of a single sum of one million pounds to cover the initial expenses of setting up the machinery of government within the two areas, but there

ought also to be a provision of a permanent character, and the Government have proposed to provide this sum out of the land annuities in Ireland. These annuities at present amount to three million per annum.

In the southern part of Ireland it reaches a figure of £2,440,000, and in the northern part £560,000. When the agreed purchases have been completed there will be another £600,000, but I am not in a position to make an apportionment between the North and the South of the figure. The proposal of the Government is that these annuities shall be handed to the Irish Governments as free gifts for the purpose of development and improvement in Ireland, that these Governments shall collect these annuities themselves and retain them, and that the Imperial Government should undertake the burden which is now cast upon it of paying interest on the redemption of stock.

The next point in the scheme of finance is the taxation proposals. Under the act of 1914 there were no taxation proposals. It is proposed that each Irish Parliament should have a taxing power, broadly speaking, equivalent to that of the State Legislatures of the United States of America. The power of taxation is, of course, limited. The revenue distributed and collected by the Irish Legislatures under this scheme will consist of land annuities, death duties, stamps, entertainment taxes, licensing duties, and any new taxes that ingenuity can devise.

The resources altogether would on the 1920 basis amount to £6,250,000 per annum for the whole of Ireland. The three great taxes—Income tax, including excess profits and super-tax, customs, and excise—would be levied and collected imperially. I will give you quite shortly the considerations which have determined our Government in this respect. The first is that the Imperial Government must have substantial guarantee for the payments and contributions; the second, the uncertainty and difficulty of collecting these taxes, except by the machinery common to the whole of the United Kingdom.

INCOME TAX AND CUSTOMS

If income tax in Ireland were transferred to the Irish Legislature no one would suffer more than Ireland herself, but the Irish Parliaments may levy a surcharge by way of additional income tax. That corresponds to the power which is given to the State in America. I say quite frankly it is rarely exercised. The Irish Parliaments may give abatement out of the surplus at their disposal. Now, I come to customs. The Government proposed to follow the course which I believe is pursued in every Federal Constitution in the world. This is not merely a question of customs, but of barriers between the North and the South, of trade, industry, commerce, and considerations which might promote friction between North and South and between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom.

When Ireland is united it will be open to the Imperial Parliament to review the situation and consider whether it would be possible to give the customs to a United Irish Parliament. We are of opinion that in a divided Ireland it would be quite impracticable to set up customs barriers between North and South. With regard to the excise, we should have been glad if it had been possible to give the power of levying excise duties to these two Legislatures, because obviously you are ruling out a considerable source of revenue by not transferring it to the Irish administration. There is the same difficulty here if you give excise duties to the two Legislatures. It would involve customs barriers between North and South, and, certainly until union is achieved between North and South it would be undesirable and impracticable to give power with regard to the excise to either of the two Legislatures.

However, the position is this: The Irish Government will receive and retain the whole of the proceeds of all taxes levied by itself, the whole of the surplus proceeds of all taxes and duties levied by the Imperial Government in its territories, after deducting a fair contribution toward imperial expenditure. In addition, a million will be over for establishment expenses to each of the two Legislatures; and lastly, there will be a free gift of the annuities, resulting from the land already sold to tenants. Those are the outlines of the proposals which the Government intends to embody in a bill, and to submit for the consideration of Parliament at the earliest opportunity.

FOR FAIR CONSIDERATION

I would appeal not only to the House of Commons, but to Irishmen and to all concerned in this problem to give these proposals fair consideration. This is not the time to waste on recriminations. I am not sure that they are ever useful; in fact, I am sure that they are not. They do not contribute to the settlement of any problem, and they hinder and embarrass the settlement of every problem. There have been plenty of mistakes on both sides. One would imagine, listening to one side of the story, that all the mistakes had been on the other. It is not true. No race or country attempting to govern another has ever succeeded in doing it without a long array of blunders, and we are constantly taunted with these mistakes, up to this hour. I am not concerned to deny the charge. Have there been no mistakes on the other side? Has Irish leadership always been blameless? I do not want to enter even into recent debates. There have been mistakes, there have been follies, there have been crimes on both sides, and we want the chapter to be closed forever. The question is not who is to blame, but how are we to set it right, and that is not easy to answer.

The worst of it is that, looking around, I find no section that can accept anything except the impossible. There is no section in

Ireland which would stand up and say, "We accept this or we accept that," except something you cannot put through. Under those circumstances the British Parliament must accept the responsibility, offering what wisdom and justice it contains, and trusting to the working of those two attributes to win acceptance and success at the end in solving the problem. It is important that both countries should realize thoroughly the limitations of acceptance. What is our limitation? Unless Irishmen in Ireland have real control of their purely domestic affairs it is idle to proceed. Shams exasperate, they provoke. Despair is the mother of disorder. On the other hand, let it be made clear that Britain cannot accept separation. It would be fatal to the security of these islands. It might be fatal to this country, and this is no time to imagine, when we have the memories of the late war, that Britain can be compelled by force to concede anything which is either unjust to her own people or to any one else—anything which would be fatal to her own life and security. A man that could imagine that Britain can be forced cannot have read the story of the last five years.

There are many who say, and I must say with some appearance of reason and sense, "Is this the time to propose such a thing?" My answer is, "There never has been, there never will be a perfectly acceptable time." Read the history of the two countries. There is a fatality which makes them eternally at cross purposes. Sometimes Ireland demands too much; sometimes, when Ireland has been reasonable, England has offered too little. Sometimes, when Ireland was friendly, England has been sullen; sometimes, when England has been friendly, Ireland has been angry; and sometimes, when both Britain and Ireland seem to be approximating toward friendship, an untoward incident sweeps them apart, and the quarrel begins again.

So the fitting time has never been, and never will be. But it is always the right time to do the right things, and Britain can afford now, more than ever and better than ever, to take the initiative, for this is not the time when any one can suspect Britain of conceding this through fear. The land that destroyed the greatest military empire in the world, largely through its own power, no one can taunt with quailing before a band of wretched assassins. The world will know, if we pursue this course, that we enter upon it prompted by that deep sense of justice which has sustained this land through these years of suffering.

Sir Donald Maclean (L., Southern Midlothian and Peebles) said he welcomed most warmly the fact that throughout the speech of the Prime Minister there was an entire absence of any proposal of further coercion of Ireland. For four or five years there had been in Ireland nothing but a series of ghastly blunders on the part of the Executive in Ireland. When the Irish Convention

met in March, 1918, by common consent, there had never been a greater agreement among differing men on this question.

Sir E. Carson—There was no agreement at all.

Sir D. Maclean—I do not mean any formal agreement, but I will not press it, because my right honorable friend speaks from knowledge.

Prime Minister—I am sorry I must meet that. As a matter of fact, the report was carried by a minority of the convention, not by a minority of those who voted. The members from Ulster would not accept the report, the Sinn Feiners would not accept it, Mr. William O'Brien would not accept it, Mr. Devlin would not accept it, the Catholic Bishops did not accept it, and now, what is the good of pretending that there was any agreement? If there was any agreement at all, it was in rejecting the report.

Sir D. Maclean said at the end of the convention there was a larger amount of friendly interchanged opinion than had ever happened previously in regard to Ireland. The outcome of the Irish Convention was most disappointing, and when conscription was introduced the mischief done was very great—a complete change taking place in the political atmosphere of Ireland—and the friends of Ireland threw up their hands in despair. The position in which they found themselves today was one of extreme complexity and difficulty. So far as he was concerned, any influence or efforts which he could exercise to press forward even a step along the road would not be lacking. The times were too serious for party recrimination. No true friend of Ireland or of England desired for one moment but that this running sore should be closed and a fresh start made. The proposals of the Government did not go far enough. If they were to be useful at all, they must be a broad, generous, noble gift which these proud people could accept. He hoped no more repressive measures would be attempted. They solved the difficulties of South Africa by a broad policy, and he urged that by a similar open-handed policy they might solve that in Ireland.

CARSON MAKES A STATEMENT

Sir E. Carson (C. U., Belfast, Duncairn) said he had completely failed to grasp what it was Sir Donald Maclean wanted. He had spent his whole life in fighting this question. The real reason why the attempts to conciliate Ireland had failed was that Irishmen themselves, out of hatred of England, had refused to take part in the government of their country under the Imperial Parliament. He was as firmly convinced as ever that a united Parliament was still the best solution of this question for Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the Empire. They would make a great mistake in the face of foreign nations if they proceeded in this matter as though Ireland had no political liberty or freedom at all.

Having lived through the history of three

previous Home Rule bills, he was not going to pronounce an opinion on the present proposal until he saw it in print. He would not even go to Ulster until two things happened, one being to see the bill in print and the other being that he was assured by the Prime Minister that he meant to go through with the bill to the end. Nothing could be more damaging than that, after recommending certain proposals to be embodied in a bill, the bill should be afterward abandoned. The admission of Ulster as a separate unity was, he admitted, a great advance toward a settlement. The North of Ireland was as different from the South as it was possible to imagine. He appealed to the Government to keep Ulster under the British Parliament, or at any rate to leave over the question of a separate Parliament for Ulster until the whole devolution problem came up for consideration. Why put Ulster under a separate Parliament which she had never demanded and did not want? It was not his object to turn down the Government proposals. When he saw the bill and received the necessary assurances he would go over to Ulster and take counsel with those with whom he acted. He thought they might take it for granted that Sinn Fein would have nothing to do with the bill. If afterward the Sinn Feiners captured the Irish Parliament, was it not likely that the first thing they would do would be to proclaim a republic in Ireland for the whole of Ireland? Being in the position of a Government they would be able to resort to arms under a pretext, and was it not likely that they would immediately proceed to try and annex Ulster? Or the Sinn Fein Party might refuse to take any part in an Irish Parliament, and they might thus have no Parliament there to function. He maintained that it would be better to keep Northeast Ireland under the present Parliament. What his followers would determine he could not say, but he would advise them with full reason and the fullest courage.

Mr. A. Henderson said that in regard to this question more delay meant more danger. He thought Sir E. Carson was unnecessarily gloomy in some of his anticipations. He thought the Government scheme conflicted with sincere aspirations of the great majority of the Irish people for self-government. At best it could only be regarded as a half-hearted, unsatisfying compromise. The Government might have produced a scheme of what was usually described as Dominion Home Rule, minus the army and navy, but giving to the respective counties what was known as a county option. Another course which he would have preferred to see followed was to see an Irish Parliament summoned under the late act, leaving that Parliament to work out its own constitution. The present proposals would be regarded in many parts of Ireland as a triumph for the dictatorship of the minority.

MAJOR GEN. LEONARD WOOD



Long-time friend of Colonel Roosevelt, now Army Department Commander and prominently in the public eye and thought

(Helm Studio)

SAMUEL L. ROGERS



Director General of Fourteenth Decennial Census, which was taken
throughout the United States in January, 1920

C. Harris & Ewing

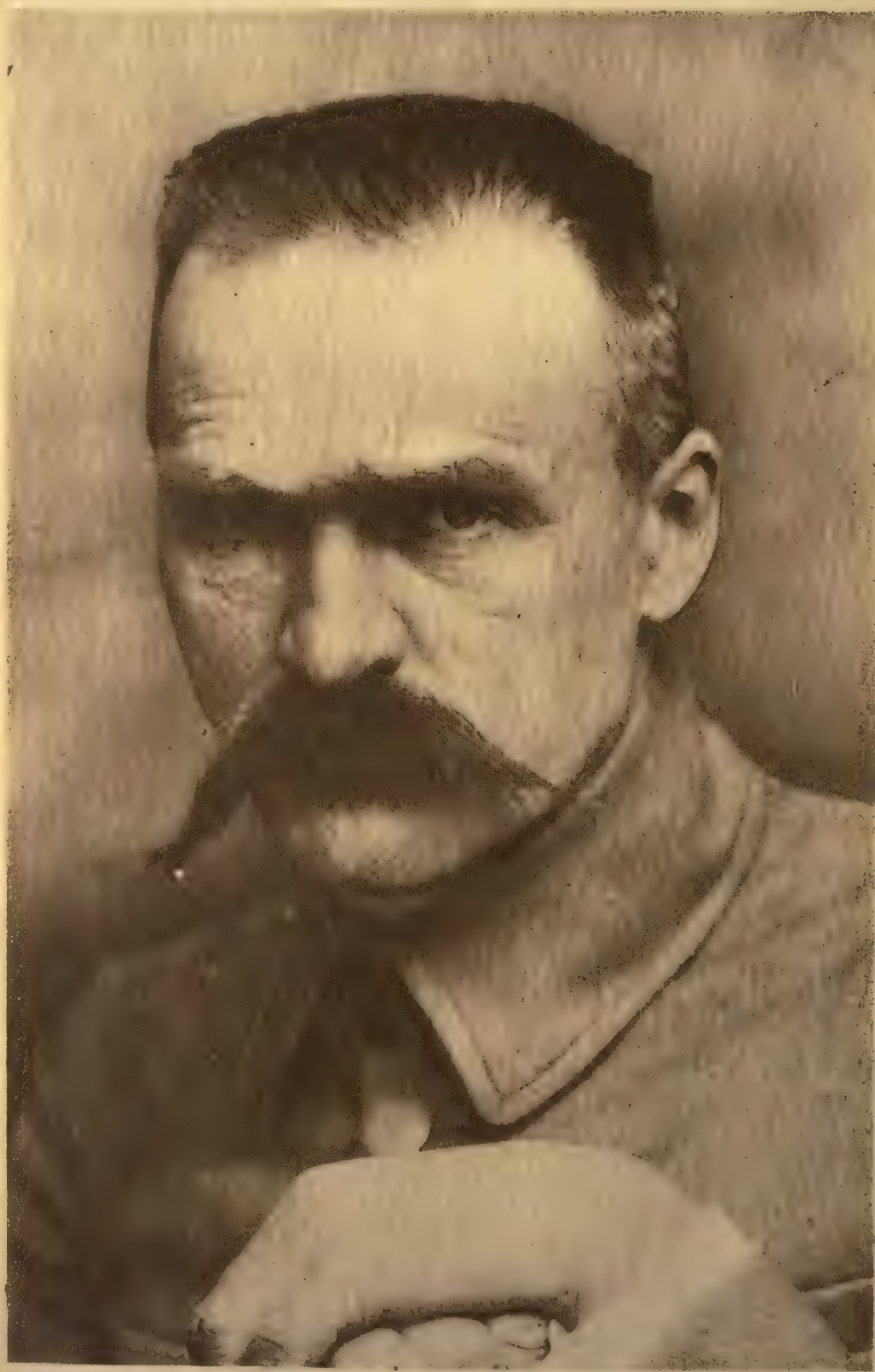
WALKER D. HINES



Director General of Railroads, who has the task of arranging details
for return of lines to private owners

(© Harris & Ewing)

- GENERAL JOSEPH PILSUDSKY



Provisional President of Poland, again dominant in Polish affairs
since Paderewski's retirement as Premier

(Underwood & Underwood)

KING BORIS III.



Young ruler of Bulgaria, who succeeded to the throne after the abdication of his father, Ferdinand, on Oct. 4, 1918

ALBERT B. CUMMINS



Congressman from Iowa and author of Cummins bill for
operation of railways by corporations

JOHN J. ESCH



Congressman from Wisconsin and joint sponsor with Mr.
Cummins for the railway bill

COMMISSION APPOINTED TO ADJUST THE COAL MINE CONTROVERSY



The three members of the coal commission appointed by President Wilson. Left to right they are: James P. White, Henry M. Robinson, Rembrandt Peale

(© Harris & Ewing)

FRIEDRICH EBERT, PRESIDENT OF GERMANY, WITH HIS FAMILY



President Ebert (fifth figure from the left) and his family. Though Herr Ebert began as a saddler, he was a political leader for years before he became President

(© International)

U. S. TRANSPORT BUFORD WITH FIRST CARGO OF DEPORTED REDS



The Buford, popularly dubbed the "Soviet Ark," leaving New York Dec. 21, 1919, with 249 alien anarchists deported to Russia. Inset portrait: Anthony Caminetti, Director General of Bureau of Immigration

(C) International and Harris & Ewing

DORPAT CONFERENCE, WHERE ESTHONIA MADE PEACE WITH RUSSIA



Seated, left to right: Delegates from Latvia; military representative of Poland; Dr. Antone Piip, Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs; delegate from Lithuania; Maxim Litvinov, head of Soviet Russian delegation (full face view); one of the other two is his secretary

(© International)

RUSSIAN MOTHER MOURNING HER SLAIN BOLSHEVIST SONS



Scene on Siberian front showing a mother crying for vengeance on the executioners of her two sons, one of whom lies before her, the other in the trench pit to the right
(of International)

ARMENIAN CITY OFFICIALS GREETING GENERAL HARBORD



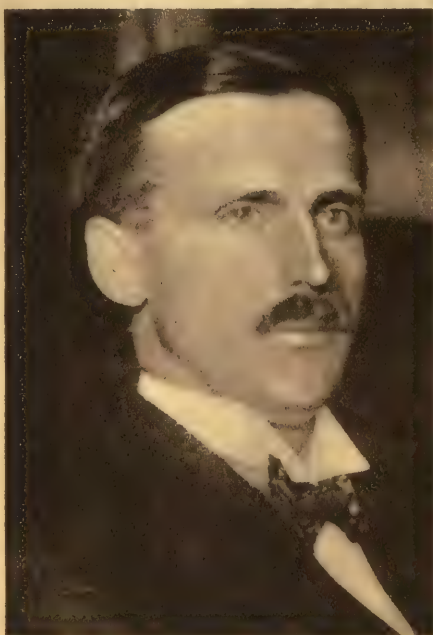
Major Gen. James G. Harbord, head of the mission in Turkey to study the question of an American mandate over Armenia, welcomed by city officials outside the gates
(© Kadet de Herbert)

TURKISH STUDENTS PROTESTING AGAINST ALLIED PEACE TERMS



One of many Turkish protests. The large banner reads: "We want to live. Nations will not die and cannot be killed."
The smaller one says: "We want justice: 2,000,000 Turks cannot be sacrificed for 200,000 Greeks"

PROMINENT EUROPEAN MINISTERS



STEPHEN FRIEDRICH
former Hungarian Premier,
now War Minister



VITTORIO SCIALOJA
Italian Foreign Minister
and Peace Delegate



M. J. POSKA
ex-Foreign Minister of Esthonia,
Dorpat Peace Delegate



COUNT ALBERT APPONYI
Hungarian Peace Delegate
at Paris

MONUMENT TO ALLIED DEAD IN SWITZERLAND



Beautiful memorial erected at Clarens-Montreux in honor of allied soldiers who died while interned in the Swiss Republic

(© International)

AMERICAN SOLDIERS AT COBLENZ



Members of our army of occupation grouped on the mammoth statue
of William I. which overlooks the Rhine and Moselle

(Times Wid. World Photos)

American Aftermath of the War

Progress in Readjusting Our Military and Economic Systems to a Peace Basis

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1920]

THE end of American participation in the war, in a military sense, may be said to have been marked by the final withdrawal of the American Expeditionary Forces from French soil on Jan. 9, when Brig. Gen. Connor and about 300 officers and men left Paris for the United States. There remain, it is true, some thousands of American volunteers who are serving as an army of occupation on the Rhine, but neither in personnel nor in organization are these a part of the A. E. F. that made history in 1918.

The draft army that was raised so swiftly and trained so rapidly is a thing of the past, and the United States military establishment in its transition form is again a volunteer creation. In the last eight months of 1919 the regular army—according to figures made public in Washington on Jan. 6—obtained 159,843 recruits. Those enlisting for one year numbered 79,978 white and 5,981 colored, while the number enlisting for three years was 69,854 white and 4,030 colored.

The total enlisting for service in the infantry was 58,203, or only 36.4 per cent. of the total needed. In other branches the proportion was much lower.

Revised figures furnished by the War Department Dec. 29 show that the American flying forces abroad sustained 583 casualties during the war. The figures show the number of casualties among the aviators in each branch of the air service and also among American fliers serving with the allied armies. The figures include the killed and injured in flying accidents at the aerodromes in the zone of advance. The casualties were distributed as follows:

American Armies.	Number.	Per Cent.
Pursuit pilots	184	31
Observers	150	26
Observation pilots	105	18
Bombing pilots	48	8
Balloon fliers	4	1
Total with A. E. F.	491	84
With British	64	11
With French	25	4
With Italian	3	1
Total	583	

Of the 583 casualties 36 per cent. consisted of deaths in combat, while 11 per cent. occurred at aerodromes. The record in this respect follows:

	Number.	Per Cent.
Killed in combat	208	36
Prisoners	145	25
Wounded in action	132	22
Killed in action	41	7
Missing in action	29	5
Injured in accident	25	4
Interned	3	1
Total	583	

ARMY REORGANIZATION BILLS

Sub-committees of the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs have reached a decision on the tentative Army Reorganization bills to be placed before their respective committees. The chief point of difference between the legislation proposed by the two houses is that the Senate measure provides for universal military service, while the House bill rejects it.

The legislation agreed on by the Senate sub-committee has protection from outside attack as its primary purpose and provides for compulsory military training for youths from 18 to 21 years of age as a leading feature. In its tentative form the bill calls for a standing

army of 280,000. A reserve or citizens' army is also provided, of which the National Guard would be a part. "While the bill will provide for compulsory military training," Senator Wadsworth said, "there will be no provision made for compulsory military service."

The House bill in tentative form provides for an army of not more than 318,000 officers and men, as against the 575,000 recommended by the War Department, and the War Department estimates will be cut to \$600,000,000, a decrease of \$382,800,000.

REMOVAL OF OUR DEAD

It was reported from Paris on Jan. 3 that the French Government had granted permission for the removal to the United States of the bodies of 20,000 American soldiers buried in France. It is understood that the policy of the American Government will be to remove only those bodies requested by relatives of the dead soldiers. These 20,000 bodies are scattered in 600 cemeteries, the two largest of which are at Brest, where there are about 5,500 graves of men who died of influenza at Brest and on transports. Other large cemeteries outside the army zone are at Bordeaux, Nantes, St. Nazaire, Tours, Le Mans, and other service of supply centres.

It will probably be a year before the removal of these bodies begins, as the plan is first to remove to the United States the bodies of about 1,000 American soldiers buried in Germany, about 200 of whom died in prison camps. The remainder died while serving with the Army of Occupation. There are 500 American graves in Coblenz alone.

Seventy-six Americans are buried in Italy, two in Holland and a few in Austria. The American dead in England will be removed before the work in the French cemeteries begins. Civil employes, many of them veterans of the war, will aid in the work. One company has already arrived in England, where metal caskets to receive the bodies are now being sent from the United States. The work there, it is expected, will probably be finished by next Fall, when a start will be made on the exhumations in Germany.

Negotiations between the French and American Governments over the removal of American dead from the big military cemetery at the front are continued, but it is thought probable, if this is agreed upon, that two years will elapse before the task is undertaken.

FRENCH PURCHASES OF ARMY GOODS

Brig. Gen. W. D. Connor, Chief of Staff of the American Department of Supply, stated on Jan. 4 that almost \$800,000,000 had been realized from the sale of American army stock remaining in France after the departure of American troops for home. General Connor said he had estimated the value of the stocks at \$1,700,000,000, and declared it would have cost \$75,000,000 to take them back to America. The United States, therefore, received a little less than 50 cents on the dollar for the supplies that were sold.

The selling of army stocks was the best thing the American Government could do, the General declared. Had they been retailed in various countries great loss would have been entailed, as the expense would have been heavy. France paid \$400,000,000 for stocks it took over, while other allies and smaller nations purchased supplies for \$360,000,000. As an offset against the stocks bought by France, that country undertook to pay damage claims amounting to nearly 1,000,000 francs as a result of American operations in training areas. When the American army went to France it was agreed that farms and buildings used by it in training would be left in the same condition as found. Miles of trenches were dug and buildings were demolished, and American forces were rushed into Germany before the land could be restored to its former condition.

General Connor again emphatically refuted the old story that the French made the American army pay for the trenches it occupied in France. "The whole truth," he said, "is that the American army has not paid a cent for any ground used or for anything destroyed at the front."

WAR RISK INSURANCE

In a Washington report of the conference between delegates of the American Legion and officials of the War Risk Insurance Bureau regarding claims of disabled service men the statement was attributed to R. G. Cholmeley-Jones that "only 23,400 of the 324,900 claims for compensation for disability filed with the War Risk Bureau up to Dec. 15 had been settled definitely." Mr. Cholmeley-Jones, in correcting this statement, said: "As a matter of fact, up to Dec. 12, 1919, out of 327,275 compensation claims received 241,822 had been definitely settled, including awards and disallowances. There remain pending, all told, 85,453 cases."

The House bill increasing war risk insurance allowances of American soldiers, sailors, and marines disabled in the war was passed Dec. 19 by the Senate with amendments requested by the American Legion. The House was expected to accept the Senate amendments.

The measure known as the Sweet bill was passed by the Senate in less than five minutes and without a record vote. It provides for additional payments to war risk beneficiaries of about \$80,000,000 annually, and the War Risk Insurance Bureau was authorized to make December payments on the increased basis. The bill also provides simplified administration of the war risk insurance plan and modifies requirements as to proof of disability.

THE NAVAL CONTROVERSY

A sharp division of opinion among navy men as to the conferring of decorations was revealed on Dec. 23 when a letter of Admiral W. S. Sims to Secretary Daniels was published in which the Admiral refused to accept a Distinguished Service Medal. He complained that his recommendations as commander of the fleet overseas were not followed, mentioning particularly the work of his staff.

Among other things the Admiral asserted that "the commanding officer of a vessel that is sunk by a submarine should not receive the same reward as the commanding officer of a vessel which

sinks a submarine." This was apparently a reference to the action of Secretary Daniels in awarding a Distinguished Service Medal to Commander David W. Bagley, brother-in-law of Mr. Daniels, who was in command of the destroyer Jacob Jones when she was sunk by a German submarine.

Secretary Daniels gave out the Admiral's letter Dec. 23, together with a reply which was in the form of a letter to Senator Page, Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee. The Secretary's statement put the controversy in the form of the old navy dispute over the relative value of sea duty and shore duty. Secretary Daniels declared that first place had been given to men in sea duty and in contact with the enemy. In the case of ships sunk by submarines the commander got the higher award where his conduct was meritorious.

Captain Raymond Hasbrouck, commander of the Minnesota, confirmed the report that he had declined to accept the Navy Cross awarded him by the Navy Department. He said that he "thoroughly concurred" in the views of Admiral Sims. Captain Hasbrouck was in command of the transport Covington when she was sunk on July 1, 1918, returning to the United States after having landed troops in Europe. Six men lost their lives.

SECRETARY DANIELS'S STATEMENT

It became evident before the end of the Christmas holidays that Congress would take up the naval controversy and make a sweeping investigation not only of the awards, but of the whole policy of the department. Members of both of the naval committees were determined to conduct such an investigation. Secretary Daniels asserted on Dec. 24 that he welcomed any investigation that Congress might wish to make in the matter, and that he, as well as the records and officers of the navy, would be at the service of any Congressional investigating body. He expressed regret that the "glory of the achievements of the navy in the world war were being spoiled by petty rivalries of some officers over decorations."

Secretary Daniels stated that some 4,000 officers and men of the navy had been recommended by officers from Admiral down for D. S. M.'s or naval crosses. He stated that every recommendation that had been received, including those that had been submitted by Admiral Sims, had been submitted to the board of which Rear Admiral Austin M. Knight, former President of the Naval War College, now a retired officer, is Chairman. This board went over the records and made certain recommendations. The Knight board's recommendations were followed in some instances by Secretary Daniels and were rejected or modified in others. Mr. Daniels said that the net result of the recommendations of the board and the action of himself upon those recommendations was the decision so far to award naval crosses to about 1,400 officers and men and Distinguished Service Medals to about 120 officers.

ADMIRAL DECKER'S RECALL

Secretary Daniels announced on Dec. 31 that Rear Admiral Benton C. Decker, who declined a Navy Cross awarded him for services as Naval Attaché in Madrid during the war, was withdrawn from his post for insubordination to Joseph E. Willard, Ambassador to Spain. In declining the Naval Cross Rear Admiral Decker had declared in a letter to Secretary Daniels his belief that his services had had the effect of keeping Spain out of the war, and that a Naval Cross was not commensurate with the services he had rendered.

Rear Admiral Decker also said that he thought his services at Madrid were superior to those of any dreadnought commander or any officer of the navy who served on shore. Secretary Daniels took issue with this statement.

"I did not consider that Admiral Decker's services were greater than those of any dreadnought," said Mr. Daniels. "Nor do I think his services were superior to those of Admiral Benson or Admiral Sims, both of whom served on shore duty of a most important character during the war." He added that, while he had no doubt that Rear Admiral Decker had tried to serve his country

at Madrid according to the dictates of his patriotism, it was his view that the officer made a mistake when he disagreed with Ambassador Willard.

ADMIRAL SIMS'S TESTIMONY

The whole naval controversy was taken up by Congress for investigation early in the new year. Admiral Sims, head of the Navy War College and formerly in command of the American naval forces in European waters, asserted on Jan. 16 before the Senate Naval Affairs Subcommittee that the morale of the navy had been "shot to pieces" because of "flagrant injustices" in conferring decorations on naval officers. The Admiral resented the action of Secretary Daniels and the Knight Board in revising recommendations as to decorations submitted by himself. Recommendations inserted by Secretary Daniels, including one for his brother-in-law, Commander David Worth Bagley, who lost the destroyer he commanded in a fight with a submarine, had been greeted with ridicule throughout the navy, Admiral Sims asserted.

"When such recommendations were made regardless of my explanations that they would injure the morale of the service, and when a man of my forty-five years' experience and association with naval officers states that will be the effect, you can imagine why the morale of the navy has been shot to pieces, and why there is no navy left," Admiral Sims said heatedly.

He contended that the officers immediately in command should make recommendations for awards. They alone were in a position to appreciate fully the relative merits of heroic actions, he insisted.

As these pages were going to press the naval investigation was widening into more sensational aspects, which will be recorded in the March CURRENT HISTORY.

TRIBUTE TO OUR SAILORS

"A sum of £6,000," Secretary Daniels announced on Jan. 6, "has been allocated to the American people from the fund recently raised by popular subscription in Great Britain to perpetuate the memory of the Dover patrol and the part it

played in safeguarding the English Channel during the war. Acceptance of the generous offer by the Navy Department has been forwarded through the State Department."

The memorial will take the form of a large monolith, erected near the entrance of New York Harbor in plain view of incoming and outgoing vessels.

"The offer was made to the American Ambassador to Great Britain," Secretary Daniels's statement continued. "A committee, headed by the Lord Mayor of Dover, called on him and made a formal tender of the sum with no restriction as to the use to be made of it. The memorial there to the Dover patrol will take the form of monuments erected at Dover and Calais, respectively, as a tribute to the English and French forces.

"The work of this famous patrol was the chief factor in making the Channel the graveyard of so many U-boats and in keeping the stream of troops and supplies moving from England to France. The important part played by the American forces in this was the work of the naval air force, which from Dunkirk and Killingholme did its share of the patrol work in all sorts of weather, hourly on the lookout for the elusive submarines."

NAVAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Admiral Koontz, Chief of Operations,

recommended to the House Naval Committee on Jan. 15 a naval force of 638 ships as compared to 231 in 1916. Appropriations for 1921 were estimated at \$573,000,000, as compared with \$613,000,000 in 1920.

The navy still has 261 vessels to sell, Admiral Koontz said, mostly submarine chasers, but including several pre-dreadnought battleships, old cruisers, gunboats and monitors, in order to get down to the strength estimated to be necessary. A general "housecleaning" of ships of doubtful military value is in progress, he added, the force to be retained including 17 dreadnoughts, 13 pre-dreadnoughts, 8 armored cruisers, 18 cruisers, 14 gunboats, 299 destroyers, 141 submarines, 11 destroyers' tenders, 55 Eagle boats, 36 minesweepers, 2 minelayers, 5 submarine tenders, 4 hospital ships, 3 fleet repair ships and a number of auxiliary vessels.

To keep this force at sea or ready to go, with only 65 per cent. complements, would require 91,000 men, Admiral Koontz said. Great efforts are now required to keep going on less than half complements for all ships, he added.

"There are ships that on paper are part of the Pacific fleet that are still on the Atlantic coast because we simply cannot get men enough to send them to sea," Admiral Koontz said, adding that the navy was unable to bid against the Shipping Board and private companies.

American Chair in British Universities

THE principal educational proposal of the British program for the tercentenary celebration of the Mayflower and Pilgrim Fathers, in response to an appeal of the Anglo-American Society, was the foundation and endowment on a basis of \$100,000 of a chair in American history, literature, and institutions in order to promote such studies in all the British universities.

This endowment was offered by Sir George Watson on Dec. 5 and will be named for the donor, despite the latter's suggestion that it should bear the name of the Prince of Wales. In a letter conveying the offer to the Duke of Connaught as President of the Anglo-

American Society Sir George Watson characterized the foundation as a permanent memorial of America's loyal partnership with the British Empire during the war, of historic ties, and of a mutual effort to overcome prejudice. Especially from this last viewpoint the Prince of Wales wrote to Sir George Watson highly commending this foundation and saying that his visit to America had assured him that there existed a common underlying sentiment in all parts of the English-speaking world. Misunderstandings were due mainly to false impressions, he declared, which the foundation projected would contribute greatly to dispel.

Constitutional Prohibition

Advent of the Permanent Ban on Alcoholic Drinks Under the Eighteenth Amendment—Attempts to Fight It

NATIONAL prohibition by constitutional amendment became effective at midnight Jan. 16, 1920, throughout the United States. The Department of Justice and the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the two Government agencies intrusted with the enforcement of the law, were fully prepared to compel the rigid enforcement of the all-embracing act.

The inauguration of the new law, as embodied in the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution and in the Volstead act providing for its enforcement, was not attended by any of the dire consequences that had been predicted. The various steps that had been taken by the Federal and State authorities to enforce wartime prohibition had measurably prepared the way for the more drastic constitutional amendment, and the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on various phases of the legislation were uniformly so favorable to the constitutionality of the act that the public was prepared for acquiescence, and the new regulations went into effect throughout the nation without a hitch. Everywhere reports indicated that the Federal agents were alert for any violation, and, on the whole, the law was very closely observed.

The United States Supreme Court on Jan. 5 upheld as constitutional the wartime prohibition law, which defines beverages containing one-half of 1 per cent. or more of alcohol as intoxicating; the Court at the same time refused to vacate an injunction which forbade the manufacture of 2.75 per cent. beer. While the opinion of the Supreme Court did not specifically touch upon the constitutional prohibition amendment, it was regarded by competent legal authorities as indicating a favorable attitude of the court on the validity of the amendment.

Justice Brandeis read the majority

opinion, which was concurred in by Justices White, Pitney, McKenna and Holmes. The minority report was read by Justice McReynolds, and was concurred in by Justices Day, Van Deventer and Clarke. Justice Brandeis, in handing down the majority opinion, said:

The right of Congress to suppress the liquor traffic is not an implied power, but one specifically granted. That power has not ended through the cessation of hostilities.

On the other hand Justice McReynolds declared that as the Eighteenth Amendment, which carried out constitutional prohibition, had not become effective, Congress had no general power to prohibit the manufacture or sale of liquor.

The Supreme Court on Jan. 12 again indicated its attitude when it denied, for lack of jurisdiction, motions filed on behalf of the Retail Liquor Dealers' Association of New Jersey seeking permission to institute an original suit to determine the constitutionality of the prohibition amendment to the Federal Constitution.

The order denying permission to bring the New Jersey suit was made orally by Chief Justice White, who held that the motion to file the case "rested upon a plain disregard of two principles of jurisdiction that have been settled from the beginning." One, he said, was that a citizen of a State could not bring a suit against the State without its consent, while the other was that the Federal Constitution does not create jurisdiction but only apportions it, and accordingly under the Constitution the Supreme Court had no jurisdiction in such a case as that from New Jersey.

The same question in another form came before the Supreme Court in a petition filed by the Attorney General of Rhode Island in behalf of that State. The Attorney General, in attacking the constitutionality of the act, questioned

the validity of its ratification as well as of the passage of the resolution by Congress, and asserted that the amendment was an interference with State police powers and was "usurpatory, unconstitutional, and void."

In a brief filed with the court the Rhode Island Attorney General further argued that enforcement of national prohibition would affect injuriously the rights of Rhode Island, and that because



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LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

Justice of United States Supreme Court

the defendants named in the case are outside the boundaries of that State the Supreme Court was the proper tribunal in which to bring the suit.

On Jan. 18 the Supreme Court decided to permit Rhode Island to bring this suit, and to pass upon the validity of both the prohibition amendment and the enforcement act.

The constitutionality of the measure was attacked in suits filed in various other States, and the Supreme Court will have before it the clear issue whether the amendment was legally adopted and

whether the use of the word "concurrent" in the amendment, referring to its enforcement by State as well as Federal authorities, implied that each State could fix its own provisions as to what should constitute an intoxicating beverage, and how the law should be enforced. Governor Smith of New York, in his message to the Legislature, recommended that the legislative approval of the amendment by the State of New York be withdrawn; the Governor-elect of New Jersey took a similar position and indicated that he would favor separate State action as to what constituted an intoxicating beverage. The Anti-Saloon League announced that all these efforts would prove fruitless, and that the law was on the statute books to remain and would be rigidly enforced.

Some excitement was produced during the holiday season by a number of deaths throughout the country, chiefly in sections of Connecticut, from drinking wood alcohol, which had been sold surreptitiously as whisky. The source of the supply which caused fifty or more deaths in Connecticut was traced, and those responsible for the traffic were arrested on the charge of homicide.

Sunday, Jan. 18, was designated as "Law and Order" Sunday, which the Federal Government through the Internal Revenue Commissioner asked the clergy of America to participate in. In his proclamation, issued Jan. 1, 1920, Daniel C. Roper, the Commissioner, called upon the people of America to observe the National Prohibition act. He said:

Whether prohibition is a wise national policy is no longer a question for debate or contention among good citizens. This step on the part of our people has been incorporated as an integral part of the Constitution of our country, and all law-abiding citizens will demand its observance. * * *

It is not for the success of the Bureau of Internal Revenue that we appeal, but for the success of the American people in sustaining the majesty of the law and the honor of our American institutions. To this end we need for this law, and for all our laws, an aroused public conscience with respect to law observance and law enforcement.

I observe that it is being suggested that Sunday, Jan. 18, 1920, be set apart and

designated as "Law and Order Sunday" throughout the country. I sincerely trust that this will be generally observed; that clergymen throughout the land will bring to the attention of their congregations the vital importance of law as the cornerstone of Americanism. Law and order has always found in the clergy its strongest champions. Their clear expression of right and their ringing challenge to the American spirit of our citizenship was never more urgently needed than it is at the present time.

An address was issued Jan. 17, signed by 1,000 pastors of more than twenty-five denominations from every one of the fifty-seven counties of New York State, urging the public to aid in the observance of "Law and Order Sunday" and to push enrollment in the "Allied Citizens of America, a Statewide system of local organization as a basis upon which all law-abiding citizens can unite to uphold the supremacy of law, particularly the Eighteenth Amend-

"ment to the Constitution of the United States."

The advent of national prohibition was observed in various ways throughout the country, according to the attitude of the celebrants. In many cities mass meetings and parades were held to celebrate; the anti-prohibitionists held mock funeral services and in other ways expressed their disapproval.

Just before the law went into effect millions of gallons of whisky were exported, but at the time of its execution there still remained in the country other millions of gallons in bonded warehouses, which, under the law, cannot now be exported, and can be sold only for medicinal purposes. Hundreds of barrels of liquor belated on the wharves of the Atlantic seaboard were seized by the Federal authorities the morning after the law had become effective.

Returning the Railway Lines

President's Proclamation Relinquishing Government Ownership—Contest Over Cummins and Esch Bills

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1920]

PRESIDENT WILSON announced on Dec. 24 by proclamation that the railroads and express companies would be returned to private ownership on March 1, 1920. Accompanying his proclamation was the following statement by Joseph P. Tumulty, his private secretary:

Last May in his message to the Congress the President announced that the railroads would be handed over to their owners at the end of this calendar year. It is now necessary to act by issuing the proclamation. In the present circumstances, no agreement having yet been reached by the two houses of Congress in respect to legislation on the subject, it becomes necessary in the public interest to allow a reasonable time to elapse between the issuing of the proclamation and the date of its actually taking effect.

The President is advised that the railroad and express companies are not or-

ganized to make it possible for them to receive and manage their properties if actually turned over to them on Dec. 31, and if this were done it would raise financial and legal complications of a serious character. The railroad and express companies should be given ample opportunity to adequately prepare for the resumption of their business under the control and management of their own stockholders, Directors, and officers.

Therefore, the transfer of possession back to the railroad companies will become effective at 12:01 A. M., March 1, 1920.

TEXT OF PROCLAMATION

The President's proclamation was as follows:

WHEREAS, in the exercise of authority committed to me by law, I have heretofore, through the Secretary of War, taken possession of and have, through the Director General of Railroads, exercised

control over certain railroads, systems of transportation and property appurtenant thereto or connected therewith; including systems of coastwise and inland transportation engaged in general transportation and owned or controlled by said railroads or systems of transportation; including also terminals, terminal companies and terminal associations, sleeping and parlors cars, private cars and private car lines, elevators, warehouses, telegraph and telephone lines, and all other equipment and appurtenances commonly used upon or operated as a part of such railroads and systems of transportation; and

WHEREAS, I now deem it needful and desirable that all railroads, systems of transportation and property now under such Federal control be relinquished therefrom;

NOW, THEREFORE, under authority of Section 14 of the Federal Control act approved March 21, 1918, and of all other powers and provisions of law there-to me enabling, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, do hereby relinquish from Federal control, effective the 1st day of March, 1920, at 12:01 o'clock A. M., all railroads, systems of transportation, and property, of whatever kind, taken or held under such Federal control and not heretofore relinquished and restore the same to the possession and control of their respective owners.

Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, or his successor in office, is hereby authorized and directed, through such agents and agencies as he may determine in any manner not inconsistent with the provisions of said act of March 21, 1918, to adjust, settle and close all matters, including the making of agreements for compensation, and all questions and disputes of whatsoever nature arising out of or incident to Federal control, until otherwise provided by proclamation of the President or by act of Congress; and generally to do and perform, as fully in all respects as the President is authorized to do, all and singular the acts and things necessary or proper, in order to carry into effect this proclamation and the relinquishment of said railroads, systems of transportation and property.

For the purposes of accounting and for all other purposes this proclamation shall become effective on the 1st day of March, 1920, at 12:01 A. M.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done by the President, through Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, in the District of Columbia, this twenty-fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord one

thousand nine hundred and nineteen, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-fourth.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:

ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State.

NEWTON D. BAKER,

Secretary of War.

CUMMINS AND ESCH BILLS

Meanwhile both houses of Congress had for some time been at work to frame the law under which the railroads are to operate under private ownership. The House of Representatives had passed a bill prepared by Congressman John J. Esch of Wisconsin, and on Dec. 20 the Senate passed the bill fathered by Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa, the vote standing 46 to 30. At the same time the Senate rejected by 65 to 11 a substitute bill offered by Senator La Follette which would have continued Government operation of the railroads for two years in accordance with organized labor's demands. The Cummins bill contains a provision, strongly opposed by labor, forbidding all strikes of railway employees.

Both bills were referred to a joint committee, whose difficult task it is to reconcile the wide differences between the two measures and to fuse them into one organic law that can meet the approval of the majority of Congress and of the people. The differences are fundamental, involving many bitterly contested points, and well-informed Senators expressed the opinion that final enactment of the law could not reasonably be expected for many weeks to come.

By Jan. 7 the conferees had agreed upon \$300,000,000 as the amount of the revolving fund on which the carriers would be allowed to borrow during the period immediately following the return of the roads to private ownership. The Cummins bill had fixed the amount at \$500,000,000 and the Esch bill at \$250,000,000. The most knotty problems still faced the committee—the guarantee regarding dividends, the control of rate making, and the labor section, with its anti-strike provision.

The Senate and House bills are alike in prescribing exclusive Federal regulation

of capital issues and expenditures, and in establishing Federal regulation of intrastate rates affecting interstate commerce.

Among major differences are the creation of a transportation board and a new statutory rule of rate making, to guarantee fixed dividends, both proposed only in the Senate plan.

The transportation board, under the Senate bill, would determine the country's transportation needs with the Interstate Commerce Commission being directed to grant rates sufficient to meet these demands. The House bill, while directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to keep informed on the transportation needs, facilities, and services, would greatly extend the commission's authority and not make it subject to order from another Government body.

The Senate's rule of rate making, guaranteeing 6 per cent. return to the carriers, was rejected by the House, which proposed the present rule that the Interstate Commerce Commission shall fix "fair and reasonable" rates.

Regarding labor, the drastic anti-strike provision in the Senate bill is opposed by the House provision for voluntary mediation. The House bill sets up three boards of adjustment during Federal control, with the addition of three appeal boards to consider cases in event of failure of the adjustment boards. On all these boards employees and rail owners would have equal representation, with decisions to be made by majority vote, and without any machinery or law for compelling acceptance of rulings.

With respect to consolidation and competition, the two measures differ in detail, but with some agreement in general principle. The House bill permits consolidation or merger by purchase, lease, stock control of two or more carriers, or the pooling of their earnings and facilities to such an extent as the Interstate Commerce Commission shall determine to be in the public interest. Federal incorporation is required by the Senate, but not by the House measure. The Senate also provided that twenty to thirty-five competing systems shall be planned by the Transportation Board, and approved

by the Interstate Commerce Commission, such consolidation to be voluntary within seven years, and compulsory thereafter.

Important provisions, included in both bills, are designed to give adequate revenues and capital to the carriers with their renewed private operation. Rates established during Government control are continued until changed under authority of existing law by both bills, which also direct the carriers to apply for rate increases within sixty days after the return of the roads to their owners.

THE ANTI-STRIKE CLAUSE

The provision of the Cummins bill forbidding railway labor unions to strike has caused a sharply defined issue between organized labor, on the one hand, and the farmers and general public on the other. Representatives of the four railroad brotherhoods and heads of affiliated trades adopted on Dec. 29 a resolution opposing legislation which would make strikes of railroad workers unlawful. At the conclusion of a five-hour session President Gompers dictated this statement:

On Friday last a number of the representatives of the railroad organizations, both shopmen and the train service, met at my office. We discussed the situation regarding the railroad legislation, and I issued an invitation to the executives of the ten shopmen's organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and to the four railroad brotherhoods, asking them to meet in conference with me here today. We began our meeting at 3 o'clock and adjourned after 8. The entire time was taken up with a discussion of the parliamentary situation of the railroad bills. We reached these conclusions:

That it is the sense of the conference that the control of the railroads should be exercised by the Government of the United States for a period of not less than two years, in order that a proper test may be made as to Government control.

That such test has not been given a fair opportunity during wartime or since.

That this conference is opposed to legislation making strikes of workers unlawful. It is the sense of this conference that penalty clauses in pending legislation on railroads against workers ceasing their employment should be eliminated.

That the conference favors the enactment of beneficial features of the bills which tend to establish better relations

between the employes and the carriers.

That the beneficial clauses should be extended to the sleeping car and Pullman Company employes.

While there were many animated speeches and general discussion of the Cummins Railroad bill, with its drastic anti-strike provision, it was said that the railway men were of one mind in opposing the section making strikes illegal. Before and after the conference, however, the union representatives, discussing informally the railroad situation, said they had assurances that the House would not accept the labor section of the Cummins bill.

On the other hand, the organized farmers of the country have expressed themselves in favor of the anti-strike clause. Their attitude, as expressed through a referendum vote on the subject, was thus stated on Jan. 7 by S. J. Lowell, Master of the National Grange:

We have taken a referendum of the thirty-three State masters, and so far as replies have been received, they are unanimously in favor of retaining the anti-strike provision. The Cummins bill protects the public's right to say to any organization of individuals created or permitted under the laws that such organizations shall not deliberately create conditions so one class has a strangle hold on the rest of the public and then proceed to use that strangle hold under the guise of individual liberty.

HINES ADVOCATES MERGERS

In an address before the Bar Association of New York City, Jan. 7, Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, advocated compulsory consolidation of railroad systems. Pointing out what he termed the almost impossible situation of the railroads prior to Federal control, owing to the difficulty of financing the lines, Mr. Hines declared that past experience had demonstrated that the old system will not succeed. He advocated the establishment by Congress of a general standard of rates to allow earnings "clearly in excess of a reasonable return" which must go largely to providing adequate reserves to take care of

lean years and to provide adequate stimulus for efficiency.

It was a grave mistake, Mr. Hines said, to assume that capital alone could manage the situation. He continued:

The scheme of the past has been on that false theory, and the result has been that the public has injected itself into the management through all sorts of agencies and labor has injected itself into the management through its own organizations. We have all three elements participating in the management in all sorts of ways, and yet there is no common ground on which these three elements can meet and exchange views and endeavor to reach conclusions. I believe the only sort of management which can be permanently effective is one which provides for an orderly participation at the outset of all three of these interests instead of the past scheme which leaves each interest to pursue its own methods, irrespective of the others, until an eventual contract is established in some form of controversy.

Mr. Hines said it was impossible for these consolidations to come about gradually by voluntary action.

RAILROAD DEFICIT

The Government deficit from railroad operation in November was approximately \$64,500,000, the largest of the year, according to figures compiled and made public Jan. 2 by the Bureau of Railway Economics. Net operating income for the month was estimated to have fallen below \$20,000,000, which the Bureau of Economics declared to be the lowest in thirty years when computed on a basis of percentage of investment.

Gross revenues for the month were estimated at close to \$436,000,000. This was only slightly below the high mark of a year ago, but the heavy expenses, due in part to the coal strike, which also reduced the revenues, left as net little of the operating revenues.

The Government's net loss, the bureau estimated, on the basis of Interstate Commerce Commission figures, had reached \$548,000,000 in the twenty-three months of railroad operation. The bureau placed the loss for the eleven months of 1919 at more than \$331,000,000.

The Coal Strike Commission at Work

Its Personnel and Its Task

THE strike in the bituminous coal industry was ended Dec. 10, 1919, by acceptance of President Wilson's plan granting 14 per cent. immediate increase of wages to the miners and promising the appointment of a special commission to adjust other points in the dispute after the men had gone to work. President Wilson announced the personnel of this commission on Dec. 22, naming as its members Henry M. Robinson of Pasadena, Cal.; John P. White, former President of the United Mine Workers of America, and Rembrandt Peale, an independent coal operator. All three men had held positions in the Government service during the war.

It was the task of this commission to determine whether the miners' wages should be still further increased, and, if so, whether the price of coal should go higher. The mine operators at once showed some distrust of the commission by challenging President Wilson's public statement that they had "agreed to and adopted" the plan of settlement now being carried out. The miners, on the other hand, expressed satisfaction that Mr. White, representing the workers, and Mr. Peale, representing the operators, both were thoroughly acquainted with the coal mining situation.

The first meeting of the commission was held in Washington in the Cabinet room of the executive offices on Dec. 29. With the three members there were also Secretary of Labor Wilson and Joseph P. Tumulty, Secretary to the President. By that time the operators had decided to co-operate with the commission to the extent of furnishing statistical information covering every bituminous mine field in the country when called for. The mine workers held a convention at Columbus on Jan. 6, where the attitude of the unions was finally determined in favor of full and final acceptance of the agreement which their leaders had made with President Wilson. A motion to defeat the acceptance of the international

officers' action was submitted to a referendum vote of the convention on the 7th and the settlement was supported by the overwhelming vote of 1,634 to 221. Acting President Lewis pointed out that throughout the forty days' strike not a single life had been lost.

Meanwhile the commission continued its preliminary sessions at Washington, and on Jan. 10 chose Henry M. Robinson, representative of the public, as Chairman. At this meeting T. T. Brewster, one of the chief mine operators, appeared and presented a list of ten questions concerning wages, working conditions and coal prices, to which he requested answers before being pressed for a decision as to the operators' future course. Answers were promised to him. John L. Lewis, for the mine workers, announced that the unions were prepared to accept the decisions of the commission without reservation.

The formal sessions of the commission began on Jan. 12, and from that time forth a flood of argument and fact on both sides began to be poured out in the commission's permanent headquarters, which had been established in the building formerly occupied by the Fuel Administration. On the 13th the operators of the Central Competitive Field agreed to accept the commission's verdict in all particulars except one—they could not be bound by a decision that would fix prices beyond the life of the Lever law, they said, as this would be illegal. Six spokesmen for the mine workers appeared on the 14th, one of them, Frank Farrington of the Illinois Miners' Union, contending that living costs in Illinois mining centres had advanced from 110 to 178 per cent. since 1914, whereas miners' wages had increased only from \$700 in 1913 to \$1,390 in 1918. In the light of these figures he said the miners' claim of a 60 per cent. increase was justified. The operators had another inning on the 15th, and the work of the commission was

fairly under way when these pages went to press.

Secretary McKinney of the Southern Ohio Coal Exchange estimated that the coal strike had cost the country a total of \$126,000,000, of which \$60,000,000 was loss in miners' wages, \$40,000,000 loss to the railroads, and \$26,000,000 loss to the operators. He added that the production of coal had already been 40,000,000 tons short of normal before the strike began, and that on account of the strike the Ohio mines alone lost production to the extent of 7,500,000 tons. The coal loss for the entire country he put at 1,000,000 tons daily.

An echo of the conflict thus being adjusted by peaceful methods was heard in Indianapolis on Dec. 22 when United States Judge A. B. Anderson committed Alexander Howat, President of the Kansas district of the United Mine Workers of America, to prison for contempt in having "openly and defiantly disobeyed the law" in violation of a court injunction against furtherance of the general strike. Judge Anderson refused to continue Howat's bond in the form of a \$10,000 check on a Kansas bank, and sent him to jail. In the afternoon of the following day the Judge agreed to accept Howat's promise to use all his influence to get the men back to work, and set him at liberty on his former bond. The in-

cident was terminated by the Kansas mine workers' officials ordering strikers protesting against the imprisonment of their President to resume work on Dec. 24.

A Federal court order of importance issued by Judge John M. Killits at Toledo, Ohio, on Dec. 27, granted a permanent injunction preventing the pickets of labor unions from interfering with workers in the Willys-Overland Automobile Company. Judge Killits declared that striking workers who had remained off the payroll since the labor disturbances of last June could no longer be classed as employees. He also ruled that the court could not recognize the rights of individuals to prolong a labor controversy "after its substance had fled." At the time of making the injunction permanent 13,566 persons were at work in the plant.

The strike in the steel mills, which had begun on Sept. 22, and which had at first involved 367,000 men, but had completely failed within a month, was officially called off by the National Committee of the Steel Workers' Union in a session held at Pittsburgh on Jan. 8. At the same time the committee accepted the resignation of Secretary-Treasurer William Z. Foster, who had been a leading promoter and storm centre of the strike, to take place Feb. 1.

The Second Industrial Conference

Its Plan for Reducing Strikes

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1920]

PRESIDENT WILSON'S second industrial conference, which has been in session at intervals in Washington since Dec. 1, and whose personnel was given in last month's *CURRENT HISTORY*, made an important statement on Dec. 28, setting forth a tentative plan for the settlement of labor disputes. It proposed the creation of new Federal machinery for the adjustment of differences between employers and employees.

The plan provided, in brief, for the es-

tablishment of a National Industrial Tribunal and Regional Boards of Inquiry and Adjustment. The National Industrial Tribunal would consist of nine members, to be appointed by the President, but confirmed by the Senate, with headquarters in Washington, and it would be generally an appellate tribunal. The United States would be divided into industrial regions, probably twelve, with boundaries similar to those of the Federal Reserve districts, and there would

be a Regional Board of Inquiry and Adjustment set up in each district.

Besides submitting this plan for what it described as "new machinery of democratic representation to suit the conditions of present industry," the conference made a declaration of its views as to Government employes. In this part of the statement—less than 300 words—the conference took a firm stand against "police strikes" and the affiliation of Government public safety employes with any organization that uses the strike as a weapon.

"No interference by any group of Government employes, or others, with the continuous operation of Government functions through concerted cessation of work, or threats," declared the commission, "can be permitted."

The conference members thought that Government employes should have the right to associate for mutual protection, the advancement of their interests, or the presentation of grievances, but declared that "no such employes who are connected with the administration of justice or the maintenance of public safety or public order should be permitted to join or retain membership in any organization which authorizes the use of the strike, or which is affiliated with any organization which authorizes the strike." The conference reserved judgment on the question whether other classes of Government employes might affiliate with organizations that authorize the use of the strike.

The statement was signed by William B. Wilson, Secretary of the Department of Labor, as Chairman of the conference; Herbert Hoover, former Federal Food Administrator, as Vice Chairman; Martin H. Glynn, Thomas W. Gregory, former Attorney General; Richard Hooker, Stanley King, Samuel W. McCall, former Governor of Massachusetts; Henry M. Robinson, Julius Rosenwald, Oscar S. Straus, Henry C. Stuart, former Governor of Virginia; F. W. Taussig, William O. Thompson, Henry J. Waters, George W. Wickersham, former Attorney General, and Owen D. Young.

This conference was called by President Wilson after the failure of the

original National Industrial Conference, which met under the Chairmanship of Secretary Lane, last October. It is a smaller and more compact body, and contains no distinctively labor union delegates. Its plan for the creation of new machinery for dealing with industrial disputes was advanced for consideration, study and constructive criticism by interested individuals and organizations throughout the country.

The conference pointed out that its plan did not propose to do away with the ultimate right to strike, to discharge, or to maintain the closed or the open shop. "It is designed," the statement continued, "to bring about a frank meeting of the interested parties and cool and calm consideration of the questions involved, in association with other persons familiar with the industry. The plan is national in scope and operation, yet it is decentralized. It is different from anything in operation elsewhere. It is based upon American experience and is designed to meet American conditions. To facilitate discussion, the plan submitted, while entirely tentative, is expressed in positive form and made definite as to most details."

When the Industrial Conference published its plan, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, said its failure to recognize definitely the organizations of workers—trade unions—as the basis for representation was a fatal omission, while Frank Morrison, Secretary of the federation, noting the absence of reference by the conference to collective bargaining or the necessity for organizations of workers, said any one who would avert or postpone industrial conflicts could not ignore these principles.

Mr. Gompers declared the commission should reconsider the question of definite recognition of trade unions, "in order to make possible the confidence and co-operation of wage earners, which can be expressed only through organizations of their own making." He added:

Any plan to establish or maintain anything like fair relations between workers and employers must avoid compulsory features. The mass of America's workers are American citizens, and in that sover-

eign citizenship they are free men. Any proposal for compulsory labor is repugnant to American sovereignty and citizenship.

In order to promote constructive and permanent changes that will eliminate causes of much industrial unrest, the conference should consider governmental agencies to provide the necessary information and assistance in securing continuous betterment of working conditions.

That problem must ultimately be worked out by employers and employees, but the Government should advise and assist.

It should always be borne in mind that our social fabric is based on mutuality and voluntary institutions. It is something not yet fully understood how perfectly safe freedom is.

The conference reassembled on Jan. 12 to consider any constructive criticism that had been submitted to it.

Fighting the High Cost of Living

Dissolution of Packers' Trust

A STATEMENT made public Dec. 28 by the National Industrial Conference Board showed that the cost of living in the United States had advanced more than 80 per cent. since July, 1914, and 5.8 per cent. since July, 1919. The figures were based on the study of family budgets reported by the United States Bureau of Labor statistics, supplemented by reports of clothing and food dealers, civic organizations, real estate agents, and public utility corporations.

Clothing has increased most in price since July, 1914, the percentage being 135, according to the board's figures. Food comes next with an advance of 92 per cent., fuel, heat and light next with 48 per cent., and rent 38 per cent.

Food had advanced only 1 per cent. in price during the last five months, the board reported, while clothing prices again led the van with an increase of 15 per cent. Rent advanced 7.8 per cent., and fuel, heat and light 4 per cent. Items listed generally as sundries advanced 75 per cent. during the five-year period, and 7 per cent. since last July. Sundries include carfare, candy, and soda, amusements, insurance, and household furnishings. Movie admissions advanced more than 100 per cent. in price. It also costs nearly double to furnish a house.

THE PACKERS' AGREEMENT

Among the month's activities to combat high prices must be included—theoretically at least—the voluntary surrender of the Chicago packers to the

Government's anti-trust pressure. Attorney General Palmer announced Dec. 18 that the "Big Five"—Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., Wilson & Co., and the Cudahy Packing Company—had agreed to retire from all business except that of meat packing and dairy products.

Under their agreement with the Department of Justice, the packers and their subsidiaries will sell all their holdings in public stock yards, stock yard railroads and terminals, and their interests in market newspapers and public cold storage warehouses, and will forever dissociate themselves from the retail meat business and food lines unrelated to meat packing.

The proposed Government dissolution suit will not be pressed. Under agreement reached, it was stated, the so-called packing monopoly would practically end its activities, except as meat packers, by disposing of its holdings in other business, and thus avert the danger of a monopoly in foodstuffs. The Department of Justice held that the decision was a complete victory for the Government and that the results would be more satisfactory than any it could hope to obtain by a long-drawn-out suit.

In accepting the agreement the packing companies consented to the entry of an injunction decree in the Federal District Court under which the terms of settlement are to be worked out. Two years are allowed for them to comply with the terms of the agreement.

Under the injunction decree the "Big

Five" are compelled, as stated by Attorney General Palmer, to do the following things:

1. To sell, under supervision of the United States District Court, preferably to the live-stock producers and the public, all their holdings in public stock yards.

2. To sell, under the same supervision and in like manner, all their interest in stock yard railroads and terminals.

3. To sell, under the same supervision and in like manner, all their interests in market newspapers.

4. To dispose of all their interests in public cold storage warehouses, except as necessary for their own meat products.

5. To dissociate themselves forever from the retail meat business.

6. To dissociate themselves forever from all "unrelated lines," including wholesale groceries, fresh, canned, dried, or salt fish; fresh, dried or canned vegetables; fresh, crushed, dried, evaporated, or canned fruits; confectioneries, syrups, soda-water fountain supplies, &c., molasses, honey, jams, jellies, preserves, spices, sauces, relishes, &c., coffee, tea, chocolate, cocoa, nuts, flour, sugar, rice and cereals (with an exception to be noted), bread, wafers, crackers, biscuit, spangnetti, vermicelli, macaroni, cigars, china, furniture, &c.

7. To abandon forever the use of their branch houses, route cars and auto trucks, comprising their distribution system, for any other than their own meat and dairy products.

8. To submit perpetually to the jurisdiction of the United States District Court under an injunction forbidding all the defendants from directly or indirectly maintaining any combination or conspiracy with each other or any other person or persons, or monopolizing, or attempting to monopolize, any food product in the United States, or indulging in any unfair and unlawful practices.

"The decree further provides," says Mr. Palmer, "that jurisdiction is perpetually retained by the court for the purpose of taking such other action, or adding at the foot of the decree such other relief, if any, as may become necessary or appropriate for the carrying out and enforcement of the decree, or for the purpose of entertaining at any time hereafter any application which the parties may make with respect to this decree."

PLAN TO CUT LIVING COST

In an address to 400 city officials, heads of civic organizations and club-women of Illinois, Attorney General

Palmer at Chicago on Dec. 16 outlined the plan of his department to combat the high cost of living. A plea for the assistance of every man and woman in the country in a national fight against high prices was made by Mr. Palmer at the meeting, which was called by Governor Frank O. Lowden. Mr. Palmer laid down the following program, which, if carried out, he said, would do much to deal a deathblow to the high cost of living:

1. Organization of fair price committees in every city and county, backed by mayors and prosecuting attorneys, with the committees supporting United States District Attorneys.

2. Organization of women to refuse to buy anything but actual necessities until prices come down.

3. Holding of "conservation" and economy meetings in every community under the auspices of civic bodies.

4. Influence of mayors and prosecutors to be brought to bear on the warring elements to prevent factional disturbances in industry and particularly to bring about an industrial peace of at least six months' duration.

5. Remobilization of the Four-Minute Men to deliver "work and save" addresses in theatres each night.

On Dec. 16 it was stated in Washington that an army of 4,000,000 women representing ten national organizations had been enlisted by the savings division of the Treasury Department in a campaign to reduce expenditures.

Beginning Jan. 1 and extending to April 1, a great thrift campaign was to be conducted in an effort to induce women to keep strict accounts of their daily expenditures in order by study of them to eliminate unnecessary items. According to the plan, amounts saved by this means would be invested in Government securities.

Women's organizations which have been enlisted in the campaign include: The Association of College Alumnae, Daughters of the American Revolution, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Catholic War Council, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, National Council of Jewish Women, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National League for Women's Service, Woman's Department of the

National Civic Federation, and the Y. W. C. A.

CO-OPERATIVE SCHEME

Failing to obtain satisfactory relief from the high cost of living, officials of the four railway brotherhoods and the railroad shop crafts affiliated with the American Federation of Labor at a meeting in Chicago on Jan. 7 decided on a co-operative plan of buying and distribution, the main outlines of which were published Jan. 8. They announced the formation of a body to be known as the All-American Farmer-Labor Co-operative Commission. Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and one of the organizers of the Chicago meeting, is General Treasurer of the Co-operative Commission, and other officials of the railway employes' organizations are officers.

Bert M. Jewell, Acting President of the railway employes' department of the Federation of Labor, declared that "an increase in pay will not solve the problem." He asserted that higher wages accompanied by a proportionate increase in prices result in a "vicious circle," which leaves the railroad man no better off after the increase in pay than he was with the smaller salary. The only way to deal with an economic situation was with economic factors.

An alliance of the farmers, the organized producers, on the one hand, with the laborers, or organized consumers, on

the other, was the purpose of the Co-operative Commission, said Mr. Jewell, who is a member of the commission. It aims to "conduct a vigorous campaign for direct dealing between farm producers and city consumers, and, as soon as feasible, between city producers and farm consumers."

SUGAR CONTROL BILL

Announcement was made at the White House on Jan. 1 that President Wilson had signed the McNary Sugar Control bill on Dec. 31. The statement, which was issued by Secretary Tumulty, read:

The President has signed the Sugar Control bill. This bill confers discretion on the President in the matter of purchasing sugar from Cuba. It is doubtful whether it will be practicable or wise for the President to exercise the power conferred so far as the purchase and distribution of sugar are concerned. Some of the Cuban sugar has already been purchased, and there is no central control over sugar in Cuba, as there was last year, and it might therefore be impossible for the Government now to step in and purchase the sugar without increasing the price to the consumer. The bill, however, continues the licensing power also, and this power may be used to assist in controlling profiteering among distributors. Much Cuban sugar is coming in now, and the indications are that prices have reached their peak and that there will be a tendency for prices to fall in the next few weeks.

Under the new law the Sugar Equalization Board is continued in power for a year.

Deportation of Alien Anarchists

Shipload Sent to Soviet Russia

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 19, 1920]

IN the course of an unprecedented campaign against Red agitators in the United States, the Washington authorities conducted raids in many parts of the country and arrested thousands of anarchistic plotters. A large number of these were railroaded to New York and interned at Ellis Island to await trial and deportation. A first

shipload of such agitators, including the anarchist Emma Goldman, and her associate Berkman, was deported back to Soviet Russia via Germany and Finland on the Buford, the so-called Soviet "ark."

On Dec. 18 some twenty-seven members of the Industrial Workers of the World had been convicted by a Federal Jury at Kansas City on four counts,

three under the war program, including obstruction of recruiting and the draft, and a fourth under the law forbidding curtailment of food production. Sentences given were from three to nine years' imprisonment, with fines ranging from \$3,000 to \$10,000. On the same date a train arrived at Jersey City bearing sixty-one prisoners for deportation who had been arrested in San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, and St. Louis. Drastic amendments to the immigration law were adopted in the House on Dec. 20, providing for the deportation or exclusion of all aliens who belonged to anarchistic classes, for control of the foreign language press, and for an extensive investigation of Russian Soviet propaganda in the United States. Meanwhile the Department of Justice, under Attorney General Palmer, organized a wide campaign against the agitators, issuing special instructions to govern the conduct of the extensive raids on radicals undertaken.

One unit of the radical, anti-Government press, *The Call of New York*, made an appeal against the Postmaster General's order of Nov. 13, 1917, excluding that paper from the mails. The Postmaster's reply, filed on Dec. 22, asked that *The Call's* case be dismissed on the ground that it published matter favoring world revolt and the overthrow of the United States Government and tending to incite "arson, murder, or assassination." A large number of excerpts proving the Postmaster's charges accompanied his reply.

THE SOVIET "ARK"

In the last week of December occurred the deportation of 249 alien residents of the United States who had been found guilty of revolutionary agitation against the Government. All were former citizens of Russia who had been arrested following a number of Federal raids on well known radical centres. On the eve of their deportation back to Russia the State Department cabled to all foreign capitals an explanation of this step, in which the men involved were defined as "undesirable," a "menace to law and order" and "opposers of government, decency, and justice." While enjoying

the protection of the United States, this statement said, these men had acted in a most obnoxious manner, and plotted the overthrow of the Government whose benefits they enjoyed.

Two of those deported, the notorious Emma Goldman and her associate Berkman, used every legal means to resist the decree of deportation, but met with failure.

On Dec. 22 the former troop transport chosen for the deportation, the *Buford*, which the newspapers dubbed "*The Soviet Ark*," sailed from New York at dawn with the 249 agitators on board, destination unknown, but supposed to be Finland. A guard of marines went with them, and revolvers had been given to 125 men of the crew, in case of trouble arising during the trip. The deported persons were not allowed to bid their relatives farewell, and riotous scenes occurred among the latter when they were informed of this decision as the *Buford* was about to sail. The ark carried a great quantity of baggage and a quarter of a million dollars in cash belonging to those deported. Some seemed happy on leaving; others threatened and cursed. A radio on Dec. 26 reported that the ark was heading toward the Azores, and that all was well. On Jan. 8 the *Buford* had reached the entrance to the Kiel Canal.

"ARK" REACHES FINLAND

The *Buford* left Kiel late on Jan. 13 for Finland, with which country the United States Government had made arrangements for transportation to the Russian frontier. The ship arrived at Hangö, Finland, on Jan. 17, after a perilous passage through former mine areas, and in the afternoon of that day the undersirables were disembarked, and marched to the special train which would carry them back to Russia.

When the passengers landed they were the object of many curious gazers. Emma Goldman, in conversing with a reporter, denounced the deportation as "unfair and stupid," declaring that the anarchist or Bolshevist idea could not be killed by such methods. She declared that she and Alexander Berkman would not remain in Soviet Russia, but would return

to America "to save it." The train that took the agitators from Hangö reached Viborg the following day, where it was sidetracked to await the British prisoners' relief train. In anticipation of their arrival, which had been announced by the Finnish Government, the Soviet military forces ceased all shooting on the front for twenty-four hours. The train was taken to Terijoki (about two miles from the Soviet frontier) under Finnish military guards and American marines.

In the afternoon of Jan. 19 the deportees entered Soviet Russia and were received by a delegation which included the wife of Maxim Gorky. Laden with suitcases and boxes they trudged through the deep snow, laughing and singing revolutionary songs as they neared the border. Cheers were raised by the Russians, waiting for them on the other side of the frozen Systerbak River, which separates the Finnish and Bolshevik lines. Willing hands helped them to scramble up the steep banks, and amid the ruins of the war-wrecked town of Blelo-Ostrov, overlooking the stream, the Bolsheviks gave the exiles a vociferous greeting. The nature of their reception by the Soviet Government was still uncertain.

LEGISLATURE EXPELS SOCIALISTS

Another event in the campaign against persons of anti-governmental tendencies was the exclusion of five Socialist members, duly elected, from the New York State Legislature. Lined up before Speaker Sweet at the opening session of Jan. 7, they were severely arraigned for their adherence to a party whose platform was inimical to the State and to the country alike, and then excluded pending an investigation by the Assembly Judiciary Committee on their qualifications for membership. The excluded men were Samuel A. Dewitt, Samuel Orr, Charles Solomon, Louis Waldman, and August Claessens. This action of the House, which created a sensation, was taken under a resolution introduced by Majority Leader Simon L. Adler and adopted by a vote of 140 to 6. In the preamble to the resolution introduced was included the fact that the Socialist Party had taken a stand in direct opposi-

tion to the war, even after the United States had become a belligerent.

The unseated Socialists at once issued a joint protest and found many defenders, including Governor Smith, Justice Hughes, and others not in sympathy with the cause which they represented, but disapproving of the method by which their exclusion had been effected. Many articles in the press voiced disapproval of the method of exclusion. The Socialist organization in New York City at once formulated plans for the defense and reinstatement of the excluded members, including an appeal for aid to the labor unions. Charges made by the unseated Socialists that in the anti-radical campaign of the Lusk Investigation Committee, Soviet papers revealing trade secrets had been transmitted to the British Secret Service were denied categorically by Senator Lusk in person. Subsequently the barred Socialists reiterated these charges. The Young Republican Club and twelve churches on Jan. 12 denounced the action of the State Assembly, and the commotion grew. Speaker Sweet, meanwhile, in his reply to the letter of Justice Hughes criticising the Legislature's action, again condemned the attitude of the Socialist Party and promised the disbarred Socialists a "square deal."

ANTI-RED DRIVE CONTINUES

Meanwhile the Government's campaign against all Red agitators continues. Some 200 Reds were taken in Chicago on Jan. 1, and the authorities of this city declared their intention to wipe out all sedition in their boundary. Raids from coast to coast were published on the day following. Wholesale arrests had been made in thirty-three cities throughout the country; the total number of arrests reached nearly 2,000. Thousands of agitators of the Communist Party of the United States were apprehended. Raids on thirteen radical centres of New York occurred on Jan. 3, including a raid on the offices of the radical Russian local paper, the *Novy Mir* (New World); 800 warrants had been issued in New York and New Jersey alone. At the same date some 800

additional Reds were arrested in New England, and quantities of radical literature and several Communal charters were seized. The Federal authorities had issued in all some 4,000 warrants and declared that they would serve them all. Out of 5,000 arrests Department of Justice figures showed that 2,635 aliens were held on evidence thought sufficient to cause their deportation. This number was subsequently increased to nearly 3,000 "perfect cases." Evidence had been revealed that the aliens had deliberately fomented two large strikes, the steel and coal strikes, with a view to revolution, had conducted widespread propaganda among laborers, and had accumulated a large fund with which to bail out arrested workers in the interests of the revolutionary cause.

A drastic sedition bill was presented to the House on Jan. 5 by Representative Graham of Pennsylvania, which provided for deportation of convicted aliens, as well as a death penalty for citizens proved guilty of treason against the United States Government or who, through riotous incitements, caused the death of an innocent person.

Among the papers seized, it was stated by the Federal agents, evidence

had been obtained of the collusion of C. A. K. Martens, the Soviet "Ambassador" to the United States, with subversive agitators. A Federal warrant on this ground was issued on Jan. 8, at a time when Martens and his secretary, S. Nuorteva, and other assistants were lodged in Washington at a hotel within three blocks of the Department of Justice. Martens himself could not be found by the Federal agents, but when summoned to appear before the Senate Investigation Committee assurance was given by Nuorteva that he would appear. The subpoenas served involved Martens himself, Mr. Nuorteva, and Gregory Weinstein, chief clerk of the Soviet Bureau, interned at Ellis Island, and were devised to obtain evidence whether the activities of Martens in the United States had been of a seditious character or not. Meanwhile the Federal warrant was held in abeyance and Martens's arrest deferred.

It was stated on Jan. 5 that Ellis Island was overcrowded with arrested Reds, who numbered nearly 2,000. All new arrivals, it was stated, would be sent to Camp Upton. Meanwhile legal activities were proceeding to expedite the trials and deportation of all proved guilty.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1920]

FRENCH DEAD SINCE ARMISTICE

SIX HUNDRED French officers and 28,000 men died in the year following the armistice of wounds received in battle, according to the Home Sector, the ex-soldiers' magazine. France's total war deaths, according to the most recent official statement of losses issued at Paris, were thereby brought to 1,383,000. It was further shown that France had suffered half her casualties in the first third of the war, and up to two months before America entered it, with 491,000 casualties from August, 1914, to February, 1916. The most dearly won victory was the first battle of the Marne, with a total loss for August and Septem-

ber, 1914, of 329,000. By adding to the number of dead, 1,383,000, the 507,800 prisoners alive at the close of the war and the 2,800,000 poilus wounded in action, a French casualty total of 4,690,800 is obtained. In presenting the loan bill before the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 29, M. Klotz, French Minister of Finance, made the statement that France had mobilized 9,000,000 men for war. The total expense of the war had been 220,000,000,000 francs.

* * *

GERMANS SEVERED CABLES

IN the annual report of the Chief Signal Officer of the United States Army, Major Gen. George O. Squier tells

the story of how the German submarines, while operating off the Atlantic Coast, succeeded in accomplishing part of a gigantic German-Austrian plan to cut all cables and destroy all high-power radio stations on the American coast. The army was informed of this plot by the navy, which based its knowledge on reliable sources. Two submarine cables were cut on May 28, 1918, at a point about 100 miles from New York. Both the New York-Canso, Nova Scotia, and the New York-Panama cable failed to function on this date. Both were soon repaired. German submarines were operating at this time off the coast. Cable experts established the fact that the cables had been cut, and not merely worn out or damaged by ordinary causes.

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ITALY'S TRIUMPH OVER AUSTRIA

WHILE Marshal Foch still warns the world of Germany's future menace to France, Italy looks with satisfaction at the treaty of St. Germain, beholding to the east the accomplished destruction of her age-long enemy, Austria. A contributor to the *Rassegna Italiana* says in this connection:

The Treaty of St. Germain, which consecrates with the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire the vast victory of our arms, was signed at a time when the indecent tumult of Red demagoguery and the turpitude of the neutral Giolittian doctrine raged in Italy over that monument of squalid political mentality known as the Investigation of Caporetto. The agitators, in stirring up the dregs of our nation, sought to cover up the significance of the act and its effects. They also sought, profiting by the disorder and excitement created in the minds of the Italians by the painful events at the Peace Conference at Paris, to transform our indisputable triumph into an essential defeat. But the Italian people know that, although a coalition of interests opposes the realization of all Italy's aspirations, it is no less true that the victory won through her decision, her sacrifice, her endurance, is infinitely great. And of this the Treaty of St. Germain is proof.

While France still trembles before the slow reorganization of her implacable adversary, we Italians can look both toward the east and toward the north with complete and calm assurance. The formidable empire which threatened and plotted against our future is no more. To the

north it is reduced to a small, unstable republic, which we, from the strong summits of the Brennero, look down upon watchfully, and which perhaps magnanimous to the weak and vanquished we may even protect. Toward the east it has dissolved into a series of little States which a blind and absurd diplomacy has vainly sought to confederate for a little space. And though our Adriatic situation is not yet fixed, it is certainly not Yugoslavia that can frighten us in the future! So, we repeat, we may now breathe freely, for we have thrown from off our shoulders an enormous weight. With full freedom of movement we shall now be able to take up again our triumphant way of world expansion.

After asserting that the Yugoslavs have inherited the Austrian traditions of hostility toward Italy, as shown at Paris and at Zagreb (Agram), the capital of Yugoslavia, and protesting against the decision of the Peace Conference to throw all the onus of reparation on Austria and Hungary, although the Slav elements of the former empire fiercely and consistently fought against Italy and her allies, this writer continues:

Peace in the Adriatic still remains, therefore, in abeyance. But with the Treaty of St. Germain peace in the Alpine region has been solidly established. The question of the Germans of Upper Adige will be solved by the generosity of Italy. Within a few years that population of diverse races like the Slavs of Italian Dalmatia, will be glad to have our aid and protection. * * * The Alps will always remain our natural bulwark. They will be, with their crests and formidable ridges, the most worthy monument for that resplendent victory which the Treaty of St. Germain has forever consecrated.

* * *

BELGIUM'S NATIONAL HEROINE

MLE. GABRIELLE PETIT, the Belgian national heroine, who suffered the same fate as Miss Edith Cavell, is to have a monument erected to her memory in Brussels. The *Ligue des Patriotes* of that city has opened a public subscription for this purpose, and the British Chamber of Commerce is making an appeal for support of the movement, documented with a short history of Mlle. Petit, from which *The London Times* prints the following extracts:

At her mock trial, alone, without aid of any kind, she stood up and faced her judges, telling them to put an end to such a

parody of justice. To the question: Why did you enter the service of espionage? She replied:

"From hatred of your system and from love of my country. But I am not a spy like your spies. You have no business to be here at all. You have broken all your promises and are acting against every principle of right."

"If you are pardoned what would you do?"

"Begin again."

"You were at the head of hundreds of men, who are your agents?"

"Don't insult me; you know I am incapable of such infamy."

"Your crime is enormous. You have been the cause of the loss of several thousand German soldiers."

"You make me very happy. I have taken all my precautions, and the service will continue just as though I were there."

"You will be pardoned if you will only give some indications about your organization."

"No, a thousand times, no."

Condemned to death on March 3, 1915, Gabrielle Petit was not executed until April 1. It was during this interminable month that her brutal persecutors tried by every means in their power to induce her to betray her accomplices, but all to no purpose.

She refused to sign a petition for mercy, and at the execution insisted upon not having her eyes bandaged. With head erect, facing the firing squad, she cried, "Viva la Belgique, Vive le R * * *"

FOCH DIVINELY INSPIRED

IN an interview published in Paris on Jan. 1 Marshal Foch declared that he was divinely inspired to defeat the Germans, and that the allied victory was willed by God. In religion Marshal Foch is a devout Catholic. In this interview, written by the Marshal's friend, André Demaricourt, and printed in the *Echo de Paris*, the French commander describes how he dreamed of revenge on Germany from the age of 17.

His victories, he said, were won by refusing to get excited and "smoking his pipe." The war was a war of Governments. Germany had the advantage of a powerful and well-trained army, but the handicap of the Kaiser, not very intelligent, a bluffer, a man of hasty action, and a bad judge of his acts. The method which Marshal Foch followed most successfully was to do his work on the formula, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." He allowed himself only two emotions, because they were

agents of power, the two opposed ideas of the consequences of defeat and victory.

He had willed victory. To attain it he had always remembered that fundamental human nature never changes. The will to conquer must be based on confidence, but also it must be combined with the skillful use of means. The two together were bound to be irresistible in the long run. His first task was to inspire his war-weary, jaded soldiers with his own will to victory. This he succeeded in accomplishing. The Marshal continued as follows:

And now do not speak to me of glory or the beauty of enthusiasm. They are only words. Guard yourself in France against these expressions. They are useless. They are lost strength. "The war is finished." That is one expression that is good, but epithets as well as fancy phrases are worth nothing. Nothing survives except acts, because acts alone count.

Here is one act that gives me satisfaction. It was the meeting at Rethondes. That was an act. That act marked the decomposition of the German Empire, and I saw Erzberger with rage seize his pen and sign that act. And then I was content to have willed it and to have known how to employ the means, for the business was done.

When in a historic moment a vision is given to a man and when in consequence he finds that this vision has determined movements of enormous importance in a formidable war, I believe that this vision—and I think I had it at the Marne, on the Yser and on March 26—comes from a providential power in the hand of which one is the instrument, and I believe that the victorious decision was sent to me from on high by a will superior and divine.

* * *

FRANCO-ITALIAN PACT

IN an address made by Camille Barrère, the French Ambassador at Rome, on New Year's Day, the existence of a secret treaty concluded between France and Italy in 1902 unknown to the Central Powers was for the first time publicly revealed. M. Barrère denied that this was an example of "secret diplomacy" and pointed out the unwisdom of giving out public negotiations, perfectly legitimate in themselves, such as this defensive and offensive alliance between France and Italy was, at moments when

their publication would have had unfortunate results. M. Barrère continued as follows:

Proof of this has just been demonstrated in a striking manner. The Franco-Italian agreement of 1900, eliminating all causes of conflict in the Mediterranean and tracing reciprocal spheres of influence in Africa, was followed by an agreement in 1902 establishing that in case of an aggressive war either country would maintain strict neutrality, even in case one of them was obliged to declare war to defend her honor and safety. What the two Governments agreed to contained nothing clandestine, nothing which could not be confessed. But if we recall the situation in Europe than it will be easily understood that knowledge of the agreements by those who had an interest in making them ineffective would have been a grave danger.

France still wanted peace while the Central Powers prepared for war. If the Teuton powers had known the ties about to be established between the two great Latin peoples they would have done everything to break them off. Such an attempt would have put the peace of the world in danger, hastened the hour in which our adversaries determined to consolidate their hegemony by iron and fire. The French and Italian Governments were therefore wise to keep their agreements a secret, which was never violated.

* * *

DUNKIRK'S ORDEAL

THE courageous part played by the City of Dunkirk on the English Channel during the world war is the subject of a book by Henri Malot, "Dunkerque, Ville Heroique," recently published in France. The book portrays the dauntless attitude of the little city's inhabitants during four years of ferocious bombardment. The Mayor of the city, Henri Terquem, was a man equal to the crisis, and his sane judgment and unshakable calm were of infinite value during those trying years. His official notices, many of which M. Malot gives as an appendix to his work, show all the difficulties he had to meet, and how he met them.

From its value as a port of communication with England, Dunkirk, itself once the inveterate enemy of England, naturally became the object of incessant German attack. The impossibility of capturing the town became apparent to the Germans after the battle of the Yser in

October, 1914. Its destruction was then attempted by bombardments which lasted from October of that year to the October following. Airplane attacks were of daily occurrence, until defense by gunfire from below and by counter-attack in the air was organized.

In April, 1915, shells from a long-range gun on the land side began to cause heavy damage and the loss of more lives; later, bombardment from the sea by German destroyers was resorted to whenever the allied fleet could be outwitted. On some occasions all three methods of attack were used against the martyred town at the same time. The month of September, 1917, was one of the most trying which the Dunkirkers had to endure.

The spirit of the population throughout was one of calm resolution. All persons whose presence was unnecessary were removed; civic activities, largely increased by the war, were continued; schools and institutions remained open; the work of the port proceeded, and retail trade was vigorously pursued. No needless risks were run, but it soon became a tacit obligation to clear up the debris resulting from each raid and each terrific bombardment as soon as possible, and to go on with work as before. By their fortitude, under trying circumstances, the Dunkirkers proved themselves both good Frenchmen and good Flemings, and well deserved the approbation bestowed on their town by a General Order of the French Army in the phrase *Ville héroïque, qui sert d'exemple à toute la nation.*

* * *

WAR MEMOIRS

A NOTEWORTHY aftermath of the great war has been the multiplicity of war memoirs published by former Generals, statesmen, and diplomats. This whole series, one may say, was begun in England by Lord French in his sensational and much attacked book "1914," and continued with scores of other similar works, such as "The Grand Fleet," by Lord Jellicoe; "Memories" and "Records," by that original and temperamental Admiral of the navy, Lord Fisher, and the complete collection of Lord Haig's dispatches, supplemented by his own

notes and provided with a preface by Marshal Foch.

But it was not only the victors who had to explain their conduct of the war. The German failure and defeat have been discussed in detail in "My War Memories," by General Ludendorff; in "Memoirs," by General von Hindenburg; in "My Memories," by Grand Admiral von Tirpitz; "Reflections of the World War," by von Bethmann-Hollweg; "In the World War," by Count Czernin; "General Headquarters, 1914-16, and Its Critical Decisions," by General van Falkenhayn, and a series of memoirs by Dr. Helfferich, former Vice Chancellor of the German Empire.

Some of these memoir writers have made vast sums from the sale of domestic and foreign rights of publication. Hindenburg, for instance, received 4,000,000 marks; Ludendorff, 3,500,000; Tirpitz, 900,000; Bethmann Hollweg, 250,000; Falkenhayn, 180,000; Helfferich, 275,000. At the end of December both Admiral von Scheer, who asserts that he won the battle of Jutland, and Count von Bernstorff were also busily engaged upon their memoirs.

* * *

GOTHEIN ON U-BOATS

ONE of the memoir writers included in the enumeration given above, Dr. Helfferich, then Vice Chancellor of the German Empire, in September, 1916, spoke certain words which were destined to be prophetic. They were:

If the card of ruthless U-boat war is played, and it is not a trump-card, then we are lost for centuries to come.

The card was played, it was not a trump card, and Germany, if not lost for centuries to come, must expiate her crimes through many bitter years. On the reasons why the card played was not a trump card, an article in the *Achtuhr Abendblatt* by the Reichstag Deputy Gothein, published in December, throws considerable light.

The main cause of the German submarine failure, says Deputy Gothein, was the quarrel between the German U-boat Inspection Department and the Armament Department of the Imperial Ministry of Marine over the calibre of the guns with which the submarines were

mounted. The U-boat Inspection demanded guns of 88 millimeters; the Armament Department, jealous of its prerogatives, insisted on retaining guns of smaller calibre. The Inspection continued trying to get the guns, but even Admiral von Tirpitz favored the smaller calibre. The Inspection by insistence finally induced a change, but too late to influence the result.

The merchantmen of the Entente were armed with 102 and 125 millimeter guns, says Deputy Gothein, yet it was not until 1916 that 105s were allotted to German submarines. When the Germans discovered their mistakes, the Allies had already perfected their defensive measures against submarine attack. With at least 88 millimeter guns from the beginning of the war, Deputy Gothein declares Germany could, without even violating international law, have destroyed so much tonnage that England would soon have been eager for peace.

* * *

RHEIMS SHELLING WANTON

IN reminiscences of the first battle of the Marne, published in Berlin toward the end of December, Lieut. Gen. Baron von Hausen, who had commanded the Saxon Third Army, admitted that Rheims Cathedral was damaged by German shell fire for the first time on Sept. 4, 1914, when the Prussian Guard of von Buelow bombarded the city for two hours, after it had been occupied an entire day by von Hausen's Saxon troops. From his own statements, however, it appears that he took the city ahead of the time scheduled by von Buelow, and did not notify the latter of its capture. Ostensibly, he says, the bombardment was ordered because of the failure of three couriers to the city to return, although none of these couriers had actually reached the city. After the bombardment on Sept. 4, von Buelow sent word that he had imposed a fine of 50,000,000 francs, which would be increased to 100,000,000 if the couriers were not released within two days. Discussing the question in the light of von Hausen's memoirs, the *Vossische Zeitung* threw the chief guilt "for the fearful act" unquestionably on Lieut. Gen. von Hausen for his failure to notify von Bue-

low of the city's capture, thus exposing his own troops in Rheims to the subsequent bombardment.

* * *

PERSHING DENIES LIFE WASTE

CHARGES made before a House War Investigation Committee at Washington that lives of American soldiers had been wasted in needless attacks on armistice day were absolutely denied by General Pershing in a letter made public on Jan. 10, addressed to a Republican Representative. General Pershing said that the American forces were acting under instructions issued by Marshal Foch to all allied commanders on Nov. 9, 1918, and that orders for attack were withdrawn as soon as possible after he was advised of the signing of the armistice. He also said statements that American troops were ordered to attack, while French divisions remained stationary, were wholly erroneous. The signing of the armistice, he pointed out, was at 5 A. M., the exact time when the 92d Division charged. On Nov. 11 not only the Americans, but also the French, British, and Belgian lines attacked and advanced. Neither the French nor the American military authorities, General Pershing declared, had been wasteful of the lives under their command. General Pershing's letter was written in reply to charges contained in a letter to the same Representative from Captain George K. Livermore of Winchester, Mass., formerly Operations Officer of the 167th Field Artillery Brigade of the 97th (negro) Division.

* * *

CHINA'S EX-PRESIDENT DIES

FORMER PRESIDENT FENG KUO-CHANG died in Peking on Dec. 30. In a circular telegram issued from his deathbed to warring Governors of China he urged cessation of civil strife and reconciliation between the factions of the north and south. Feng Kuo-chang had won considerable fame in China as a General; his successes in suppressing two revolutions had gained for him the rank of Field Marshal. On the establishment of the republic, he was appointed Chief of the President's Military Council. After the revolution of

1913, when he received his Marshal's baton, he was elected Vice President of the republic, with Li Yuan-hung as President. On the latter's resignation, in 1917, Feng Kuo-chang became Acting President, and retained the office until the regular election of Shu Shi-chang in September, 1918. When the Chinese Cabinet declared war on Germany and Austria in August, 1917, President Feng approved its decision.

* * *

RADIO STATION AT BORDEAUX

IT was announced on Jan. 9 that construction work on the giant Lafayette radio station at Bordeaux, which was begun about two years ago, was being finished at the request and at the expense of France by the American Navy. When completed this will be one of the most powerful wireless stations in the world. Its original object was the facilitation of communication between the United States and the American Expeditionary Forces in France. When the armistice was signed the French Government asked the United States Navy to complete the station because it was familiar with the plans and had a force of experienced workmen on the spot.

* * *

HOME RULE FOR MALTA

THE British Government has decided to give the inhabitants of Malta full control of their domestic Government. This decision emerges with prominence, as a result of the rioting in Malta in the Summer of 1919. The step was taken with the full agreement of the Governor, General Plumer, who arrived in the island immediately after the disorders had occurred. The decision was phrased by the Under Secretary of the Colonies as follows: "To intrust the people of Malta with full, responsible control of their purely local affairs." The details of the proposed Maltese Constitution still remain to be worked out.

* * *

FRENCH DEMAND 26,000 DOGS

THE French Ministry of Agriculture on Dec. 29 asked the Reparations Commission to demand of Germany 26,000 dogs which Germany took away from

occupied France. M. Noulens, the Minister of Agriculture, contended that Germany should be forced to restore the stolen dogs, and that in cases where this was impossible they should be compelled to replace them by dogs of equal value. The list for 26,000 dogs was presented at the same time, and M. Noulens announced that he was working out a plan for the allotment by French Mayors of the dogs that Germany must restore to France. Among those named as instigators of such thefts were General von Kluck and Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria.

* * *

HUNS AND FRENCH ART

IN an article by Mrs. A. Kingsley Porter in January *Architecture*, the malevolence of the German treatment of French works and monuments of art is described. Often great works were destroyed and others of small value preserved. At St. Quentin, which the Germans took in 1914 and held until 1918, they removed the stained glass windows and took them to Maubeuge. The thirteenth century choir grilles were wrenched from their sockets and shipped to Germany. But the rose window sketched on stone by Villard de Honecourt—a treasure six centuries old, and the most interesting antiquary of all—was left untouched. The blasts in forty-eight holes drilled in the piers and charged with dynamite, for some reason were never exploded—a German mystery still unexplained.

* * *

GERMAN ARMY'S COLLAPSE

A DOCUMENT issued by the German General Staff on Oct. 31, 1918, and published in Berne on Jan. 8, 1920, disproves the contention of von Hindenburg and Ludendorff that the collapse of the German Army was caused by the front being stabbed from behind, that is, that Germany collapsed from internal revolution. This document reads as follows:

The beginning of our retreat dates from Aug. 1, 1918, from Amiens owing to the constant pressure of the armies of Goutraud, Mangin, and Degoutte.

On Aug. 8 the First French Army, under Debeney, with the Fourth British Army, under Rawlinson, dealt a decisive blow with superior forces against our southeastern position near Moreuil, when

we lost all our heavy artillery. The enemy here succeeded by tremendous dash in breaking through our front and driving us back on Roye. Similarly we lost Soissons. In three days we had to abandon twenty-five kilometers of front, thus losing Montdidier, while to the north the British troops inflicted a similar loss on us, obliging us to abandon Péronne, &c.

Our exhausted and used-up men, incessantly engaged since Spring in heavy fighting, could no longer hold their own against these united exertions of the enemy, who were supported by fresh American and British troops. One blow followed another, and loss upon loss became inevitable from lack of reserves. The question of an armistice was daily becoming more urgent.

* * *

LIQUOR CONTROL IN ITALY

ITALIAN prohibitionists in Rome on Jan. 2 claimed their first notable achievement in Italy in the issuance of a decree by which the sale of liquor containing more than 20 per cent. alcohol would be permitted only between 8 o'clock in the morning and 3 in the afternoon on week days, and until 4 on Saturdays. Sales by this decree must cease at noon on Sundays and are completely prohibited on holidays.

* * *

FIRST AUSTRALIAN ENVOY

MARK SHELDON, Australia's first permanent Commissioner to the United States, arrived in New York in the first days of January. A man of wide knowledge and experience in European matters as well as one versed in American affairs, his personality justified his appointment by Premier Hughes. Formerly Mr. Sheldon had been the Managing Director of a great mercantile house and Vice President of the Sydney Chamber of Commerce.

* * *

END OF W. A. A. C.

IT was decided toward the end of December, 1919, that Queen Mary's Woman's Army Auxiliary Corps, which had rendered most valuable service during the war both in England and behind the lines in France, would cease to exist as an organized body with the close of the old year. It was understood, however, that a small detachment would be retained in connection with the registra-

tion of war graves in France, and a few others for administrative work in England.

* * *

AMBASSADOR GREY DEPARTS

VISCOUNT GREY, British Ambassador to the United States, who had arrived on Sept. 27, sailed back to England on Jan. 3. Because of the illness of President Wilson he had had no opportunity to present his credentials as provisional Ambassador to the United States. In a short typewritten state-

ment the departing envoy left behind him a message of good-will toward the United States.

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PARIS BIRTHS AND DEATHS

A LARGE increase in the birth rate for Paris was shown by statistics for December, the rate having doubled since the beginning of 1919. The percentage had risen from approximately 10 to 18 per thousand. The number of deaths had decreased from 18 to 14 per thousand. The number of marriages was increasing.

Mineral Wealth of the Sarre Basin

What Germany Has Lost

THE terms imposed upon Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, which went into force on Jan. 10, 1920, involve the loss of 70 per cent. of her iron ore, a third of her coal, 20 per cent. of her potash, and between 7,500,000 and 8,000,000 of her pre-war population. Nearly all the loss of mineral wealth is in the Sarre Basin, whose iron and coal mines have been awarded to France as indemnity for the mines which the Germans destroyed in the Briey Basin and in the north of France. The mining and industrial region of the Sarre Valley is bounded on the north by Merzig, Tholey, St. Wendel; on the east by Frankenholz and St. Ingbert; on the south by Sarreguemines, Merlenbach, St. Avold, Falkenberg, (Faulquemont;) on the west by Bolchen (Boulay) and Hemmersdorf. The pit-coal deposits run northeast and southwest, from Frankenholz in the Bavarian Palatinate to Faulquemont, and are prolonged through Lorraine to Mousson; hence the coal basin of the Sarre and the mineral basin of Briey are intimately connected, both economically and geologically; one of the mining enterprises near Spittel even bears the double name of Sarre et Moselle.

In the region belonging to Rhenish Prussia, comprising Sarrebrück City, Sarrebrück County, Merzig, Sarrelouis, Ottweiler, and St. Wendel, the basin of the Sarre has a population of 616,000

souls, mostly workmen. Under the armistice a distinct territory was organized here under General Andlauer, commanding the 18th French Division. He administers it through officers who control the German civil officials.

As early as the end of the eighteenth century the coal pockets of the Sarre were exploited, though in an elementary way, by the Princes of Nassau-Sarrebrück, then masters of the country, who saw here a means of augmenting their revenue.

Later the Imperial Government had methodical studies made by its engineers, while it exploited some mines and opened up others. It was preparing a general plan of concessions when the events of 1814 occurred. Prussia, enlightened especially by a large manufacturer, Henry Roecking, claimed these mines; half of them were taken by the first treaty of Paris; the second treaty, signed in 1815, transferred to Germany the remainder; furthermore, all the studies and plans made by French engineers were demanded and received. "So," says Gustave Babin, "there was taken from us a possession which had been ours since Louis XIV. and the Treaty of Ryswick."

The majority of the Sarre mines are fiscal mines belonging to the State and exploited by it, two belonging to Bavaria and twelve to Prussia; the Frankenholz concession, however, belongs to a



THE SARRE COAL BASIN, WHICH PASSES FROM GERMANY TO FRANCE UNDER THE PEACE TREATY. THE SHADED PORTION INDICATES THE CHIEF MINING DISTRICT.

French company; Hostenbach in the Rhine province, and three others in Lorraine, La Houve, La Petite Rosselle, and Sarre et Moselle also are exceptions. In 1913 the coal production of the basin, according to documents communicated to the International Geological Congress, totaled 16,600,000 tons. The present production falls below this, a diminution due to the unsettled conditions of the last few months of war. The quality of the coal produced is mediocre; from the viewpoint of industry it furnishes a type of coke which can be used in furnaces of small dimensions only.

The coal deposits of the Sarre led to the creation of flourishing industries, which have undergone great development during the last four years; Sarrebrück in 1870 possessed only 7,000 inhabitants; today it has 120,000. Metallurgy is the most important of these regional industries; glassmaking and ceramics come next. Pre-war statistics showed a population of 45,000 workmen and 56,000 miners; to these should be

added the 16,500 mineworkers of Petite Rosselle, Sarre et Moselle, and La Houve, making a sum total of about 100,000 workmen. The whole country is one vast factory.

An article in *Die Woche* of March 8, 1919, from the pen of Professor Hermann Oncken of Heidelberg, attacked vigorously the French contention that historical precedents justified annexation of the Sarre Basin to France. From the viewpoint of self-determination of nations, he declared, there could be no question that the French demand was unjust, as the district was wholly German in race and speech. As for historical precedent, the Sarre district had been German from the ninth century; French possession was, so to speak, merely an interruption of German ownership, and proved to be temporary.

No mention was made in this article of the French claim that France needs the coal mines of the Sarre to make good the destruction of her coal mines by the Germans in the north of France.

Feeding Hungry Europe

Extensive Relief Measures

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 20, 1920]

URGENT and pitiful appeals for aid for the inhabitants of Poland, Austria, Armenia, were made late in December and throughout January. The American Red Cross announced on Jan. 4 that, out of a fund of \$30,000,000 available for its work in 1920, \$15,000,000 had been set aside for European relief, \$13,750,000 for use at home, and \$1,250,000 for completing its programme in Siberia.

Carter Glass, Secretary of the Treasury, on Jan. 10, in a letter sent to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, appealed for an appropriation of \$150,000,000 to aid the starving inhabitants of Poland, Armenia, and Austria, giving a vivid picture of the distressing situation existing in those countries. Norman Davis, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, presented additional details of conditions which, he said, must be remedied to prevent actual starvation and the spread of Bolshevism. He read to the committee excerpts from private reports received from American agents which bore out his statements.

Secretary Glass, appreciating the opposition to extending direct financial aid to the war-torn countries, recommended that the assistance go through the grain corporation, which could use its fund of nearly \$1,000,000,000 to extend aid through credits or gifts where necessary. This recommendation seemed to meet with the approval of the committee.

The fund and food would be divided as follows: Armenia, 7,500 tons of flour and other necessities at a cost of \$500,000 monthly; Austria, \$100,000,000, with a probable reduction to \$70,000,000 due to assistance by Great Britain; Poland, 300,000 tons of grain at a cost of \$50,000,000; other parts of Europe, \$25,000,000.

Norman Davis told the committee that this country must continue to supply food to these three countries until the next harvest. Austria and Poland, he

said, could furnish satisfactory security for food furnished them, but in the case of Armenia the aid must be in the nature of charity, as that country is without funds or means of establishing credits. Food is also needed in parts of Italy, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia, he said. Mr. Davis added:

The United States has a surplus of food and is the only nation that can prevent the famine. Great Britain, in a formal note to the United States, has promised to co-operate to the full extent of its ability, which probably will be mainly in supplying ships to transport the supplies, as Great Britain, France, and Italy already have lent Austria \$48,000,000.

The condition in Austria is so desperate that she is willing to mortgage her forests, the tobacco monopoly, the water power facilities, and even the collection of customs, to obtain food. The Treasury does not believe that customs should be taken because it would cause great delay to economic rehabilitation.

SUMMARY OF THE SITUATION

Herbert Hoover appeared before the Ways and Means Committee on Jan. 12 and strongly indorsed Secretary Glass's recommendation. The financial problem of feeding Europe is "getting smaller all the time," Mr. Hoover informed the committee, explaining that the need this Winter was centred in ten or twelve large cities in Austria, Poland, and Armenia. Most of Europe, he said, was in shape to feed itself, or get its breadstuffs through private financial channels.

Private charities in the United States are sending five or six million dollars' worth of food abroad monthly and by the end of January 3,000,000 American families with relatives in Central and Eastern Europe would be able to buy "food drafts" from banks in the United States. These drafts are exchangeable abroad for a barrel of flour or other food to supplement that now being rationed by authorities, and will serve as a substitute for cash remittances.

"Remittance of money is the height of folly," Mr. Hoover declared, explaining that with food distribution under Government control one might have plenty of cash but still be unable to obtain additional food. He predicted that from five to eight million dollars a month would be spent in this country for "food drafts."

The Children's Fund, an organization that is feeding 2,500,000 children of Europe, is back of the "food draft" plan, Mr. Hoover said, adding that it also was aided by banks and other private charities, including the Red Cross, the Committee for Relief in the Near East, and the Jewish Joint Distribution. Foreign Governments have agreed to the plan, which also has been approved by the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board.

By aiding Poland with food, and helping ten or twelve European cities escape starvation this Winter, Mr. Hoover said the United States would "build up security for its \$10,000,000,000 lent abroad" as well as perform a humanitarian service.

While the \$100,000,000 famine fund provided last year is almost exhausted, approximately \$88,000,000 will be repaid "within two or three years," Mr. Hoover said. He declared \$12,000,000 had been spent for "sheer charity," in feeding under-nourished children.

All Europe is on rations, Mr. Hoover continued, but with the Grain Corporation in charge, no new appropriation was necessary. The corporation's \$150,000,000 capital is intact and it has profits of \$50,000,000.

The committee took no action up to Jan. 20, but indicated that the \$150,000,000 relief would be recommended, and would meet with Congressional approval.

EUROPEAN EXCHANGE

The exchange rates of sterling, francs and marks showed further declines during January. The pound sterling on Jan. 16 fell to \$3.68½, which was within ¾ cents of the minimum established in December, 1919; francs, marks and lire also displayed weakness, the quotations on Jan. 16 being as follows: Francs, 11.62

to the dollar (normal, 5.18.13); lire, 13.70; marks, 1.77 (normal, 23.83); rubles, 2.75 cents (normal, 51.44).

Various suggestions were offered to remedy the serious exchange situation. Sir George Paish, an English financier, visited the United States and urged an international bond issue ranging from ten to thirty billion dollars to refund the war debts and restore international credits. This suggestion met so hostile a reception that the British Government issued a statement disclaiming any responsibility for it, and asserting that Great Britain would seek no further financial credits in this country.

MR. HOOVER'S STATEMENT

Herbert Hoover issued a statement on Jan. 7, in which he said:

I disagree emphatically with the statement being circulated by European propagandists, both as to the volume of European financial needs from the United States and as to their suggestions that the great bulk of these needs cannot be met by ordinary commercial credits and that therefore our Treasury needs to be further drawn upon for new loans.

Aside from some secondary measures by our Government, the problem is one of ratification of peace and ordinary business processes, and not one of increasing our burden of taxation. Our taxes are now 600 per cent. over pre-war rates. We simply cannot increase this burden. Rather, the problem is one of early reduction.

By secondary measures I mean that some dozen cities in central and southern Europe need breadstuffs on credit from the Grain Corporation to prevent actual starvation, and that the Allies are asking for temporary delay in paying interest on our Government loans to them. The Allies cannot pay this year, in any event. The actual situation varies with every country in Europe, and generalities are not worth print paper. The European neutral countries have made money from the war, and have asked no favors and given none.

Outside of interest to the Allies, Great Britain states that she wants nothing but commercial credits. These she can always obtain if she puts up her ample collateral assets in South America, China, &c. France also has unpledged foreign assets that would cover most of her important needs.

It would also appear that the 70,000,000 people of prosperous nations who have not suffered in the war should also aid in European relief. The American people

are now finding \$7,000,000 a month in charity for feeding 3,000,000 children and fighting disease. If we contribute the bread supply on Government credit to these starving cities plus business credits, we will be doing our share of world responsibility.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

A call was issued Jan. 15 and simultaneously presented to the Governments of Great Britain, France, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the United States—also to the Reparation Commission and the United States Chamber of Commerce—asking for the immediate appointment of an international economic conference. It was signed by leading bankers, financial experts, commercial, and industrial leaders in the countries named.

The memorandum took issue squarely with the scheme attributed to Sir George Paish, of an international credit arrangement in which all the leading Governments should take active parts. Quite the opposite position was assumed by

emphasizing the necessity of encouraging to the greatest extent possible "the supply of credit and the development of trade through normal channels."

The proposed conference will be composed of representatives of the leading countries, both belligerent and neutral, of Europe, the Central European countries, Japan, and the chief exporting countries of South America. These representatives, it is further purposed, will bring with them all pertinent information, and it is expected that as a result of the conference recommendations will be made as to what measures may best be taken in the various countries in order to revive and maintain international commerce.

Italy floated a new popular tax loan in January which reached the enormous total of 10,000,000,000 lire.

Belgium offered a \$25,000,000 loan in this country on Jan. 15, and it was fully subscribed the first day. It was in the form of one and five year notes, yielding 6 and 7 per cent., respectively.

Present-Day Germany: An Inside View

By OTTO H. LUKEN, A. M.

This survey of conditions in Germany is based on personal observations in that country during September, October, and November, 1919.

ON entering Germany every traveler has to submit to a searching examination in a separate cell, in order to prove that he carries with him no Russian money or Bolshevik literature, or other things dangerous to Germany's tranquillity. A similar search on leaving is to reveal whether contrary to the Government's order the traveler tries to take out of the country more than 1,000 marks.

Trains arrive usually several hours late, unless the distance covered is very short. One hour before the time of departure you may be greeted by an announcement stating that all tickets for that particular train have been sold. If you are fortunate enough to obtain a ticket you may rejoice if it only secures standing space, be that even in the toilet

room. If you wish to secure hotel accommodations you will have to make the reservation several days in advance, unless you follow the example of a Norwegian friend of mine, who, upon being told at a leading hotel in Berlin that no room would be vacant for several days, produced ten pounds of Norwegian butter and was at once given a good room.

Almost everything is extremely cheap in Germany, measured in American money. For a shave I paid 40 pfennigs (1 cent), for an eight-day marble clock \$1, for a pair of fine shoes, made to measure, \$5. An American business man whom I met in Germany spoke of buying a linen factory in Bohemia as if that were an every-day business transaction. Many people in the United States who have relatives in Germany have sent

them packages of things which they think cannot be bought in Germany. They do not realize that practically everything can be had in Germany at prices below ours, owing to the low value of the German mark. Even American foodstuffs are sold cheaper in Germany than in the United States, because they were shipped to Europe when the mark was worth more and when prices in America were lower than they are now; furthermore, the German Government sells many American foodstuffs to the population at a loss.

The Fatherland Corporation, managed by Mr. Viereck, has established a "Feed and Clothe Germany" department and issued a circular showing the various combinations of merchandise that may be sent to that country through the company. It would be worse than poor economy to send many of these articles to Germany at this time. For instance, such things as shoes, gloves, collars, &c., which the Viereck corporation proposes to ship, were purchased by the writer in Germany at prices much lower than New York prices. The time may come when the necessities of life will be more expensive in Germany than they are over here, but for the present if a man wants to do a service to his relatives abroad he ought to send money instead of merchandise. The relatives can buy everything in Germany, only they are afraid to pay what seem to them high prices, though these prices are lower than in America.

During the war the people were asked to let the Government have all their gold and silver coin and jewelry. Many thefts reported in the press have shown that very large amounts of gold and silver have been hoarded nevertheless. Large quantities of gold, jewelry, and silverware are still to be seen in many households.

SCARCITY OF HOUSES

Living accommodations all over Germany are so scarce that in many cities families occupying more than a certain number of rooms have to take in lodgers. The rent contracts are under the control of special boards. Building material is wanting for lack of coal. In the Berlin

town jail cells are being rented. The number of Germans who have migrated from former German provinces (from Posen alone 60,000) has greatly increased the lack of housing accommodation.

In most cities tips have been abolished in accordance with an agreement between the employers' associations and the waiters' unions. Placards on the walls of restaurants and cafés say that 10 per cent. will be added to the guest's bill and that the waiters must not accept any tip under penalty of instant dismissal. Yet it has become the fashion, nevertheless, to give tips as before in addition to the 10 per cent. increase, in order to secure decent service. In hotels 25 per cent. is added to the bill, but the usual tips are generally still accepted by the employees.

In addition to the small paper currency issued by the nation and the loan banks, down to 1 mark, the individual cities and Chambers of Commerce have issued paper of denominations as low as 10 pfenigs, equal to one-fourth of one cent in American currency. This small currency is accepted only in the cities where it has been issued. For lack of small change, postage stamps are everywhere given in payment. The City of Buxtehude has issued some curious currency. According to an old story there once took place at Buxtehude a race between a hare and a porcupine, and the Buxtehude paper money depicts the moment when the porcupine is winning the race. An old-time German proverb and a picture of the famous Buxtehude dogs that bark with their tails form part of the same currency.

INCREASE OF CORRUPTION

The four and a half years of war have brought about both the physical and moral ruin of the German Nation. Crime, corruption, and gambling are at their height. The streets in Berlin are lined with street vendors and beggars in uniform. A policeman is very seldom to be seen. Every one tries to fill his own pocket and pushes the search of amusement to the extreme. The former proverbial German honesty has disappeared. There is hardly a German who does not

admit breaking the laws, by obtaining foodstuffs in some illicit manner, by hiding them contrary to Government order, and so on. Officialdom has become thoroughly corrupt. The theatres and moving pictures show the dirtiest plays, their advertisements always placing the erotic moment in the foreground. Newspapers are sold in the streets on the strength of such headlines as "The Fancy Costume Dance of the Homo-Sexuals," "The Protest Meeting of the Prostitutes," and the like.

The Government recently stated before the National Assembly that within a few weeks thirty-one bands of counterfeiters had been discovered. The Prussian budget for the current year provides for an amount of 160,000,000 marks (25,000,000 more than in 1918) to pay for reimbursement of freight stolen on the State railways, and the German Postal Department has so far paid 80,000,000 marks to the owners of property stolen while in the mails. In Berlin when wanting to call for protection at night it is only necessary to call "Ueberfall" (assault). Many of the men in uniform begging excite the pity of the passers-by by their constant nodding of the head, which, unless simulated, is the result of shell-shock. A court proceeding recently established the fact that these beggars take in 300 to 400 marks in four hours' daily "work." Although their condition is curable by the use of the electric current, the men prefer to make a good living by begging rather than submit to the somewhat painful cure.

When reading the facts brought out during the month of October in the Munich court proceedings dealing with the atrocities committed by the workmen when Munich was a Soviet republic, and by the Government soldiers after the defeat of the Soviet Government, a man who has heretofore doubted the reports of German atrocities during the war cannot do otherwise than change his opinion.

STRONG CLASS FEELING

Education and science are to be made more democratic, yet, although the sons of the noblemen rubbed shoulders in the trenches with the sons of the bourgeoisie, and the members of a feudal students'

corps with the sons of the peasants and laborers, the gulf between them is as wide as ever. The monocle of the "cavalier" and the uniform, swords, and scars of the arms-students continue to emphasize their old-time arrogance. The extremely strong feeling against Jews in Germany is astonishing for one who has not been there since the war started.

Dr. Karl Muck, the former leader of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, was greeted on his return with enthusiastic ovations by Berlin musical audiences. Dr. Muck tried hard to evade internment in the United States on the ground that he was a Swiss citizen, but upon his arrival in Germany he was fêted as a German patriot and martyr. He is now engaged again as leader of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra. In a newspaper interview he stated that he was an Austrian.

HATRED OF FRANCE

Although in the beginning of the war the Germans hated the English more than any of their other enemies, the tide has turned and it is now the French that have aroused the Germans' most hostile feeling. The writer has met quite a few men in Germany who had been in the trenches and been wounded severely, and yet who stated that they would not hesitate a moment volunteering in case there should be another war with France. The French members of the allied military supervising council in Berlin are hated most thoroughly. The United States and England have already returned all Germans held as prisoners of war. France, on the other hand, refused to give them up until after the German Government had complied with certain promises, which was finally done on Jan. 10. Meanwhile, the Government, through misleading press reports, has made the people believe that it was France's malice which kept the prisoners in France. Unfortunately, the French authorities in the occupied districts have seen fit to employ more rigorous measures with the inhabitants than those used by the British and American authorities.

Americans are not at all disliked in Germany, with the exception of Presi-

dent Wilson, who is universally condemned for not having insisted on the Fourteen Points. It is astonishing to see what an amount of misinformation about the United States is printed in some of the leading German newspapers. Men like Georg von Skal and Henry F. Urban and other writers living among us, who are the American correspondents of German papers, are doing their best to discredit the United States through abusive articles, painting us as the land of the most reactionary Government, and what not.

Germany's economic life is rather unpromising. Only greatly increased production will cover her own needs and procure foreign credits abroad through exportation; but as it now is, many factories are idle and many industrious hands are unemployed. The late harvest and the early frost in the Autumn of 1919 brought new dangers and complicated the problem of nourishing the people.

On April 1, 1920, the Bavarian and Württemberg postal administrations will be taken over by the empire. Philatelists will thus see some species of stamps disappear. Also the railroads of the various States will soon be transferred to the nation, the Constitution requiring that they be taken over not later than April 1, 1921. The task of the National Minister of Transportation will be exceedingly difficult. Before the war the German railroads were held up to the world as an example of State efficiency. Today they are in a most deplorable condition. The deficit of the Prussian railways alone will amount to 700,000,000 marks for the current year. It is planned to electrify the entire system within thirty years. So far only about 200 miles have been electrified.

Another great task will be the amending of several judicial codes made necessary, partly by the changed status of the women and partly by the demand of the Social Democrats that the Judges be chosen by the people. However, this demand will probably lead only to a reform of the jury system, and not to the abolishing of the professional Judges appointed for life.

The parties forming the Government

are the Centre, the German Democratic Party, and the Social Democratic Party. The Centre has always been only half democratic. It is formed of Catholics, whose religion greatly influences their parliamentary decisions. The Centre Party's conservative elements, consisting of members of the higher clergy, of the nobility, of the bourgeoisie and of the farming class, however, are clever enough to realize that a Government of the parties of the Right would not be possible without a strong army, the establishment of which would not be tolerated by the Allies. The German Democratic Party owes its existence to the revolution. One of its members, Hugo Preuss, is the author of the German Constitution. The Social Democrats are the majority Socialists, those Socialists who supported the Government during the war.

At the right of the Centre stand the German National People's Party and the German People's Party. The former contains the old Conservatives—those who are mainly responsible for the way the war was carried on. They are strongly anti-Semitic and openly advocate the establishment of another Hohenzollern monarchy. From political meetings they send greetings to the Kaiser at Amerongen, and the *Kreuzzeitung* recently published a reply of thanks from his "all-highest" Majesty. Also monarchistic, although not quite so strongly as the German Nationals, is the German People's Party, composed mainly of former National Liberals, the representatives of capital.

To the left of the Social Democrats are the Independent Social Democrats, the Communists and the Syndicalists. The Majority Socialists act in accordance with Eduard Bernstein's interpretation of Karl Marx that capital is not to be considered the arch enemy of the working class. They work hand in hand with the other democratic parties and are the mainstay of the present Government. Ebert, the nation's President; Bauer, the Chancellor; Müller, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Noske, the Secretary of Defense, are some of its most prominent members. The Independent Socialists, with the exception of a small

group led by Kautsky, look upon the workmen's councils as the ideal basis of government. Like the Communists they wish to transplant the Russian system, the dictatorship of the proletariat, to Germany.

During the annual meeting of the Independent Socialists on Dec. 1 the membership was stated to have increased from 300,000 to 750,000, and the number of the independent Socialist newspapers to be fifty-five. Although they have only twenty-two seats in the National Assembly, as against the 165 seats of the Majority Socialists, recent events have proved them to be a force to be reckoned with.

The German National People's Party (the conservatives) claim also a large increase in their membership. This should not be surprising, as people who are disgusted with the present state of affairs easily come to the opinion that under a conservative Government conditions would be entirely different. On the other hand, the Independent Socialists' claim of increased membership is probably the result of the Majority Socialists having changed from a purely radical party to a reform party, which, although not guilty of having brought about the war, yet supported the war. Those to the left of the Majority Socialists want to see a complete overthrow of affairs.

Germany needs a strong Government supported by a nation which believes that the masses can be brought into order. However, there does not seem to be a people: there are only individuals who think of themselves alone. There is a minimum of altruism and a maximum of egotism. The only strong man in the Government is the Minister of Defense, Noske. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Hermann Müller, a former labor union leader and party journalist, although a very capable and honest man, will hardly be able to bring about the necessary reform in his department. So far no important appointments or changes in the personnel have been made which would indicate that the system of diplomacy of the past is to be discontinued. On the contrary, in this department, as well as in others, the Social-

ist chiefs have in many respects adopted the manners and customs of their predecessors. Only a month ago one of the most influential councilors of Bethmann Hollweg and one of the most industrious and loyal agents of his system, the Privy Councilor, Dr. Riezler, was appointed Cabinet Chief of the German President.

The National Assembly is now regularly installed in the former Reichstag building. The place is habitable again since the lice which once forced the Assembly to hold its meetings in one of the auditoriums of Berlin University have been starved to death.

INQUIRY INTO THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE WAR

The National Assembly has appointed a committee to inquire into the responsibility for the war. One of its sub-committees has had several meetings and the leading men of the old régime have had to appear before it. Everyone reading the statements and answers of these men before the committee must have asked himself, How was it possible for Germany, with such leaders, to carry on the war for more than four years? The statements of Bethmann Hollweg, Ludendorff, Tirpitz, show that there was an intense hatred between the leaders, which made co-operation very difficult. We Americans have underestimated the good intentions of Count Bernstorff while German Ambassador at Washington. He tried his best to induce the German Government to abstain from starting the ruthless submarine war. Ludendorff, the man who controlled Bethmann Hollweg and Hindenburg and the rest, has not convinced anyone through the statements before the committee of his surpassing greatness. Quite the contrary. He practically called Bernstorff a liar and displayed his hatred of the Ambassador. Bernstorff retained his composure and showed a gentlemanly reserve throughout.

We should expect that the German people, after seeing how their great empire was destroyed through acts of the utmost foolishness and the blindness of Bethmann Hollweg and the other leaders, would show anger and fury; but on the contrary, when Hindenburg was in Ber-

lin to appear before the committee, he was fêted as a demigod. Ever since the battle of Tannenberg he has been the great hero of the Germans. The German Nationals used the occasion for a political demonstration against the Government, against the republic and for the re-establishment of the monarchy. Admiral von Tirpitz, one of the men of the old régime, in his memoirs has laid bare all the deficiencies of that system of government.

THE ARMY

According to the Peace Treaty the German Army is to be reduced to 200,000 men within three months after the exchange of ratifications [which took place Jan. 10] and to 100,000 men after April 1, 1920. In addition to 200,000 men in the interior there was in October a force of 200,000 on the eastern border, Chancellor Bauer declared. In recalling the men from the Baltic States in compliance with the request of the allied governments, the German Government did not act honestly. In August it declared that it had no further means of inducing the mutinous troops to return; yet in September it found new means of coercion against these soldiers. When finally in October their pay was stopped, the officers and men declared deserters, and General von der Goltz recalled—measures which should have been taken months previously—it was too late, as many of those troops had organized themselves as the West Russian Army. In spite of all possible official measures the enlistments for this army were continued all over Germany with little risk of interference. In this connection attention might be called to a recent report in the New York papers of Noske's having personally received the leader of the Russian West Army, Colonel Avalov-Bermond. It seems that the Germans expect the Russian Army to become so Germanized that if necessary it can form the basis of Germany's military power in case of a future conflict of arms with France.

Under the names of civic guards and temporary volunteers the authorities are organizing a kind of militia distinct from the national army. There is, of course,

great danger that this militia may simply become a pretext under which the terms of the Peace Treaty may be evaded, inasmuch as the strength of these civic guards is rather large. For instance, the civic guard of the city of Hamburg consists of 34,000 men. Allot to all the other large cities of Germany a corresponding number of militia, and we have quite a sizable army not provided for in the Peace Treaty. It must be said, however, that at present and until there is a stable government in Germany, such a militia is needed, in order to keep order and prevent rioting.

The national army, unfortunately, is not what we ought to expect it to be in a democratic state controlled by socialists. Of nineteen commanders there are fifteen noblemen and four bourgeois. And the former gulf between officers and privates has again appeared. It also has become known that a system of reporting on personal political tendencies has been built up in the military hierarchy. Open show of republican sentiment is being frowned upon by the staff officers. That the army, then, took an active part in the political demonstration of the friends of a monarchy on the occasion of Hindenburg's visit to Berlin, as above mentioned, is not surprising, but very regrettable, the more so as the Secretary of Defense, Noske, is a Socialist. Noske has often been taken to task by fellow Socialists, but he is such a good orator that he always wins his opponents to his side when called upon to defend his actions before socialistic gatherings.

FINANCIAL SITUATION

Before the war the debt of the German Empire amounted to 5,000,000,000 marks. According to a statement of Mr. Erzberger, the Secretary of Finance, Germany's debt on April 1, 1920, will be 212,000,000,000 marks. This figure does not include any war indemnity which the Allies may impose upon Germany. Before the war the total wealth of Germany was estimated at 300,000,000,000 marks. For interest Germany will have to pay 10,000,000,000 marks a year, which is about one-fourth of the estimated national income of Germany

before the war. To produce income a national inheritance and estate tax has been introduced. Taxes on capital, income, turn-over, &c., are further to improve Germany's financial straits. Before the war the income taxes took 12 to 15 per cent. of the citizen's income. In the future it will be 10 to 60 per cent.

The intended tax of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all business turned over tends to benefit those producers that for instance purchase their raw material abroad and sell their finished product direct to the consumer, as the large electrical manufacturing concerns do. The consumer who buys a motor from an electrical engineer, on the other hand, may pay a multiple turn-over tax, as not only the engineer's turn-over, but also the turn-over of the motor manufacturer and of the wire manufacturer and the other manufacturers from whom the motor manufacturer bought the supplies needed are taxed.

In order to render evasion of the taxes on capital and income more difficult the banks have to submit to the Government certain half-yearly reports in regard to the accounts of their clients. Many Germans, in order to evade the tax laws, have already transferred a large part of their capital to a foreign country, by way of remittance or exporting securities or merchandise. In order to check this flight of capital stringent measures have been taken by the Government. The banks are not allowed to remit abroad any but small amounts without the consent of the authorities. A man leaving the country must not take with him more than 1,000 marks and no metallic money.

Capitalists in foreign countries will in the future think twice before investing in German securities, as an affidavit showing that the security is their property will be required before a German bank will cash the coupons. Germans cannot cash their coupons unless their securities are registered with the Government or deposited with a bank. The result has been and will be that German securities are sent abroad, so that the coupons may be cashed by a citizen of another country upon his affidavit of ownership but in reality for the benefit of the German owner; many will pre-

fer to invest their money in mortgages instead of securities, and others will invest in foreign securities abroad.

Like France and some other countries, Germany has issued a lottery loan of 5,000,000,000 marks on a rather attractive plan. The bonds are for 1,000 marks each. Every second bond drawn is drawn with a premium of at least 1,000 marks. Twice a year 2,500 premiums amounting to 25,000,000 marks will be drawn. Ten premiums of 1,000,000 marks each will be drawn yearly, so that at the end of eighty years, when all the bonds will have been retired, the nation will have created 800 millionaires. Think of a socialistic government creating millionaires by law.

In addition to any premium he may receive the owner of a bond will receive 5 per cent. interest from the date of issue till the date of the drawing. He does not receive any compound interest, this being used by the nation for premiums. The bonds have also been provided with certain tax exemptions. As they do not yield a fixed yearly income they are not suitable for an investor who needs the interest every year. For the Government this type of loan is extremely favorable. As is the case with every lottery loan, the payments for interest and amortization are considerably more favorable than in the case of a loan with half-yearly interest coupons. Furthermore, the amortization plan is such as to slip the large annuity payments onto the later generations. The main burden will fall on the decade between 1940 and 1950.

This first small loan after the ending of the war is only a feeler put out by the Government. The loan had to be made attractive, and a concession was made to the passion for gambling now so prevalent. Some months ago a law was passed in Prussia permitting book-makers to carry on their hitherto illegal profession on the payment of a license fee.

LABOR PROBLEMS

Section 165 of the German Constitution provides for the establishment of such employes' committees as will tend to make the employes equal factors in

the working contract. They are to agree with the employer on the conditions of work and to co-operate with him in the administration of the employes' welfare work. Their wishes and complaints are to be submitted to the employer through chosen representatives with certain rights. The employes are expected to co-operate further in the general promotion of their trade and they are to have a deciding voice whenever general questions come up concerning their trade.

To provide for the practical working out of these stipulations as laid down in the Constitution, a bill formally creating employes' committees has been placed before the national assembly. According to its provisions the following reasons are not considered good and sufficient ground for the dismissal of an employe by the employer without consent of the employes' council: that the employe refuses to do permanent work of a kind different from that for which he was originally engaged; allegation of political, military, religious or labor union activity on the part of an employe; and any cause not made imperative by the condition in the plant which would seem to impose an unfair hardship upon any employe. But engaging of new employes by the employer does not require the approval of the employes' committee. If in disputed cases the latter and the employer cannot come to an agreement, the decision of the settlement board may be called for. If this board decides that the dismissal is uncalled for and the employer insists on it, the latter has to pay an indemnity to the employe amounting to one-twelfth of the yearly remuneration of the employe for each year such employe has lasted, with a maximum of six-twelfths.

POWERS OF EMPLOYES

One or two delegates of the employes' committees are to have a voice in the decisions of the Boards of Directors of the stock companies. All concerns employing 100 or more office men or 500 or more laborers must show their yearly balance sheets to the employes' council, and must also submit to it quarterly statements regarding conditions, progress and prospects of the business, as well as furnish

certain data concerning wages and conditions of labor. It does seem to be a mistake to invest these committees with a voice in the management. As representatives of the employes the committees are practically the opponents of the employer. The more the concern earns the better are the chances of the workmen for an increase in their wages, yet their interest in the welfare of the enterprise is not so profound as that of the employer, who has his money invested in it. If the business fails, the employe can find another position; the employer, on the other hand, loses not only his capital, but also his reputation and standing. For this reason the management itself ought to be left to the employer. Also the inspection of the balance sheet and other data by the employes' council is a rather dangerous thing. Although these delegates are to keep strictly confidential any information thus obtained, they could easily impart knowledge which in the hands of outsiders may prove very dangerous to the prosperity or standing of the concern, or to its ability to compete.

The Constitution means to strengthen German industry by having the employes co-operate. Instead of giving the latter a deciding influence in the management of the individual plant, such provisions ought to be made as would enable them to render service in the promotion of the productivity of the entire line of industry that they are working in. The German State is in urgent need of a solid industrial system. Each individual plant must be made as productive as possible, to yield as high an amount of taxes as possible.

The activity of representatives of labor in the management of the individual plant will hinder rather than promote the productivity of the enterprise. The employe in the individual plant is more interested in high wages than in the capacity of his plant to help in the industrial and financial improvement of the State. In settling questions of policy concerning the entire industry or line of business the representatives of labor ought to be given a voice, to the benefit of both the workmen and the State. Both

the National Association of German Industry, which is the leading employers' association of Germany, and the Social Democrats held meetings of protest, but the bill was passed on Jan. 18 by a vote of 213 to 64.

[This is the bill which caused the riots before the Reichstag Building which are recorded elsewhere in these pages.]

Submitting the balance sheet to the employes has been called the end of the labor union idea. This idea is based on an equal wage for all those employed in the same trade. The inspection of the balance sheet by the employes, however, will promote the inclination to base the wage demands on the amount of profits of the individual plant. The tendency will be to increase the wages at the expense of the formation of new capital. The spirit of enterprise will be restricted thereby, to the detriment of the nation.

At the annual meeting in October of the largest German labor union, the German Metal Workers' Society, a representative of the Central Association of the Iron and Metal Workers of Hungary reported about the fight of the Hungarian workingmen against the results of the Soviet Republic. Labor, he stated, had lost everything; the industries had been ruined to such an extent that it would scarcely be possible to re-establish them, and the labor movement had suffered to such a degree that thirty years would be needed to rebuild it. In spite of this warning, the meeting, which was controlled by labor men belonging to the Independent Socialist Party, placed itself on record in favor of the soviet system. It passed resolutions tending to make the society a revolutionary industrial body and resulting in a break with the working kartel between the employers' organizations and the employes' organizations, established in November, 1918, after struggles extending over decades. This kartel agreement, by the way, contains a section by which the employers' organizations bind themselves to discontinue supporting the so-called yellow labor unions, which are company unions such as the Interborough Rapid Transit Brotherhood.

The capacity of labor is still far below

that of pre-war days. At the annual meeting in October of the Laurahuetten, one of the largest German coal and iron works, President Hilger mentioned that the mining capacity per man and shift had sunk from 1.4 tons before the war to 0.4 ton, and only very lately it has risen to 0.6 ton. In addition to the lack of desire to work and the shortening of the working day to eight and seven hours, he blames the lack of proper nourishment. He adds that the workmen carry on too much politics, the Laurahuetten alone having twenty-five employes' committees with 199 ordinary and 368 substitute members. The recent annual report of the Harpen Corporation, another large coal mining concern, states that the daily hours of actual work of a miner amount to five only.

The strike in October of the Berlin metal workers gave a good picture of the current aversion to work, and a member of the Work Committee of the Great Berlin Street Railway Company made the remark (also as late as October last) that labor was interested in "decreasing the output of the German factories as much as possible, so as to eliminate capitalism." In view of such recent utterances, is it astonishing to see other countries somewhat loath to grant credits to the German Nation?

Piece work in the large plants was abolished through the revolution, and the drone receives the same wage as the industrious. In some plants piece work has been reintroduced; yet on the whole organized labor is opposed to it. A vote in November of the shipyards' employes showed this result: for the reintroduction of piece work, 29,210 votes; against it, 35,677 votes. The German workman refuses to work as hard as he used to before the war. He would rather not work at all, and tries to live at the Government's expense. The National Labor Department stated at the end of November that the Government was supporting 550,000 unemployed. The total amount of money paid to unemployed for the year 1919 will be 1,000,000,000 marks.

A citizens' organization called the Technical Emergency Aid has been

created to provide for the continued maintenance of essential plants by means of emergency work. Essential plants are those whose activity is necessary for daily life, such as gas, water, and electric works, railroads, postal and tele-

graph service, mining and agriculture. In case of trouble threatening the maintenance of any of these industries, the Emergency Aid is not to carry on any productive work, but is to maintain the service.

Germany's Struggle With Radicalism

Proclamation of Peace Followed by Riots and Bloodshed in Berlin—Grappling With Discontent

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 18, 1920]

THE labor unrest which culminated in riot and bloodshed in front of the Reichstag Building on Jan. 13 had been evident all over Germany long before the close of the year. Twenty-five thousand State employees, comprising the clerical staffs of the Government offices, on Dec. 28 marched through Unter den Linden past the Chancellery in a silent demonstration on behalf of their demand for a substantial increase in wages. A new era of strikes and lockouts had set in earlier than was expected. Crime was on the increase. The unparalleled rise in food prices had been followed by enormous wage demands; one Berlin company reported that the increases called for by its striking employees would aggregate 34,000,000 marks.

A new strike on the railways had reached such a pass by Jan. 12 that the Government suspended the freedom of the press, the right of assembly, and the right to strike. President Ebert urged the strikers to resume work immediately on behalf of the 400,000 returning war prisoners, "whom your action on the threshold of the homeland is shutting out from their wives and families."

THE REICHSTAG RIOT

The Independent Socialists, ever watchful for an opportunity to undermine the Government, seized upon the new strike epidemic to organize a Revolutionary Council of Government, with a Provisional Chief Committee of thirty-three members.

When the Shop Councils bill, a Gov-

ernment measure placing workmen's councils under State control, came up for a second reading in the upper house of the Reichstag on Jan. 13 the Communist organ, *Die Freiheit*, appealed to fifteen labor unions to protest by stopping work at noon and assembling in front of the Reichstag at 3 o'clock. For three hours straggly lines of men, women, and children marched through the streets to the common centre. As the crowd gradually filled the wide Königsplatz between the Reichstag and Tiergarten, only an occasional fiery orator beneath a red flag sustained interest. As many began to drift homeward others took their places, so that while the number of participants was estimated at 100,000 not more than 50,000 were at one time before the building.

As the mob increased, the radicals in the front ranks tried to force their way into the Reichstag building. With only a handful of troops opposing them, they tore away rifles from the defenders, knocked the soldiers down, kicked their heads and chests, and threw the helpless over the balustrade to the concrete pavement eight feet below.

At first the soldiers refrained from using their arms, but comrades coming to the rescue fired over the heads of the mob. In turn they were attacked. The reserves were then ordered out, and used machine guns. Forty thousand radicals fled. Some ten thousand remained. A second round of machine-gun fire, aided by bombs, finally drove off the last of the rioters, who departed drag-

ging away their wounded. The total casualties were 42 killed and 105 injured.

PLOT OF THE RADICALS

It was afterward learned that there had been a deliberate radical plot to rush the Reichstag and assassinate or imprison all but the Independent Socialist members. The big oak-paneled door which gives access to the west wing of the Reichstag building was smashed during the attempted rush. It was the prompt resistance of the Public Security troops on guard that prevented ingress, which would have resulted in the invasion of the Chamber by the mob. Through this door a large calibre bullet fired from the ranks of the mob found its way and also passed through a second door into the lobby, crowded with members.

The Reichstag had temporarily adjourned amid great confusion, President Fehrenbach being obliged to leave the chair, as he was unable to control the situation. Members of various parties engaged in violent recriminations, and members of the Cabinet left the Chamber. A shot fired from a point directly in front of the Bismarck Monument entered the huge glass door leading to the lobby, which was crowded with agitated Deputies.

Dr. Karl Heine, Prussian Minister of the Interior, speaking in the Assembly the next day, assumed full responsibility for the protective measures adopted and accused the Independents of having incited the masses to disorder. The speech was noisily interrupted by the Independents.

Chancellor Bauer said: "I regard it as my duty to express in the name of the Government my thanks to the 'safety police.' They opened fire only after they had been attacked by criminal elements in the crowd and brutally maltreated and killed with their own arms. Signals were given to storm the Reichstag building by the Independents waving their handkerchiefs. Had the mob succeeded in penetrating the building a second St. Bartholomew's night would have ensued."

The police obtained evidence of a widespread radical conspiracy and later made numerous arrests of persons implicated.

Unfortunately they could not arrest the two principally guilty ones, Frau Zietz and Herr Zeubell, as members of the National Convention enjoy immunity, though as proved by many witnesses they and other independent members directed the attack from the windows and tried to persuade the guards not to shoot, but to open the doors and admit the mob.

The Shop Councils measure, which had been the ostensible occasion of the riots, was passed by the National Assembly on Jan. 18. The vote was 213 to 64.

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

Herr Erzberger's costly and tremendous campaign to put over his premium bond loan in December had been partly foiled. Instead of the anticipated 5,000,000,000 marks subscription, the amount offered fell considerably short of 4,000,000,000. A striking feature of the loan was that nearly 80 per cent. of the subscribers took only small amounts of 1,000 marks or under, in spite of alluring posters bearing such headlines as "How to become a millionaire." The actual millionaires for the most part held aloof, being distrustful of Erzberger's financial policy, and finding more profitable use for their capital.

This financial stress divided the country into two distinct classes of rich and poor, the former middle class having been swept away. Thus, where before the war a German middle class family could live comfortably on 1,800 marks a year, now an income of even 3,500 marks provided scarcely a bare existence, since prices of everything had risen from 200 per cent. upward. The distress which this situation forced upon a large proportion of the working people in a similar manner precipitated a strike of all the Berlin restaurant, saloon, and hotel keepers on Dec. 18. Numerous complaints had reached the Government that while families of workmen were deprived of decent food, luxurious meals at profiteering prices, through illicit trade, could be obtained at the resorts of those with purchasing means. The Government having decided to enforce the anti-profiteering law, bearing severe penalties of prison and fine, restaurant and hotel proprietors commenced a two days' strike.

During this retaliatory demonstration many visitors in Berlin went hungry, since not even a cup of coffee could be purchased. Hotel guests enjoyed the unique tribulation of watching the waiters fare sufficiently as usual, while service of meals was denied to patrons.

A Berlin message of Dec. 24 stated that the German Government had chosen a new coat of arms for the republic. It consisted of a black eagle on a gold and yellow background without other ornamentation. The crown and other imperial emblems were discarded.

A GLOOMY CHRISTMAS

The high Christmas festivity for which all Germany was formerly famous was epitomized as a Christmas only for the rich in 1919. While crowds thronged the streets of Berlin, it required a long purse to purchase seasonable articles formerly within the reach of the comparatively poor. Christmas trees were scarce and dear. The smallest candle cost 25 cents, and a box of crackers \$2. Disappointment was the lot of the majority of children; a small ordinary doll was priced at \$4; there was an almost complete absence of toy engines and railway trains, and the revolutionary father now doubted the appropriateness of presenting his boys with toy soldiers.

The press bade adieu to the departing year with such phrases as: "Twelve months of domestic decay," "The blackest and most disastrous year in German history," "Spirit weariness." In a vein of serious admonition President Ebert issued an appeal to the German people on Dec. 31 as follows:

In the year just ended chaos was averted and the unity of the empire was maintained and consolidated. Under the pressure of a reckless force we were compelled to conclude a peace threatening the honor and welfare of our nation and placing the fruits of our work of past and future years at the mercy of foreigners.

The year which begins must decide whether Germany, despite all difficulties, will maintain herself as a nation and State and develop her economic life on a sound basis or whether, through internal quarrels, she will definitely collapse and bury the hopes, even of her future generations.

With these prospects of our fate before my eyes, I urge all those calling

themselves Germans, in view of the common danger, to close their ranks in order that each according to his capacity may help to the utmost in the restoration of the Fatherland.

BITTERNESS OVER THE TREATY

News of the final ratification of the Peace Treaty on Jan. 10 was received in Berlin almost without signs of public interest. Telegrams and articles concerning it in the evening papers were not even given the pride of place. The press comments, however, were generally bitter, though not all for the same reason. Among the most prominent papers the *Lokal-Anzeiger* accorded it the heading: "Under the Knout of the Enemy." The *Tägliche Rundschau* thundered: "This Peace Is Worse Than War!" The *Tageblatt* likened the Peace Treaty to the edifice of force erected by the Pan Germans, which fell to the ground. "History does not end with ratification," prophesied the *Tageblatt*, "when Valliant threw a bomb into the French Chamber the President cried out: 'The sitting continues!' And so the world's history goes on—the sitting continues." This paper declared that Germany had two duties: "To carry out the treaty to the best of her ability and strive for revision." The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* remarked: "It would be unworthy to look sorrowfully backward and useless to seek scapegoats on whom to cast responsibility for our national misfortune."

On Jan. 11 the Government issued this proclamation to the German inhabitants of the territories being separated from Germany:

The unhappy issue of the war has left us defenseless to the arbitrary will of an opponent who is imposing upon us, in the name of peace, the heaviest of sacrifices, the first of which is the renunciation of German territories in the east, west and north, without regard to the principles of self-determination, by which hundreds of thousands of our German countrymen are being placed under foreign domination.

German Brothers and Sisters: Not only in the hour of farewell, but forever, mourning for our loss will fill our hearts. We vow to you, on behalf of the entire German people, that we will never forget you. You, on your part, will not forget your common German Fatherland—of that we are sure.

Whatever is possible for us to do to preserve to you the mother language, the German character and the inward spiritual union of the homeland will be done. We will unceasingly urge that promises given in the treaty shall be kept. Our sympathy, our care, our ardent love will unfailingly be yours.

Across all frontier barriers German nationality remains one entity. Be strong with us in the belief that the German people will not perish, but on hard-won

liberal foundations will rise to the highest political, economic and social culture.

Countrymen: A hard injustice was done you and us by forcible separation. The right of self-determination has been refused the German population. But we do not abandon hope. You, too, one day will be granted this national fundamental right. We will, therefore, despite all pain, call to one another, full of hope and confidence in this hour of parting. We will truly ever stand together with our entire strength for the right of our nationality.

Paul Deschanel as President of France

By WALTER LITTLEFIELD

ON Jan. 17 Paul Deschanel, who since 1912 had been constantly President of the Chamber of Deputies, was elected President of the Third French Republic by the Deputies and Senators united as a National Assembly, or Congress, at Versailles. Of the 926 electors 889 cast their votes with the following result:

M. Deschanel.....	734
Charles Jonnart.....	66
Premier Clemenceau	56
Léon Bourgeois.....	6
Captain Jacques Sadoul.....	1
Scattered	3
Blank and void ballots.....	23

At the caucus of the Assembly held on the previous day the vote had been:

M. Deschanel.....	408
Premier Clemenceau	389
M. Jonnart.....	4
M. Bourgeois.....	3
Marshal Foch.....	1
President Poincaré.....	10

Had the caucus followed precedent there would have been every likelihood of Premier Clemenceau being elected. But it did not follow precedent, nor did he desire to have his long and active career of nonconstructive and constructive statesmanship thus honorably decorated. There had been some doubt abroad as to the latter, but none in France, particularly among his intimates. When the result of the caucus became known M. Clemenceau reminded a group of Ministers, who had asked him to remain as a candidate, that he had already informed them of his reluctance to remain passive, but had done so through the

pressure of his friends. He added that he had given them the names of three men, one of whom he would prefer to see President. The three were MM. Deschanel, Dubost, and Barthou. He did not then repeat his preference, but advised his supporters to vote for the re-election of President Poincaré. The latter declined, and the "Father of Victory," alias "The Tiger," then said: "Now my rôle is finished." Thus almost for the first time in the history of French Presidential elections the caucus indicated what was actually to happen on the following day.

France and a very large part of the world would have liked to see M. Clemenceau President—some because he would then have been practically removed from active politics, others because they would like to see how he might defy tradition and confuse law by striving to be a Chief Executive in fact as well as in name, others still because they wished him to receive what should be and what he could make the greatest honor within the gift of France.

Once *Le Temps* urged Casimir-Périer, when President, to "do something." At the end of a long reply he wrote:

"Among all the powers which appear to be attributed to him there is only one the President of the republic is able to exercise freely and personally; this is to preside at national ceremonies."

Every other act has to be counter-signed by some Minister, and the Ministers are individually and collectively re-

sponsible to the Chamber, where an adverse vote may throw one or all out of office. Some French publicists have always declared that the office of President has powers of almost limitless potentialities; it only remains for the right man to discover them. There are others who declare that President Poincaré has gone further toward their discovery than any of his predecessors. They have said that he has done so "by exercising the high functions of his office fearlessly and yet with just moderation and free from the dominating influence of others, thus winning the admiration and loyalty of all classes of citizens of the great and valiant nation of which he is the honored Executive."

The only thing which may possibly qualify this prospect looming before M. Deschanel is the fact that M. Briand, several times Premier, has ready the project of a law to make the potential powers of the President active. Still M. Deschanel may have craved the office without looking beyond its traditional functions. As we have seen, he has sought it before. The traditional functions may, therefore, be the beginning and end of his ambition.

At any rate, he comes to the Elysée a gentleman capable of making the Court there shine as it has never shone under any of his predecessors. His dress, speech, and manners are aristocratic, and he has a charming and beautiful wife, whose salon has long been the most exclusive in Paris. He is an orator, a scholar, and an author of distinction. He is also an Academician. Unfortunately, his labor during the war is buried in the secret archives of the Chamber whose President he was, and his public speeches during that period, his rulings in the legislative body, were so overshadowed by what was vital to the nation as to have passed quite unnoticed. And yet, if they had not been "correct" there would probably have been sufficient sensation about them.

Paul Eugène Louis Deschanel was born in Brussels in 1856, where his father, Emile Deschanel, the Senator and professor at the Collège de France,

had been exiled in 1851 by "Napoleon le Petit." That exile ended in 1859, and father and son returned to France. (In France, one may have been born in a foreign land and still be President.) Young Deschanel studied law, and then decided on a political career, preferring to enter the bureaucracy rather than the Legislature—a predilection which has shaped in the main his entire career. From 1876 he served as secretary, first to Deshayes de Marcère and then to the famous "Jules Simon," the real father of The Hague Congress.

In October, 1885, he was elected Deputy for Eure-et-Loire and by his oratory and administrative ability soon began to shape the destinies of the Progressive Republican group. All during the early part of his career, like Clemenceau, he was both an Anglophobe and a Russophobe. His attitude was an uncompromising in regard to the French withdrawal from Egypt in 1882 and the fancied humiliation of the Marchand fiasco at Fashoda in 1899 as it was against the Russian anti-Semitic pogroms and the emptying of French stockings for the benefit of the Grand Dukes.

In 1896 he was elected Vice President of the Chamber and henceforth confined himself more to domestic politics, beginning a prolonged struggle with the Left, with periodical compromises, however, as, for example, when the Left took up the vindication of Dreyfus and the separation of Church and State in the first decade of the present century. He was first elected President of the Chamber in June, 1896, was re-elected and defeated several times until 1912, when he began an interrupted career as presiding officer of that body.

His wife is the daughter of René Brice, Deputy from Ille-et-Vilaine, and the granddaughter of Camille Doucet, for many years the perpetual Secretary of the French Academy. His best-known books are "Orators and Statesmen," "Sketches of Women," "Decentralization," "The Social Question," "Domestic and Foreign Politics," and numerous volumes of speeches.

AMONG THE NATIONS

Survey of Important Events and Developments in Various Nations, Great and Small

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 19, 1920]

THE BALKANS

THE presentation of the Hungarian treaty of peace to the magnate Magyar delegates at Paris early in the new year apparently created no excitement in the Balkans, for both Rumania and Jugoslavia had known, since they had been told by the Supreme Council as early as Oct. 24, 1919, exactly what territory they might expect from the new Magyar Republic. The Bulgarian Sobranje amid internal disorders which, however, had little to do with international affairs, quietly ratified the Treaty of Neuilly on Jan. 12, together with the special treaty in regard to the emigration of nationals between Bulgaria and Greece, which had also been signed by the delegates of these nations at Neuilly on Nov. 27. Meanwhile, Balkan propaganda as well as diplomatic exchanges showed a new lining up of the little nations of the peninsula—a cohesion of Bulgaria and Greece, and of Jugoslavia and Rumania. In the popular press of Bulgaria and Greece, however, the conflict over the disposition of Thrace still raged.

BULGARIA—An anti-dynastic revolt aided by industrial strikes began on Jan. 5 and practically ended on Jan. 11 without loss of life by the uncompromising but rational action of the troops. Reports, however, came from Geneva, Switzerland, that 100 persons had been killed at Sofia; these reports were subsequently denied at the Bulgar capital. According to Bulgar Government organs the demonstrations were organized by the friends of the proscribed enemies of Premier Stambuliwski, who were making every effort to escape punishment for following the ex-Czar Ferdinand into the war on the side of Germany. There was no foundation for Bolshevism, but in the industrial unrest, they thought,

there was sufficient for the overthrow of the dynasty, and with the dynasty would go the new Agrarian Government. Indeed, a dispatch from Copenhagen, dated Jan. 7, showed that they had half succeeded, that the Stambuliwski Government had resigned and had been succeeded by a Cabinet under the leadership of Dr. S. Deneff, former Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs. But no confirmation of this came from Sofia.

The official press of Athens having declared that the Musulman population of Xanthie, Eastern Thrace, had welcomed the advent of the Greek army of occupation, the *Echo of Bulgaria*, published at Sofia, on Dec. 16, published in facsimile a note in Turkish written by the Mayor of Xanthie, Tahir Effendi, saying that the Musulmans went into mourning and draped their houses in black when the Greeks came.

GREECE—The censorship still dominated Greece, and it was impossible to secure through the regular channels any news of the exact situation there, where the friends of ex-King Constantine from their headquarters in Geneva manage to get through their paper, the *Echo of Greece*. As to the alleged plot against M. Venizelos, although certain officers of the old régime were either arrested or placed under strict surveillance in Athens, the affair practically became a journalistic duel between the Constantine organ and the *Journal of the Hellenes*, in which the President of the Council himself, to judge from his speeches and interviews, took merely academic interest.

The condition of Greek finances was, for the first time since the war, expounded by M. Negropontis, Minister of Finance, before Parliament on Dec. 27. His statement reduced to tabular form was as follows for 1918-19, in drachmai,

the normal value of the drachma being about 20 cents, now worth a little more than half:

Revenue—	
From Customs	450,269,284
From loans	798,421,989
Expenditures	1,241,714,338

The loans include 700,000,000 drachmai supplied by the Allies. His estimate for the current year 1919-20 was:

Revenue	1,147,669,394
Expenditures	1,541,330,749

He declared that the growth of the revenue, chiefly from the proceeds of the new income tax, proved that the national economic situation was prosperous. His policy included the flotation of internal loans for national needs and of foreign loans for productive needs, chiefly with the aim of realizing the value of the potential riches of the country.

JUGOSLAVIA—In spite of the unsettled condition of the Adriatic question and the political crisis at Belgrade between the Serbs and Croats, reports of American agents from various parts of the country show a revival of industry and a feverish effort for reconstruction. In Serbia there was a great need of skilled agricultural labor and of teachers to instruct the unskilled, of tools and machinery, but of no more alleged philanthropic missions bringing propaganda and food for the voluntarily idle. In Croatia and Slovenia many savings banks had doubled the amount of their deposits every month since Summer; those of Petrinia and Agram were said to have received large letters of credit from American firms, and mining properties were being rapidly bought up. There was also great activity in the timber industries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a syndicate to utilize the water power of the Frebinjica River with the construction of a great central electric power station was formed under the auspices of the Belgrade Government, just in time to prevent the whole enterprise, in the shape of a concession, going to an American company.

RUMANIA—In the preceding number of *CURRENT HISTORY* only an incomplete list of the new Rumanian Cabinet organized on Dec. 9 could be secured. The

completed and corrected list is as follows:

ALEXANDER VAIDA-VOEVOD, Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.
General FOFOZA AVERESCU, Interior.
General NASCARU, War.
Dr. AUREL VLADA, Finance and Acting Minister of Labor and Industry.
Dr. VICTOR VORTESCU, Transportation.
OCTAVIAN COGA, Religion and Education.
Dr. MICHAEL POPOVICI, Public Works.
JOHN JELIVAN, Justice.
INCULETZ RALIPA, STEFAN CIPOP, and Professor Dr. CANTACUZENE, without portfolios.

M. Vaida-Voevod, who was with M. Bratiano in Paris as the representative of the Transylvania Council, publicly announced that the first duty of the Cabinet would be to see that the treaty of St. Germain was signed. This was done on Dec. 7, two days before the Cabinet had actually been completed. Aside from this duty the Cabinet will represent the parliamentary bloc composed of members of the National Party of Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia, and of the Peasants, and Nationalist-Democratic groups.

The circumstances which led up to the formation of the Vaida-Voevod Government were as follows: After his return from Paris M. Bratiano had succeeded in blocking all entente between his Government and the Peace Conference, through his favor with the King, to whom he had declared that a firm front would cause the conference to back down. To make this front firmer he inaugurated the "Cabinet of Generals," described in the November number of *CURRENT HISTORY*, led by his old friend, General Vaitoiano.

To his decisive influence between Bucharest and Paris is due the extraordinary fact that after the Vaitoiano Cabinet announced its resignation in Parliament it was actually instigated by M. Bratiano to send a reply to the ultimatum of the Supreme Council of the Paris Conference, which was full of recriminations against the attitude of the Entente toward Rumania and wound up with the memorable declaration that the Rumanian Government would not sign the treaty with Austria—the treaty of St. Germain.

This attempt to break off relations at

Paris by what amounted to a coup d'état against Parliament by Bratiano and his military friends was frustrated by representatives of Great Britain, France, and Italy at Bucharest, who advised General Vaitoiano, especially as his reply to the ultimatum had been *ex post facto*, to reconsider what would be regarded by the world as a most extraordinary proceeding—the spectacle of a Government pretending to negotiate when no longer in office.

On the night of Dec. 2, as the ultimatum reached the hour of expiration and no new Government had been formed, the allied mission prepared to leave Bucharest. At the eleventh hour the King, by directing M. Vaida-Voevod to form a Cabinet, saved the situation and prevented a rupture with the Conference, which the evening papers of the capital had already announced as having taken place.

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

On Dec. 23 M. Hymans, the Belgian Foreign Minister, in a speech in the Parliament at Brussels, explained that the negotiations with The Hague would leave Belgium in a better position with regard to control of the Scheldt, of the Ghent-Terneuzen Canal, and of the traffic from Antwerp to the Meuse and the Rhine hinterland, but that in a military way the security of Belgium would probably remain seriously imperiled by the non possumus of the Dutch. This was confirmed on Jan. 13 by an agreement reached between the Belgian and Dutch negotiators. Two commissions were to be formed, one for the Scheldt, to sit at Brussels, and one for the Ghent-Terneuzen Canal, to sit at Ghent. The military project will be laid before the League of Nations by Belgium.

Another Belgian-Dutch dispute involves a change in the frontier not contemplated by the Peace Conference. In this Holland took the initiative. It concerns the twin towns of Baerle and the quantity of Dutch land owned and cultivated in the vicinity by Belgians and the quantity of Belgian land owned and cultivated in the same vicinity by Dutchmen. Baerle is situated on the railway line from Turnhout to Tilburg, about

midway between the two towns. Completely separated from the Province of Antwerp by Dutch territory, it is divided into two districts, Baerle-Hertog, which is Belgian, and Baerle-Nassau, which is Dutch. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the topographical division of the towns is most irregular—the Belgian portion, for municipal purposes, being linked up with the hamlet of Zondereygen, which is completely isolated within the Province of Antwerp. Baerle-Hertog has 1,400 inhabitants, and Baerle-Nassau 2,600, including the hamlets of Casterle and Uliooten, which are a considerable distance from the centre.

The Dutch project is to rectify the frontier line so that the political boundary shall conform to the changes in land ownership which have gradually taken place.

Le Peuple, the first Belgian Labor paper to be published in the French language, celebrated its thirty-fifth anniversary. Its first serial was Emile Zola's "Germinal," the right to publish which was conveyed in a letter from the author dated Nov. 15, 1885, reading:

Take "Germinal" and reproduce it. I ask nothing, because your paper is poor, and because you defend poor people. Good luck to you. EMILE ZOLA.

In 1885 the paper was written by one man, set up and printed by five, and had a circulation of 150. Its capital consisted of a few ten-franc shares. Its circulation on its thirty-fifth anniversary was half a million, and its influence at the November election is judged from the fact that it delivered 645,000 Labor votes, as compared with 620,000 Catholic and 310,000 Liberal, and that Labor gained thirty seats in the Chamber, with four Labor Ministers in the Coalition Government, and, for the first time in the history of Belgium, a Laborite President of the Chamber.

Heavy purchases of railway freight cars have been met abroad principally in France; orders for 375 locomotives have been placed in the United States, 125 in England, and 175 within the country. Some of those ordered in England were filled in December. The great via-

duct, 300 fet in length and 60 feet wide, on the Ostend-Brussels line, entirely destroyed by the Germans, has been rebuilt, as well as all the necessary bridges of the Scheldt and Lys, likewise destroyed. The German mark was completely retired and the circulation of francs destored.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

On Jan. 15 it was authoritatively reported from London that his Majesty's Government, apprehensive of the hold Bolshevik propaganda was taking in India, would lead the newly established League of Nations in overt war on Soviet Russia. The next day it was officially announced and confirmed that the Supreme Council, on the initiative of the

rectly inspired it, however, are upon record. As far back as Nov. 8 the Prime Minister, speaking at the Lord Mayor's banquet in London, had expressed the view that peace with Russia was most desirable. The organ of the Pan-Russian Governments, *La République Russe*, printed in Paris, opened in its issue of Dec. 19 a long article on the subject with the words: "The curtain rises on the decisive act of international politics. Official representatives of Lloyd George and of Lenin are negotiating peace." Advices from the States of Caucasus showed that the Bolshevik creed had penetrated Persia; from Turkestan that it had obtained an influence in Afghanistan and was the instigator of the renewal of the war on the Indian Northwest Frontier.



SCENE OF THE FIGHTING BETWEEN THE
BRITISH-INDIAN TROOPS AND THE
MAHSUD AND WAZIRIS

British Government had, on the contrary, decided to raise the blockade of Russia and to barter products with the co-operative societies there, while still maintaining the attitude of the Entente toward the Moscow Government.

The exact character of this new policy and its general effect among Governments and peoples and in the press had not become known with any definite details by Jan. 19. The events which preceded it and may have directly or indi-

In the United Kingdom the Labor Party, which had placed itself on record as being opposed to armed intervention in Russia, won several seats at by-elections. The negotiations of the Government with the coal miners and with the railroad men made slow progress. Equally slow was the progress of the Government in instituting reforms in Egypt, India, and Ireland in the face of attempted assassination of British officials and of Nationalist propaganda, the speciousness and distribution of which had never been equaled in history. The elections in the Union of South Africa, handled by the indomitable General Smuts, had indeed been a victory for the empire and against the establishment of a Dutch republic; in Australia the supporters of the Commonwealth had won over the Laborites, and the farmers and the Hughes Government was safe. In Malta Lord Milner, coming over from Cairo, announced home rule for the island.

All these conflicting events probably had a strong influence in pressing the British Government to take the initiative in raising the blockade of Soviet Russia.

THE UNITED KINGDOM—December established a new record for British trade, making 1919 unequaled: The total exports for the year showed an increase of nearly £300,000,000 over 1918, while total imports were £315,000,000 over the

preceding year. Numerous contractions of Government expenditures were announced, showing on the average a 50 per cent. reduction over those of 1918 and an estimated reduction of 60 per cent. for 1920. Unionist politicians charged that Labor's victories at the by-elections were due to the fact that the Liberal Party was bent on overthrowing the Coalition, and not to any new strength of Labor. Lord Chancellor Birkenhead proposed the formation of a National Party for the purpose of stimulating organization among the supporters of the Coalition and to prevent a premature return to old party questions at the expense of post-bellum problems of Empire.

On Jan. 4 various mass meetings of railroad men rejected the Government's offer of an advance of wages, which averaged 100 per cent. higher than the pre-war rate. Negotiations were still proceeding on Jan. 19. Preliminary attempts for a permanent arrangement with the coal miners were also proceeding. The output of coal under the arrangement reached last Summer amounted to nearly 6,000,000 tons for the last four weeks in December.

EGYPT—An attack by a student on the life of the Prime Minister, Yussuf Wahba Pasha, took place on Dec. 14, but the news was not made public in London until the 20th.

The Milner Mission gained one victory and suffered one defeat. It won over that part of the Nationalist Party headed by Rouchdi Pasha, Ahmed Mazloun Pasha, and Yeshen Sarawat Pasha for negotiation, while the delegation which visited Paris still remained obdurate. Its defeat was when the mission attempted to open conversations with the Grand Mufti, the head of Egyptian Moslems on Jan. 2, and failed. The Mufti closed the interview by saying:

As religious chief I can only say and affirm that it is impossible to convince the nation of the utility of a thing of which I myself am unconvinced. The entire nation claims its independence, and it would therefore be useless to speak in any other language. I do not forget your power, but if Egyptians bend today before force they will seize the first occasion to revolt. The guarantee of force is not eternal.

A statement signed by Lord Milner had been addressed to the Nationalist delegation on Dec. 29. It read:

The British Mission, struck with the existence of a widespread belief that the object of its coming is to deprive Egypt of rights hitherto possessed by her, states that there is no foundation whatever for that belief.

The British Government sent the mission out, with the approval of the British Parliament, to reconcile Egyptian aspirations with Great Britain's special interests in Egypt and with the maintenance of the legitimate rights of foreign residents. We are convinced that with good-will on both sides this object can be attained. It is the sincere desire of the mission to see the relations between Great Britain and Egypt established on a basis of friendly accord and to put an end to friction, thus enabling Egyptians to devote their whole energies to the development of the country under self-governing institutions.

In pursuance of this task the mission desires to hear all the views of representatives of bodies or individuals having the welfare of the country at heart. All opinions may be freely expressed to the mission. There is no wish to restrict the area of discussion, nor need any man fear that he will compromise his convictions by appearing before it. He will, on the contrary, be no more compromised by expressing his opinions than the mission will be compromised by hearing them. Without a perfectly frank discussion it will be difficult to put an end to misunderstanding and arrive at an agreement.

The next day the Cairo local committee of the delegation replied as follows:

The committee would have liked Lord Milner's statement to have been clearer and more explicit and to have contained an acknowledgment of the complete independence of Egypt, but all it does is to widen the area of discussion, as it does not limit expressions of opinion within the bounds required by acceptance of the Protectorate. This widening of the discussion shows that the English are convinced that the Egyptians categorically refuse the Protectorate, and does not allay the fears of the Egyptians arising from recent British political pronouncements.

Lord Milner's statement, as it stands, is not sufficient to induce the nation to reverse its attitude. Moreover, political methods of argument would not permit deliberations between the mission and the nation as a whole. As far as the Egyptian demands are concerned, these are already known the world over, and can be summarized in the phrase, "Complete independence." To reconcile Egypt's inde-

pendence with the interests of Great Britain and foreigners in Egypt, the discussion can only be with the delegation, and the discussions must not encroach on the sacred rights of Egypt. Long live Egypt! Long live Independence!

Like Ireland, Egypt is one of the most prosperous appendages of the empire. On Dec. 28 the final statement of accounts for 1918-19 was published in Cairo; it showed an increase of \$20,000,000 in revenue and \$500,000 in expenditure over the estimates. The totals are in Egyptian pounds, the normal value of the £E being \$4.98, as follows:

Revenue	£E 27,661,289
Expenditure	£E 23,384,326
Surplus	£E 4,276,963

Of the surplus, £67,304 representing Government seigniorage of coinage during the year, has been carried to the silver reserve fund to meet a possible loss on the eventual recall of the extra silver issued during the war, which now stands at £1,452,561, the balance of the surplus being passed to the general reserve, which, on April 1, 1919, stood at £10,979,838, as compared with £5,103,549 on April 1, 1914. A note accompanying the statement gave warning that the surplus cannot be taken as the true index of the country's budgetary position, although it certainly demonstrates its increased prosperity.

Some of the Nationalist propaganda published by the Egyptian delegation follows in scheme and format the pamphlets issued by the Allies describing German atrocities in Belgium and occupied France. One publication called "White Book" has, aside from the official correspondence, several pages on heavy paper showing half-tone reproductions of photographs purporting to reveal the victims of British flagellation.

With the Nationalist agitation going on in the cities of Lower Egypt, advices arrived in London on Dec. 22 of the defeat of the British columns in the Sudan, which took place last October, continued through the year, and caused the evacuation of a large area of territory. Two British officers, Majors Stigand and White, and about forty others were killed in various engagements.

The British Government stated that the

affair was entirely isolated from the revolts in Lower Egypt.

INDIA.—Just as the Indian Home Rule bill had passed through its third reading in the British House of Commons the all-India Caliphate Conference at Delhi adopted, on Jan. 2, the following resolution:

That the conference enjoins upon Indian Moslems as a religious duty the obligation to abstain from participation in the forthcoming victory celebrations.

That in the event of a settlement with Turkey not being concluded to the satisfaction of Mussulmans, a progressive boycott of British goods be inaugurated by Indian Moslems, and that there shall be a gradual cessation of co-operation with the Government.

That a deputation should as soon as possible proceed to England, and if necessary to the United States, to lay the true sentiments of Mussulmans before responsible British Ministers.

The fighting on the northwest frontier assumed proportions never equaled in the war last Summer between the regular troops of Afghanistan and the British-Indian army. The principal scene of action was the mountainous country west of Mandanna Kach, where heavy forces of the Mahsuds and Waziris had secured strong positions. In the fighting on Dec. 19 the British lost in killed, wounded, and missing about 200, including 13 officers killed or missing. From Dec. 21 until the end of the year the British had a total casualty list of nearly 1,000. Meanwhile, various reports were that some of the Mahsuds had surrendered and that the Waziris were returning home, this effect having been principally brought about through British bombing airplanes.

Native Indian Nationalists, principally Moslems, used as propaganda the evidence presented before the Hunter Commission, which investigated at Bombay the disturbances which began at Punjab last April, and during which the troops fired on the mob, killing several natives.

The Chief Inspector of Mines in India issued his report for 1918. In that year nearly 20,000,000 tons of coal were mined, being 14.55 per cent. over that of 1917; the output of mica was 51,572 hundredweight, as against 35,896 in the

previous year; manganese, 415,357 tons, a decrease of 16.43 per cent.; wolfram, 72,189 hundredweight, as compared with 79,312 hundredweight in 1917, a decrease of 8.98 per cent.; gold fell off from 22,991 ounces to 19,916, copper from 20,108 tons to only 3,619, and, finally, the output of gems showed a decrease, being 164,115 karats, as compared with 198,200 karats in 1917. Toward the close of the year the demand for rubies and sapphires at Paris greatly increased.

FRANCE

The two most important events in France, the promulgation of the Treaty of Versailles and the election of Paul Deschanel as President of the republic, are dwelt upon elsewhere.

As is customary, the Cabinet resigned after the Presidential election and M. Millerand was intrusted with forming a new one. All but the post of Minister of Pensions had been filled by Jan. 19, as follows:

Premier and Foreign Minister—ALEXANDRE MILLERAND.
 Minister of Justice—M. L'HOPITEAU.
 Interior—JULES STEEG.
 War—ANDRE LEFEVRE.
 Marine—M. LANDRY.
 Commerce—M. ISAAC.
 Agriculture—HENRI RICARD.
 Finance—FREDERIC FRANCOIS-MARSAL.
 Colonies—ALBERT SARRAUT.
 Public Works—YVES LE TROCQUER.
 Public Instruction—ANDRE HONORAT.
 Labor—PAUL JOURDAIN.
 Hygiene and Social Welfare—M. BRETON.
 Pensions—ANDRE MAGINOT.
 Liberated Regions—JEAN OGIER.

M. Jourdain was Minister of Labor in the Clemenceau Cabinet and M. Le Trocquer was Under Secretary of State for the Liquidation of Stocks. These are the only members of the Clemenceau Ministry retained. M. François-Marsal is manager of the Banque Union Parisienne. Captain André Tardieu refused to retain the portfolio of Minister of Liberated Regions.

Unlike the elections to the Chamber of Deputies held on Nov. 16, the elections to the Senate of two-thirds of the 300 total on Jan. 11 showed a return of old favorites, like President Poincaré, Stephen Pichon, Léon Bourgeois, C. C. A.

Jonnard, Jules Pams, Ribot and Clemenceau. The Senatorial election had an important bearing on the coming trial of the former Premier, Joseph Caillaux, charged with intriguing to bring about a premature and dishonorable peace. The trial by the Senate as a High Court had been set for Jan. 14. That would only have allowed the new Senators three days in which to study the voluminous evidence in the case. So when the case came up on the 14th it was decided to postpone the trial until Feb. 17.

The rising of the Seine and the strike of the chorus of the Paris Opéra covered about the same period—Dec. 30-Jan. 16. The chorus, which in the meantime had been joined by the dancers and the business staff, finally accepted the management's proposal for an increase in wages and one extra performance a week. The Seine before it subsided cut off several of the suburban railway lines, but fell short of the maximum reached in 1910 by eight feet.

On Dec. 31 the indebtedness of France was fixed by M. Klotz, the Minister of Finance, at 203,860,000,000 francs or at the normal rate of exchange a trifle over \$40,772,000,000. The finding of this vast sum is the problem facing the new Government and the new Chamber, for on its solution depends the whole future of France. In other words, the Government must extract from the pockets of 39,500,000 persons, constituting the French population, an average of 5,161 francs each. The ordinary French revenue of the year preceding the war showed a total of a trifle over \$1,000,000,000. Thus, if the whole revenue of the State as calculated on a pre-war basis were devoted to the reduction of the debt, France (even leaving interest out of account) would not be free from indebtedness in less than forty years. The expenditures of 1913-14, however, were a trifle under \$1,000,000,000, or exactly 4,738,603,534 francs, but then the franc was worth more than twice what it is today.

ITALY

What may have inspired Signor Nitti, the Italian Premier, to second the British Prime Minister in advocating before the

Supreme Council a raising of the blockade of Soviet Russia, was a wireless message which the Italian Government had received from M. Tchitcherin, the Bolshevik Foreign Minister, on Jan. 1, proposing a resumption of relations between Rome and Moscow, and pointing out that the Soviet Government was able to open the Black Sea route to Italy. But Signor Nitti then abided by the decision of the Italian Chamber made on Dec. 13, which had declined to recognize Soviet Russia by a vote of 289 to 124.

The sixth loan (5 per cent.) floated since Italy entered the war was opened for subscriptions on Dec. 26, and the total on that day surpassed all previous records, being between \$150,000,000 and \$200,000,000. Great enthusiasm was reported.

In pursuance of the Government's financial program, announced on Nov. 26, Signor Schanzer, Minister of the Treasury, made his financial statement concerning the details on Dec. 16. For the financial year 1918-19 the expenditure had been 32,599,000,000 lire and the revenue 9,498,000,000 lire, or at the normal rate of exchange respectively \$6,519,800,000 and \$1,899,600,000. The estimates for 1919-20 were: Expenditure, 9,535,000,000 lire; revenue, 7,491,000,000 lire. In the period from Nov. 1, 1918, to Oct. 31, 1919, extraordinary expenditure amounting to 20,811,000,000 lire had been met to the extent of 12,195,000,000 from extraordinary revenue, and as regards the remaining 8,616,000,000 by means of Treasury bonds.

Prince von Bülow, the former German Chancellor, and the special envoy at Rome, who had labored to keep Italy out of the war in the Winter of 1914-15, took up his old residence at the Villa Malta, Rome, on Dec. 20, but on Jan. 5, just five days before the Versailles Treaty was promulgated, he was requested to leave the Eternal City, and departed for Lucerne.

M. Barrère, who for twenty-three years has been the French Ambassador at the Quirinal, made an important diplomatic disclosure at a reception he gave the French colony on Dec. 31, which threw light upon the French and Italian Yellow

and Green Books. He said that in 1900 and 1902 he had negotiated defensive treaties with Italy as an offset to the Triple Alliance, which Italy realized she could not be an active partner to in case Germany went to war with both France and Great Britain.

He said that the treaty of 1900 eliminated every cause of conflict in the Mediterranean, and traced the Italo-French spheres of influence in Africa. The treaty of 1902 added the stipulation that in case of aggressive war against either France or Italy, the other would observe the strictest neutrality, which would also be maintained if one or the other were constrained by provocation to declare war for the defense of its honor and security.

The United States Trade Commissioner at Rome, H. C. MacLean, made a report on the new measures adopted by Italy against unemployment, which practically amount to an insurance against hard times of about a quarter pay.

SPAIN

With little abatement the struggle of the Spanish employers' organization against syndicalism represented by the General Federation of Labor with headquarters at Barcelona continued. Lock-out succeeded strike, and strike and assassination succeeded lockout. Toward the end of the year there was a revolt against the mysterious executive council of the Federation by professional members, who discovered that the pecuniary benefits they had expected to derive from the organization were not forthcoming, for the financial affairs since the departure of the German organizers sixteen months ago had been in somewhat of a tangle with large sums mysteriously disappearing.

On Jan. 10 the Radical Republican leader, Alejandro Lerroux, took the Federation, which is said to dominate by assassination, as well as the Employers' Association, which is said to attempt to dominate by lockout, to task, and declared in the Cortes that both organizations were outside the law. He said:

They have the same faults and the same merits. The employers were laborers themselves twenty years ago, or their fathers before them were, and their code

was the same as that of the workers. The employers first attacked the Central Government and then decided to make that Government an instrument to suppress, in many cases outside the law, all progressive and liberal ideas. Juries which were afraid to punish the true culprits are responsible for much of the disorder in Barcelona, and as a result crime has followed crime. As a Liberal-Democrat, if I were the Government, I would suppress juries, because when people do not make the right use of liberty they have no right to have it. The final thing that Spain needs to do is to give the impression that there is justice in the land, and that movement must come from the highest places. Spain also needs discipline, which I am sorry is lacking both among the civil and military classes. * * * The Government should not attack everybody indiscriminately, make arrests blindly and close all social centres, but should find the real culprits and punish them, which it can do if it uses all its force.

The Government headed by the new Premier Salazar contemplated two remedies for the constant interruption of business on one hand and the terrorist campaign on the other. On Jan. 13 El Sol of Madrid announced that under the influence of the employers a strong Monarchist Party was being formed by the Liberal and Conservative leaders to bring a stable Government into power which should effectually oppose the Reds and their policy of terror. On the other hand, on Jan. 17, a bill calling for the compulsory syndication of all industries, trades and professions, affecting both employers and employes, was approved by the Senate and sent to the Chamber. The bill is in the nature of a co-operative

formula with the Government as the chief directing agency over both employers and employes.

TURKEY

The first sitting of the new Turkish Parliament, held early in the new year, showed that the majority had a Committee of Union and Progress, of Nationalist character. With this backing the Sultan issued a series of statements pointing out that he would never consent to the dismemberment of the empire. Added to this were several events which constantly made the position of the Interallied Commission at Constantinople more difficult, if not hazardous, and the work of the Supreme Council at Paris void of result. The revolt of the Arab tribes against the British Army of Occupation in Upper Mesopotamia, the establishment of a Moslem-Bolshevist administration in Kurdistan by the proscribed Enver Pasha—the first in history—and finally the large concentration of Turkish troops under Mustapha Kemal, the Nationalist leader, on the French front in Syria, the Greek front in Smyrna, and the Italian front in the Adalia region.

On the other hand, Prince Feisal, who represents the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz abroad, recognized the French mandate over Syria in return for French recognition of an Arab State to include Aleppo, Homs, and Hamah, under the administration of the Prince, with the assistance of French officials. [For further matter on the situation in Turkey see Page 270.]

Austria Facing Starvation

Suffering in Vienna

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1920]

ALL reports from Central Europe pointed to the near approach of a catastrophe unless relief of food and coal could be furnished by the Entente Allies. Contributing agencies to the threatened calamity in Austria were noted in disorganization of the railroads, depreciation of the currency to a point where the crown was worth almost nothing

as a purchasing power in outside markets, and the hoarding of money obtained by the peasants in enormous prices for their commodities. In view of these conditions the Supreme Council at Paris voted on Dec. 17 a loan of \$70,000,000 to Austria; Chancellor Renner had asked for \$100,000,000.

On Dec. 28 Herbert Hoover requested

Cardinal, Gibbons to obtain from Pope Benedict an appeal to the American people urging them to do everything possible to alleviate the sufferings of the inhabitants in various countries of Europe, particularly Austria.

The Christmas season in Vienna was a period of cold, darkness, and hunger. Owing to a coal-saving suspension of railway passenger traffic the city was isolated. The foundation of whatever celebration might be indulged in was upon a two-pound loaf per week, with half a pound of flour or some equivalent. With the exception of apples, food-stuffs were simply not to be seen in the windows. As timber was rated at its combustible value, the smallest Christmas tree cost 100 crowns, while candles cost 8 crowns if available. In contrast with the destitution of the very means of life was the abundance of articles of luxury — jewelry, leather, expensive clothing, and ornate editions in book shops. But these were at prices far beyond the reach of any one other than profiteers and foreigners.

A Vienna dispatch of Jan. 6 stated that the Government had increased the price of bread to 3 crowns 96 heller per loaf (normally about 80 cents). It was intimated that the next advance would be to 5 crowns per loaf. Urgent appeals to the American people to render aid to the stricken country came in dispatches of Jan. 9 from Baron Eichhoff, head of the Austrian peace delegation, and from United States Ambassador Wallace.

The following pathetic letter, written in Vienna on Dec. 12 by Mariane Brandt, formerly a prima donna contralto of the Metropolitan Grand Opera Company, gives a glimpse of the appalling situation in that stricken city:

Dearest, True Friend—Your sweet and consoling letter reached me, and I thank you with full heart for it. But please do not send anything else than your good words. I did not receive what you kindly sent me; they steal all eatables from the cars. Three other friends have already written to me that they had sent something to me also, and nothing arrived. This is a dreadful time; all good seems to have vanished, and only thieves, robbers and murderers are in the world.

Some friends sent money to me through bank. Some others spoke to Mrs. Kreisler

about our misery and Mr. Kreisler sent \$100, which I can pay back to him as soon as I can get my fortune. It was welcome to me in the moment, but I do not spend more of it than is absolutely necessary to live. We have already learned to be contented with very little.

If you would read an old Austrian cook book you would not believe that it was ever possible to cook in such a prodigal way, with butter, eggs, cream, &c. Last week we got twelve dekagrammes of frozen meat (less than one-fifth of a pound) the person. My butcher gave me more, but it is too dry to eat and the bouillon has a bad taste.

But more than with the food we suffer with the cold. There is no wood or coal to be got, and the temperature of the rooms is 43 to 45 (Fahrenheit). The days are foggy and rainy. There is no light, as you are not permitted to burn more gas or electricity than they give you, and are highly punished if you do. Frozen hands and feet and my stiff leg are the consequences. They want help and credit from America; the Entente will not give it.

Dearest friend, I am so grateful to you and those people who remember me still in America. I have also some pupils in New York who wrote to me, and if all America would be like these we would have help in our misery. It is so humiliating to become such beggars as we are now, when formerly Austria was such a happy, rich country.

I wait for my death quietly. I am old enough and had a rich life, for which I thank God every day.

A Vienna message of Jan. 9 stated that the Government anticipated 12,000,000,000 crowns would be realized from the partial confiscation of private fortunes, and that it was hoped Holland would grant a loan of 30,000,000 florins for the purchase of food.

The complete text of the note putting the ban of the Supreme Council on the separatist activities of several of the Austrian provinces, which was handed to Dr. Karl Renner, the Austrian Chancellor, on Dec. 17, during his visit to Paris, was as follows:

The attention of the allied and associated powers has been directed to a certain agitation that is threatening the cohesion, and even the integrity, of the territory of Austria from several sides. The steps undertaken by the Vorarlberg Landtag to induce the Vienna Government to recognize the right of self-determination of that province coincide with those movements which are calculated, be it in the Salzburg district or in the Tyrol, to in-

clude them in the economic sphere of neighboring States, and with the agitation aroused in the former western districts of Hungary in favor of holding a plebiscite, which is not provided for in the treaty according these districts to Austria.

The allied and associated powers are of the opinion that if the separatist forces should succeed in breaking through at any one of these points, such separation would entail the complete dissolution of the Austrian State and could destroy the equilibrium of Central Europe. The allied and associated powers, therefore, do not wish to allow the existence of any doubt as to their intention to maintain and carry out the territorial, or any other, provisions of the Peace Treaty of

St. Germain. Impelled by this idea, the Supreme Council today adopted the following resolution, which it is determined to carry out, and which I have the honor to transmit in its name:

"Impelled by the desire to make safe the existence of Austria within the borders laid out for it, and determined to make effective the provisions of the Peace Treaty of St. Germain, the allied and associated powers declare that they will oppose all attempts calculated to injure the integrity of Austrian territory, or that, in conflict with the regulations of Article 28 of the above-mentioned treaty, injure the political or industrial independence of Austria in any way, either directly or indirectly."

CLEMENCEAU.

Execution of Hungarian Communists

New Government's Vigorous Action

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1920]

ADVICES from Hungary stated that Herr Huszar, the Hungarian Premier, estimated the Communist régime had cost the country 18,000,000,000 kronen (normally about \$3,600,000,000), and that the Rumanian inroads had taken 36,000,000,000 kronen. These losses, he added, had produced a desperate financial situation confronting the National Assembly.

Executions of Communist terrorists were proceeding apace. Joseph Cserny and thirteen others were put to death on Dec. 19. Another Communist attempt to overthrow the Government was discovered by the military authorities, according to a Budapest message of Dec. 28. Considerable indignation was aroused in Budapest on Jan. 3 by the action of the head of the Allied Military Mission in endeavoring to prevent the execution of nine Communists on the ground that the executions might create unfavorable opinion in Great Britain and France. The Hungarian Government protested against this interference with her internal affairs in re-establishing public safety, hanged the Communists, and promptly began a fresh trial of Haubicht, former Bolshevik military commander at Budapest, charged with two murders and high treason.

On the other hand, a Berne message of Jan. 5 stated that Swiss and British citizens arrived from Budapest declared that the barbarity of the new Hungarian rulers was as ruthless as that of their Bolshevik predecessors. These witnesses asserted that whoever was suspected of the slightest leanings toward socialism was imprisoned, tortured, and finally executed. Public executions had become a daily spectacle in Budapest, for which tickets were sold at several hundred kronen each, and yet tickets were always too few. The National Zeitung of Basle said: "The most fearful atrocities of the wars of religion are being repeated in the Hungarian capital." The number of victims already executed was estimated at 5,000, many of whom were old men, women, and children.

On Jan. 7 Count Apponyi arrived in Paris to receive the Hungarian peace treaty, which had been waiting three months for an accredited Hungarian plenipotentiary. Count Apponyi was accompanied by sixty-four assistants. Before leaving Budapest he had stated that part of his mission was to discover whether Hungary should make a separate peace with the United States. The treaty was handed to him the following Tuesday and he departed with it to Budapest.

The Problem of Turkey

Survey of the Rival Claims of Territory and Power in Turkey. Which Menace Peace in the Near East

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1920]

THE ever-renascent problem of what to do with Turkey still vexes the Peace Conference at Paris and the world at large. The new political situation which arose in Turkey early in October, 1919, through the occupation of Konieh, an important railroad centre virtually domonating Southern Asia Minor, by Mustapha Kemal, and through the fall of the Turkish Cabinet under Damad Ferid Pasha and the substitution of a new Cabinet headed by Ali Riza Pasha, one of whose members, the Minister of War, Djemal Pasha, was a political ally of Mustapha, was generally interpreted in foreign capitals as a symptom of the coming separation of Asia Minor from the central power at Constantinople, and of an increase of power for the party of the Young Turks.

After setting up a Turkish Nationalist Government at Konieh, Mustapha Kemal issued a proclamation promising safety to the lives and property of all persons without distinction of race or religion, and mentioning the Armenians specifically, demanding the application of President Wilson's fourteen principles to Turkey; he also declared that his forces and other supporters of the Turkish Government would fight to the death to resist foreign intervention.

AIMS OF MUSTAPHA

Toward the middle of October the progress of Mustapha Kemal's movement became clearly evident: the important cities of Brussa and Adrianople, among others, had joined the movement, which was growing steadily. In an interview given at this time, the Turkish Nationalist leader again declared that the lives and property of the Armenians would be respected, and made an attack upon the British, who, he declared, having previously acquired Egypt, Arabia, and

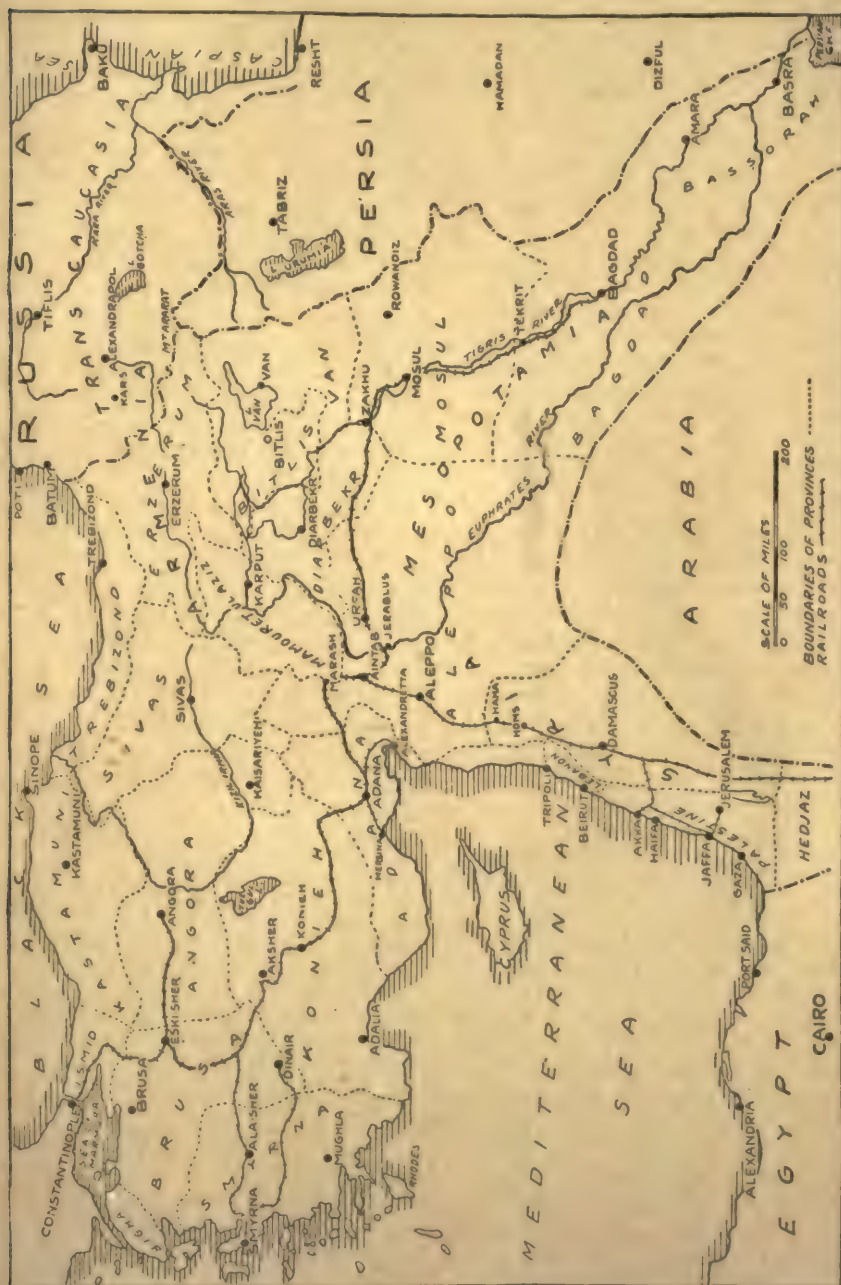
Mesopotamia (the Persian protectorate was announced later), was now seeking the remnants of Turkey. Mustapha Pasha said:

It is our aim to secure the development of Turkey as she stood at the time of the armistice. We have no expansionist plans. It is our conviction that Turkey can be made rich and prosperous if we get a good Government. Our Government has been weakened through foreign interference and intrigues.

Mustapha Kemal denied that he was working with Enver Pasha, the former War Minister, and declared that the latter's policies had injured Turkey; he further denied that the Nationalists were seeking to preserve Anglo-French investments in Turkey. British money, on the contrary, he asserted, was being sent to destroy Turkey. The tendency shown by Mustapha Kemal at this time was one of conciliation with the Turkish Central Government and toleration of the idea of an independent Armenian Republic.

CONFLICT WITH GOVERNMENT

A month later, however, it became apparent that friction had arisen between Mustapha Kemal and Constantinople: on Nov. 9 the Turkish Government sent a quasi-ultimatum to Mustapha and the Nationalist organization, complaining that the Nationalists were interfering with the liberty of the elections and were replacing Government officials at will in Anatolia, and demanding that the organization adhere to its legitimate purpose of national defense. It declared that if its demands were not granted the Government would resign. To this ultimatum, however, Mustapha Kemal, whose headquarters were in Sivas, paid but little heed, and his independent attitude grew more pronounced with the extension of his power in Anatolia. His



TURKEY IN ASIA, WITH NAMES OF PROVINCES AND OF CITIES WHERE ALLIED NATIONS ARE CLAIMING TERRITORY. THE GREEKS ARE AT SMYRNA, THE ITALIANS AT ADALIA, THE FRENCH IN SYRIA AND LEBANON, THE BRITISH IN PALESTINE AND MESOPOTAMIA

forces were estimated at 300,000 men. To the Greeks in the vilayet of Aidin and the Italians at Adalia, as well as to the Christian elements of Asia Minor generally, his presence occasioned much alarm, especially in view of the threatening attitude of lawless bands of Turks and Kurds in Armenia.

CASE OF ARMENIA

Regarding Armenia especially, M. Venizelos, the Greek Premier, said in Paris early in the Fall:

The Turks do not consider themselves beaten. In Asia Minor, as well as in Armenia, they take every opportunity of demonstrating it. Great numbers of former Turkish soldiers, organized into comitadjis (roving bands) invade unoccupied territory and fall upon the unarmed populations. Unless the status of Turkey is soon settled, and Armenia occupied by a mandatory State, there will be no Armenians left within their territorial boundaries.

On Oct. 10 the necessity for a detachment of preferably American troops to guard railways in Armenia, make highways safe, protect relief work against the Kurdish and Tatar bands, and strengthen the morale of the little Armenian army of 10,000 men was emphasized by Colonel William Haskell, head of the Allied High Commission in Armenia. Cabling from Tiflis Colonel Haskell said:

After an inspection just completed, I find that relief measures in Armenia are complicated by the fact that while the Government of Armenia is in sympathy with Denikin and the anti-Bolshevist movement, the districts of Georgia and Azerbaidjan are hostile. The Tatars, assisted by the Turks, have compelled the Armenian population to abandon Igdır and are pressing Kars and Erivan. This warfare has largely increased the number of refugees to be taken care of, and also makes shipments of food supplies from the Kuban district uncertain. Railroad communication from Nakhechivan to Persia has been interrupted, and there is no immediate prospect that traffic will be resumed. I estimate that there are 800,000 destitute Armenians who will require assistance until next year's harvest.

CLAIMS OF GREECE

The defeat of Turkey by the Allies brought with it many conflicting claims to territory in Asia Minor. Apart from the evacuation of Western Thrace by the

Bulgarians, in accordance with the terms of the peace treaty (excluding Mussulman districts, which fell to Bulgaria), Greece demanded the right to protect her nationals at Smyrna, and was allowed to send troops to Aidin. Conflicts between these forces and the resisting Turks led to such severe repressions on the part of the Greeks that the Peace Conference found itself obliged to take cognizance of the complaints of the Turkish Government, which alleged that atrocities had been committed. Meanwhile bands composed of Circassians, Yuruks and sundry adventurous Moslems, which disclaimed connection with the movement further east directed by Mustapha Kemal, were formed in the Smyrna hinterland to combat the Greek "invaders." These bands were said to be loyal to the Sultan and to number some 15,000 men.

Greek activities in Anatolia were discussed in detail in a report of the international military commission composed of Generals representing England, France, and Italy, and headed by Admiral Mark Bristol. This report was unanimous after forty sittings. A portion of its contents, cabled to the United States on Jan. 1, presented an indictment of the Greeks in their measures of occupation of this Turkish territory.

REPORT OF COMMISSION

The report said in part:

The conditions of security in the Vilayet of Aidin, and at Smyrna in particular, did not justify the occupation of the Smyrna forts in accordance with Article VII. of the armistice conditions.

The internal conditions in the vilayet did not call for the landing of allied troops at Smyrna. On the contrary, since the Greek landing the situation has been disturbed because of the state of war existing between the Greek troops and the Turkish irregulars.

* * * No resistance to the landing was organized by the Turkish authorities; the shots fired by the Turks were only isolated cases. * * * On the road which they [the Greeks] traversed between the Konak Square and the transport Patris, where they were imprisoned, the first convoy of prisoners, including officers and soldiers as well as the Vall and other officials, were made the objects of acts of brutality by the crowd which accompanied them, and even by some of the Greek soldiers who were escorting them.

All the prisoners were robbed. All were forced to shout, "Zito Venizelos!" and to march with hands raised. With one or two exceptions, the Greek officers showed no effort to restrain their men. During May 15 and 16 Greek troops arbitrarily arrested 2,500 persons, including children under 16 years of age. * * * There were numerous acts of violence and pillage. Numerous women were violated. Some assassinations were committed. While most of these acts were committed by civilian Greeks, the soldiers took part in them, and the military authorities were slow in taking action to put a stop to them. * * *

The Colonel in command of the Greek occupation forces on May 21 received a telegram from Venizelos at Paris ordering the extension of Greek occupation.

A large number of Turks, men, women, and children, who tried to escape from the quarter that was burning (at Aidin) were killed without cause by the Greek soldiers. * * * The Greeks evacuated the city on the night of June 29 after having committed numerous crimes and acts of brutality. * * * The reoccupation of Aidin was ordered by the Greek Commander in Chief in spite of the strict orders to the contrary of the Entente representative. The Greek authorities acted in conformity with the formal orders sent from Paris by Venizelos on July 2. This order did not permit any intervention by the Entente representative in this connection. * * *

Losses resulting from conflict between Greeks and Turks in the Meander Valley are estimated at \$33,000,000 by fires at Aidin and \$6,000,000 by damage to crops.

The commission further recommended that the Greek troops be replaced by allied troops much fewer in number, and that Greek troops, if allowed to co-operate, should be kept from contact with the Turkish National forces. It further declared its opinion that Turkish National sentiment would never accept this annexation to Greece, and that the Turks would resist military compulsion to force them to do so.

VENIZELOS PROTESTS

The findings of this commission were attacked by M. Venizelos, on the ground that the commission had no Greek members and had examined no Greek witnesses. In Paris on Nov. 15 he asked the Supreme Council to declare the report null and void, and to rule that another investigation be conducted. In this connection he said:

When the Greeks landed at Smyrna they were immediately surrounded by enthusiastic crowds, which followed them, cheering and welcoming them, and advanced from the port to the city proper, without having occupied the strategic points of the city. Turks and Greekophone residents fired from windows upon the troops. The evening previous the Turks had issued proclamations protesting against Greek occupation, and had opened the jails and freed several hundred criminals, who armed themselves at Turkish commissaries, and began robbing and looting, causing the whole trouble.

We have been accused of trying to change the ethnographic face of the region. I can say that out of the 200,000 Greeks expelled by the Turks since 1914 not one in fifteen has returned to the country, owing to the fact that their houses have been burned or are occupied by Turks whom the Greek command is unwilling to expel until homes are provided for them elsewhere.

M. Venizelos expressed surprise that the Supreme Council should revert to incidents of the landing in its expression that the occupation of Smyrna was only temporary. He said:

When we were asked by President Wilson and Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau to occupy Smyrna there was no mention of temporary occupation. If it had been a matter of a mandate for policing, a larger nation would have been called upon. We are too small a nation to do any policing of other countries. But it was our understanding that we should occupy a country which has been Greek for 3,000 years pending final settlement of the question, which would give us title to the district.

We seek no mandate; we seek to enter our home. I should like to have the question decided finally once for all, as the occupation is causing Greece much expense which she is unable to bear indefinitely.

CONFLICT INTENSIFIED

The conflict between the Greeks and the Turks in this region, meanwhile, continued. Movements of Greek troops were resisted by Turkish detachments, and bitter fighting occurred. The Greek forces were reported to number 70,000 men, who were being used through December to occupy and defend that part of the territory which they wish to annex to Smyrna. The Turks, who were in large majority within and around this occupied area, continued obstinately to resist all Greek advances. The Vilayet

of Aidin had been repeatedly devastated by embittered warfare. It was stated on Jan. 2 that Mustapha Pasha was concentrating his Nationalist forces against the Greeks near Aidin, as well as moving a large accumulation of Turkish and captured Russian arms from Erzerum westward.

The Sultan of Turkey, in his throne speech at the opening of the Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 12, declared Smyrna "inseparable from the Turkish Empire." A week earlier the Constantinople papers published the main outlines of a note of protest that had been addressed to the Peace Conference by the Turkish Government. The note held that interference with Turkish independence would mean endless chaos in the Near East. As an alternative the Sublime Porte offered the reformation of Turkey with the help of a single power and its experts. Popular sympathy with this plan was expressed widely through the Turkish press and through mass meetings.

ITALIAN CLAIMS

Immediately to the south of Smyrna the Italians have occupied a considerable area, with Adalia as their port. They control the railway to Konia and thence to Adalia, which is part of the new region occupied by them. The so-called Nationalist and anti-Greek bands have shown a more friendly disposition toward the Italians, whose aid they have sought to enlist against the Greeks. The disorders that attended the Italian occupation of this district were also formally investigated by a Peace Conference Commission, and the Italians did not escape without blame.

FRENCH CLAIMS IN SYRIA

East of the Greek and Italian districts is the Syrian territory allotted to the French, which borders on the independent Arab State under Emir Feisal, son of King Hussein of the Hedjaz. Here also there have been conflicts, both between the Allies themselves and between the native Arab rulers. Strained feeling between the British, whose troops occupied Syria provisionally, and the French, who suspected the British of wishing to supplant them in this chosen area, was finally appeased; the British

moved their soldiers out, and the French forces took their place.

The situation in this whole region toward the end of December was as follows: General Gouraud, Commander in Chief of the French forces, had relieved with his troops the British military posts in the districts of Marsaitab and Urfa, but the administration of these districts remained in the hands of the Turkish authorities. The eastern area of occupation, including Damascus and Aleppo, had been put under the administration of Emir Feisal. All the British forces had been withdrawn from Syria, and the British military administration of that country was at an end.

CONFLICT WITH ARABS

Regarding the original promises made to King Hussein and the Emir Feisal in respect to the independence of Arabia and the annexation of part of Syria, the differences between the Arabian French authorities were provisionally composed. That the Arab National feeling would create difficulties for France, however, was indicated on Jan. 12, when it was reported that serious fighting had occurred between French and Syrian volunteers, with many casualties on both sides, at Alexandretta and other points of demarkation in the French zone in Damascus. The Arabs had organized a National Defense Committee, which was enforcing compulsion of military service, and had issued a manifesto against foreign intervention in any form. Rival political and religious organizations were uniting, and the force of the movement was said to be considerable.

INTERNAL DISPUTES

Regarding internal politics, Emir Feisal and his rival, the Arab Sheik Ibn Saud, had both presented rival claims at Paris and London, but no settlement had been reached. As for Palestine, Emir Feisal had repeatedly declared that it should fit into the framework of the new Arabian Empire, whose nationals far outnumbered the Jews in Palestine, and denied the right of the future Jewish Nation to exercise predominance. It was the Arab intention, he declared, to build up an Arabian Empire, to consist of

Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine. No distinguishable boundary, he said, separated Palestine from Syria, with which it must be united, as Syria with Arabia.

A special situation, meanwhile, exists in the north, where the people of the Lebanon under their Emir repudiate both the rule of Turkey and that of every foreign power, openly declaring for a protectorate under France.

QUESTION OF MANDATE

The multiple disputes to be appeased, and the inflammability of the national, racial, religious and political tendencies in all these diverse segments of what remains of Turkey have given the statesmen of the allied nations in Paris deep cause for solicitude. Great Britain and France fully a year ago recognized their own inability to undertake control of either the whole or a part of Turkey; Britain had not financial resources, and her disinterestedness was subject to question because of her extensive Asiatic possessions; France had never shown capacity for colonial administration, and was exhausted financially. In view of these mutual incapacities, and the impossibility of delegating either Greece or Italy to undertake the formidable task involved, the two chief allies in Europe

asked the United States to assume the mandate over European Turkey and Armenia, and have been waiting ever since for the American decision.

Many prominent Americans, including Henry Morgenthau, former Ambassador to Turkey, have argued in favor of the acceptance of such a mandate, but there have been no indications that the Washington Government favored it; the attitude of a considerable portion of the Senate is unmistakably opposed to entering into adventures which might embroil the United States in the quarrels either of Europe or of Asia. The opinions arrived at by the members of the special investigating committee headed by General Harbord have been already mentioned. The attitude of the Turkish Government itself has been consistently one of maintaining the status quo, with or without American intervention, and an urgent desire to expedite the signing of peace before Turkey falls to pieces. Turkish public sentiment, at last reports, was crystallizing in favor of an American mandate, to be withdrawn when Turkey was able to stand on her own feet. At Paris, meanwhile, the British and French were stated semi-officially to have at last united in favor of allowing the Turk to remain in Europe.



BOLSHEVISM IN EUROPE

Aspects of the New Power That Has Established Itself by Arms in Russia and Threatens War on the World

MANY varying phases of Bolshevism, including an analytical study of its methods, Lenin's official statement of its aims, the story of its worldwide campaign to overturn all other Governments by propaganda, and an account of the military triumphs and peace efforts of the Moscow leaders, will be found in the following fifty pages of this magazine. An important feature of this interesting array is the luminous comparison of the Soviet Constitution with the United States Constitution made by Hon. Burton L. French, member of Congress from Idaho, on page 313 et seq. Another, which touches the theme indirectly, is the historical sketch of the new Republic of Georgia in the Caucasus (page 281), written by Dr. W. D. P. Bliss, who was connected with the American Relief Commission in Asia Minor. The Supreme Council at Paris formally recognized the Georgian Republic about the middle of January, at the same time giving a similar honor to Azerbaidjan, another new republic in the Caucasus, southeast of Georgia and extending to the borders of Persia. So far as these republics have any strength it will be a barrier to the onward march of Russian Bolshevism.

The success of the Soviet Government in overcoming the armies of Denikin in South Russian and of Kolchak farther east in Siberia, in view of the avowed purpose of Lenin and Trotzky to spread revolutionary doctrines in the Caucasus, Persia, Afghanistan, Mesopotamia, and India, produced a profound impression in Great Britain, and it was announced on Jan 16 that there was possibility of formal military operations by the British Government against the Soviet Government of Russia.

Winston Spencer Churchill, Secretary for War; Walter Hume Long, First Lord of the Admiralty; Earl Beatty, commander of the Grand Fleet, and Field

Marshal Sir Henry H. Wilson, Chief of the Imperial Staff, left London on the night of Jan. 15 for Paris, having been hurriedly summoned for a consultation with Premier Lloyd George and other British officials then in Paris, on important military and naval matters.

The Bolshevik military successes reported up to Jan. 16 gave the Soviet Government virtual mastery of the whole of European Russia. Odessa was practically in its possession, giving the Reds full control of the southern coast regions. Their victories in the Don country gave them enormous supplies of food, raw material, coal, rolling stock, and oil. The entire Caucasus region was seriously threatened by their occupation of Trans-Caspia. A large Bolshevik element exists in Baku. The Soviet Government, having established itself on the Caspian and Black Seas, could obtain important recruits from the region, placing the new Republics of Georgia and Azerbaidjan at their mercy; this would give them free access to operations in Persia, Mesopotamia, Afghanistan, and India. The Bolsheviks opened fifty propaganda schools at Tashkent, near the Afghanistan frontier, where Oriental languages are being taught to their agents, who will be sent to teach the Soviet doctrines in India, China, and all the Moslem countries.

CHANGE OF ALLIED POLICY

An important reversal of the policy of the Allies toward Russia was decided upon by the Supreme Council in Paris on Jan. 16. The session was attended by the Premiers of Great Britain, France and Italy. The new policy was officially announced in a statement which appears in full on page 199. It was to the effect that the Allies would lift the blockade and would trade with the Russian peasants, though continuing their former attitude toward the Bolshevik Government.

The only official explanation of the move was that it was intended, by reaching the people, to weaken the Soviet Government; but the feeling persisted that it was indicative of early negotiations with Moscow for a cessation of hostilities and an ultimate solution of the Russian problem. It was construed to mean an end of the proposed military operations against the Soviet Government by Great Britain.

The Russian Co-operative Society, with which the Allies are to deal, is composed of a number of co-operative unions and is said to represent 20,000,000 Russians. In June of last year Secretary of War Baker signed contracts with representatives of the society covering the sale of \$15,000,000 worth of surplus army clothing and textiles. In greeting the delegation which waited upon him in Washington Mr. Baker spoke of the sincere desire of the people of the United States to be of any possible assistance to the people of Russia, and explained that it was the hope that when Russia had re-established its Government the "ancient bond of friendship between the two nations would be found strengthened."

AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL

On the same day that the announcement was made of a change of policy by the Supreme Council, Secretary of State Lansing made a public statement regarding the decision of the United States to withdraw all American forces from Siberia on Feb. 1, 1920, along with the American experts in charge of the Trans-Siberian and Chinese Eastern Railway. The official announcement also stated that by co-operation of the British and American Governments 10,000 Czechoslovak troops would be embarked at Vladivostok on Feb. 1. The reason impelling the United States Government to this action was that the defeat of the Kolchak forces by the Bolsheviks had rendered it inadvisable for the United States to assume the undertaking which further co-operation would require.

A further reaction from these developments was a change of Great Britain's attitude toward the Sultan of Turkey. The French and Italians had previously

desired that, in deference to the wishes of their Moslem subjects, the Sultan be permitted to continue his residence at Constantinople as the head of the Moslem Church. The British, on the other hand, favored excluding the Turks entirely from Europe. The turn of events in January altered the situation, and it was reported on Jan. 16 that the British had receded from their position and had decided that the Caliphate should remain at Constantinople.

It was reported from Soviet headquarters on Jan. 16 that Admiral Kolchak, head of the All-Russian Government in Siberia, had been captured and his anti-Bolshevist armies practically exterminated; the remnants of his Siberian army, numbering 6,000, had laid down their arms. The same report said that General Semenov, who had been designated as Kolchak's successor, had been defeated at Irkutsk, leaving that last centre of anti-Bolshevist activity in the hands of the Reds. At the same time the Soviet Government announced that any future sentences of death would be imposed upon enemies only when approved by the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.

COMMUNIST METHODS

Walter Duranty, in a cablegram of Jan. 13 from Riga to THE NEW YORK TIMES, in which CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE enjoys the right of joint publication, describes how the Communists control Soviet Russia as follows:

The whole machinery of the Government and army is in the hands of the Communist minority, about 5 per cent. of the total, whose aims and aspirations are no less foreign to those of the great mass of the population than was the case with the imperialist policy of the Czarist régime. Everything—literally everything—is run by the Communists.

To each regiment there is attached a commissar, who is really the civil authority appointed by the Extraordinary Commission of Moscow and responsible only thereto. In theory the commissar has no military standing and cannot give military orders, but he has power to dismiss, imprison or execute the regimental commander if he thinks fit to do so. Each battalion in the regiment has an assistant commissar attached to it. Each company has what is called an organizer, who is a

sort of subordinate commissar. Naturally all these are Communists. Below the organizers there are the Communist non-coms and the rank and file in the proportion of one to every half dozen men or so. These are really secret police or spies. No one is supposed to know they are Communists and they do their utmost to seem ordinary soldiers. Thus parallel to the military organization of the regiment or other unit there is a network of civilian control and an espionage system reaching right up from the platoon through the regimental, divisional and army staff to the Moscow headquarters of the Extraordinary Commission.

Through this network the Communists hold Russia in a grip of blood. The slightest incautious word is immediately reported, and drastic action follows. One boy of 18 told how somebody had grumbled about the worthlessness of Soviet money as compared with the Czar's rubles in the old days. A week later he disappeared, and it was learned later that he had been condemned to four years in a convict prison. Even though the soldiers gradually come to learn the identity of the majority of the Communist spies—and it is startling to see how very eager they are to denounce them when captured—they live in a continual atmosphere of espionage and terror.

Most feared of all is the "lying tribunal," a body delegated by the Extraordinary Commission to administer "justice" in the army with absolutely unlimited powers. This tribunal will descend suddenly upon a regiment, coming no one knows whence or when. Even the Commissars and Communists tremble when it is present, for they have many enemies, as they are well aware, and who can tell what secret influence, intrigue or corruption may destroy him?

The tribunal's sittings are the merest farce. Death is the penalty in seven cases out of ten, for life in Russia, never very expensive, is cheaper than bread today. This is almost literally true. At least, in the 4th Company of the 2d Bolshevik Regiment a Sergeant was executed by the Flying Tribunal on the denunciation of an Assistant Commissar, to whom he had declined to sell half a pound of sugar. The terms of the denunciation ran: "This man spoke contemptuously of the Soviet currency, and declared he wished God would strike dead the whole pack of Communist spies and

traitors." No witnesses were called. The Flying Tribunal doesn't bother about such trifles, and, despite his denials, the soldier was shot on the Commissar's unsupported testimony.

Not the least terrible part of the system is the appalling secrecy with which it works. Officers and men vanish one day from the midst of their comrades. Sometimes it is learned later that they have been shot or punished by order of the local commissar; sometimes they are held in prison until the arrival of the Flying Tribunal. But always the result is the same—death or a long term of imprisonment.

Against this system no revolt is possible. No man knows with whom he may safely speak, far less plot, to throw off the yoke. What is more, the commissars, who are generally workmen devoid of military knowledge, have the power to punish what they consider to be military faults or derelictions. Thus the company commander in the 3d Regiment was sent to the penitentiary for ten years by the Flying Tribunal on the report of an assistant commissar that he deliberately sacrificed Communist lives. What actually happened was that he ordered a platoon to outflank and attack a Lettish machine-gun post. The Sergeant in charge of the platoon was known to be a Communist and he declined to risk his skin. The Captain promptly put him under arrest and led the attack himself, saying, "If I'm shot trying to take the post it will save me from being shot by the Communists. But if I take it they must admit I'm right."

He did take the post with one man slightly wounded, but he had overestimated the generosity of the Flying Tribunal.

Of course a great majority of these officers and non-Communist troops are serving unwillingly. They are ordered into the army and know if they try to evade the draft or escape their families will pay the penalty with their lives. Neither women nor children are spared. One youngster—a Reval Communist this—told the examining officer at headquarters that he found spy work too hateful, that he applied for a different job and was told that if he did not stick to the work or if there was any reason to doubt the genuineness of his activity not only he but his two young sisters in Petrograd would be shot.

Poland's Fight on Bolshevism

Rule in Galicia and Ukraine

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1920]

THE resignation of Jan Ignace Paderewski as Premier of Poland occurred on Dec. 7 under circumstances which were described in the January CURRENT HISTORY. New light was shed on that event by Dr. George Barthel, Acting Consul General of Poland to the United States, in a public statement issued on Jan. 5, which read:

The resignation of Mr. Paderewski came as a result of conditions which required a Coalition Government, in which Mr. Paderewski had a guiding hand. His successor, Leopold Skulski, is his friend, and took office at Mr. Paderewski's suggestion. Mr. Paderewski realized that his work was done and that his capacities did not permit him to undertake further conduct of Polish affairs; that the time had come for Poland to appoint a Parliamentary Cabinet. Mr. Paderewski is exhausted, and he as well as his co-workers knew that his health demanded the rest he is taking in Switzerland.

General Pilsudski, the President, has been Chief of State and the policies he inaugurated are being carried out without change. Mr. Skulski, successor to Mr. Paderewski, was formerly Mayor of Lodz and a famous engineer and parliamentarian. Mr. Patek, the Foreign Minister, was formerly Minister to Bohemia. W. Grabski, Minister of Finance, is the best known agrarian economist in Poland, and Mr. Wojciechowski, Minister of the Interior, is an expert in co-operative societies, of which there are 500 in Poland with 500,000 members.

In an article printed in the *Corriere d'Italia* on Dec. 29, Cardinal Karkawski, Archbishop of Warsaw, stated that Poland had her entire army marshaled along the Russian frontier. Poland's strength, however, he added, was limited, and could not stand alone against the Bolshevik menace, which showed no sign of becoming less. France and Italy, he declared, understood the desperate nature of the battle that Poland was fighting to protect Western civilization from the Red invasion, but England not so well. Conditions of anarchy and aggression in Russia, he asserted, would last at least twenty-five years.

Meanwhile the fighting Poles continued to stem the Bolshevik tide. Their alliance with the Lettish Army in the attack on Dvinsk, and the occupation of that city by the combined Lettish and Polish troops, was a good augury of the friendly relations established by the new republic with its weaker and still unrecognized sister nation. The capture of Dvinsk by the Poles and Letts straightened out the line of those forces, and gave them direct rail communication between Poland and Riga. The Poles intimated their willingness to accept a Lettish Governor for the captured city. It was announced on Jan. 6 that the combined forces had advanced for strategic reasons slightly beyond the line of the River Dulna. The Poles held the lower quarter of the line, and were repairing the railroad that runs due east along the north bank of the Dvina; the remainder was annexed to the Lettish front.

The Poles undertook a considerable task in Southwest Russia in occupying and policing territory evacuated by General Denikin and not yet invaded by the Reds. The aim of the Polish Government, as set forth in Warsaw on Jan. 9, was to stabilize the situation in that region in an effort to prevent Bolshevism from finding a foothold there. The evacuated regions were reported to be infested with bands of robbers who had been sacking and burning villages, robbing inhabitants, and holding many victims for ransom. The entire line of the Kamenetz - Podolsk - Proskurov - Starokonstantin railroad had been taken over by the Polish military authorities. The Polish High Command had undertaken the work of carrying out the program of occupation for all the territory tributary to this system.

M. Tchitcherin, Bolshevik Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Dec. 26 addressed an offer to the Polish Government to begin immediate peace negotiations. The Poles were asked to name a convenient time

and place. Meanwhile, however, from various sources Poland had information that the Red authorities were planning a great offensive against Poland next Spring, which was being organized by Leon Trotzky, Soviet Minister of War, extensive recruitments, including Chinese troops, were being made, and the raw material thus gathered was being trained in the Bolshevik military schools.

In Paris, M. Patek, the new Foreign Minister of Poland, declared on Dec. 28 that he knew for a certainty that the Bolsheviks would open such an offensive in the Spring. He said:

I have come to Paris and am going to London to push a plan for the effective collaboration of Poland and the Allies. The moment will come soon, I hope, when we can discuss a political alliance with France and England. But for the moment it is extremely urgent to make a strong military alliance. All the allied policy with regard to Russia is founded upon this base.

It has been decided at London not to make peace with the Bolsheviks. It has also been decided not to make war on them. But this policy of passivity on the part of the Allies does not prevent the Bolsheviks from adopting a policy of activity. I come to say to the Allies that the Spring holds for us surprises. Now is the time to get ready for them.

Next Spring we know with certainty the Bolshevik armies will march against us. We shall be entirely alone before this offensive, for the news of the situation of the armies of Kolchak and Denikin is not favorable. In Poland no one thinks of shirking the rôle assigned to us by the Allies, by history and by our geographical position. Our policy can be expressed in two words—stand fast. But if we are to resist successfully, the Allies must give us the material means. The fate of Poland, the peace of Europe, and the success of the Russian policy of the Allies hang upon the measures which are taken today.

Black crêpe was hung inside and outside of every Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in the United States on Dec. 28 by order of the head of this Church, as a demonstration of the grief of the Ukrainians over the decision of the Supreme Council at Paris awarding East Galicia to Poland under a mandate for twenty-five years. Masses for those who fell in the cause of Ukrainian independence were celebrated in all the churches.

Prayers were read for the future freedom of the occupied districts. It was announced that meetings of protest would be held in all parts of the country and Canada, and that funds would be raised to keep up the struggle of the Ukrainian people against "enslavement" by the Poles.

On the same date the third general Carpatho-Russian Congress opened its sessions to obtain support for the claim of Carpatho-Russia to freedom from Poland. The President of the league, in an address of welcome to the 400 delegates, said the congress would protest against the injustice done by the Peace Conference to Eastern Galicia and the northern part of Bukovina, and would ask the American Government and the American people for support. The Carpatho-Russian delegation in Paris, he said, had demanded that Eastern Galicia, with Lemkovschina, should be reunited with Russia, and until that country recovered from its unsettled condition that those provinces should be ruled by an inter-allied commission with an American Governor at its head.

Representing the same national reaction, Julian Batchinsky, diplomatic representative in America of the Ukrainian Republic, on Dec. 8 addressed to Secretary Lansing an appeal and protest against the action of the Supreme Council regarding the disposition of East Galicia.

According to a report to the Warsaw Diet the region occupied by the Poles in White Russia, Lithuania, and Ukraina comprises 189,320 square kilometers and 8,260,000 inhabitants, some of whom are under Bolshevik control. In this territory all Polish nationals were in favor of Poland's rule. The Greek Orthodox Church was to be given a special exarch and a church constitution. There were 1,863 Polish national schools, 566 Ukrainian schools, and eight White-Russian schools, excluding high schools, technical schools, and seminaries. The University of King Stephen Batory in Vilna had been reopened by President Pilsudski. All Roman Catholic Churches confiscated by the former Russian Government had been restored to the people. From this territory some 14,000 volunteers had en-

tered the Polish Army, of whom 3,000 were not Poles. The General Commissariat had received for the administration of these districts a credit of 192,000,000 rubles, of which some 100,000,000 had been expended.

A report to the American Red Cross at Warsaw, made public on Dec. 22, stated that Major F. B. Yowell of Washington and Lieutenant Paul van Heck of Hoboken, N. J., after spending nearly a month behind the Bolshevik lines in Russia, had just brought 1,200 emaciated

and hungry refugees back to their native land. This was the largest repatriation train ever brought into Poland by the American Red Cross. The location of Poland between hostile armies, which forced people in large areas to evacuate their homes again and again, was given as the cause of the large number of Polish refugees. The Red Cross estimates the total number thus driven from their homes as at least 1,000,000. More than 2,000,000 civilians have died in Poland since the outbreak of the war.

The Republic of Georgia in the Caucasus

By Dr. W. D. P. BLISS

THE Republic of Georgia, proclaimed May 26, 1918, is a mountain republic. It lies immediately south of and including large portions of the Caucasus range, which has a higher average altitude than the Alps of Switzerland. Though it has only 50,400 square miles, or scarcely more than the State of New York, it is, nevertheless, three times as large as Switzerland, larger than Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia or Poland, and larger than Belgium, Holland, and Denmark combined. Of this area, however, about 40 per cent. is still covered by nearly virgin forests, with scarcely 18 per cent. as yet under cultivation, while its population of 2,883,257 is smaller than that of any of the countries above named, smaller even than that of Denmark or of crowded Belgium or Holland. To the Georgian, however, this only means that under free institutions Georgia has room for broad development and a large future.

But Georgia also inherits a proud past—certainly 2,000, probably 3,000, years of independence. No country in Europe or in Western Asia has that record, unless it be Norway and Sweden in Europe and Persia in Western Asia. Georgia had her own Kings when England, France, Spain, Greece, the Balkan Provinces, and portions of Germany, Austria, and Rumania were Roman provinces. Compared with the Russian

Empire, Georgia, as a kingdom, is a thousand years the elder. According to tradition, its ancient capital, Mtskheta, not far from Tiflis, the modern capital, was founded by Mtskhetos, son of Karthlos (from whom Georgians derive the name Karthli, by which they call themselves), who was the son of Thergamos, grandson or great-grandson of Japheth, the son of Noah. We know, at least, that though the territory was conquered by a General of Alexander the Great, Prince Pharna of the royal Karthlian race threw off the Macedonian yoke and made the country independent in 302 B. C. From that time, though often invaded and temporarily occupied by Armenians, Persians, Romans, Greeks, Arabs, Mongols, Tatars, and Turks, Georgia had never been without its own Kings till 1802, when it was annexed to the Russian Empire, closing at least 2,104 years of independence.

The Georgian, too, has the pride of conquest, the Kingdom of Georgia at times having extended its rule far beyond the boundaries of the present republic. Its widest extension was about 1200 A. D., under a Queen, Tamara, perhaps the greatest name in Georgian history, who ruled from the Caspian Sea to Trebizond in Asia Minor.

Another historical element which greatly affects Georgia today is the fact that she accepted Christianity in the

fourth century, the first converts, it is said, being made by a nun, St. Nina. The national church has played a large part in Georgia, bringing the nation into touch with the Armenian Church and that of Constantinople. Almost the first step taken toward establishing Georgia's independence in 1918 was an appeal of the Georgian Holy Synod to the Provisional Government of Russia to annul the union, which had been forced upon Georgia, with the Russian Orthodox Church and to allow it to have its own Georgian Catholicos, or Primate, at Tiflis. This appeal was granted.

RACES OF THE REPUBLIC

One unfavorable inheritance from Georgian history, which affects the country today, is the number of separate races within its limits. Though having its own Kings down to 1802, Georgia was repeatedly invaded by different nations, and each invasion left representatives behind it. Perhaps no other country in the world has such a variety of races, languages and religions in so small an area as Georgia. The main races are Georgians, Armenians, Tatars, Persians, Russians and Turks; but there are also Circassians, Lazes, Kurds, Lesghians, Jews, even Germans, and some French. The Georgians themselves, too, have many subdivisions, among which are the Karthlians, or Georgians proper; the Imeritians, Gurians, Svane-tians, Mingretians and other lesser divisions. All these diverse elements live side by side, often in the same towns or villages, yet each has its own language or dialect, and its own religion, customs and traditions.

This diversity is due in part to the independence of the Georgian character. Very rarely was a Georgian King able to unite his whole realm. One King, in the fifteenth century, formally divided his realm among his three sons, who in turn divided their principalities, so that at one time there were twenty-six Princes ruling in Georgia. The descendants of these many lines of Princes all claimed princely titles, so that a Russian joke declares every Georgian a noble.

What has produced the republic and forced the people into a political unit is

their persecution by the Russian bureaucratic Government. No other word than persecution can describe the treatment of the Georgians by the Russian Imperial Government.

Georgia submitted to Russia in order to protect herself from the Persian invasions under Aga Mohammed Khan. The reigning King, George XIII., made over his dominions to the Czar Alexander I., in 1799, and Russia proclaimed the annexation of Georgia to the Russian Empire in 1802. Nevertheless, portions of the Georgian Kingdom were not acquired by Russia till much later; Imeritia not till 1810; the Mingretian coast not till 1828.

But Russia violated every condition upon which Georgia surrendered herself. The Georgians were to retain their own Kings; there has been no King in Georgia since Georgia became Russian. They were to have their own national church; their church was wholly subjugated to the Russian Holy Synod and \$350,000,000 of Georgian church property confiscated. The Georgians were to serve only in their own national militia; they were conscripted into the Russian Army and made to serve anywhere in the empire. Education in the schools was to be in the Georgian language. Instead the use of the Georgian language in the schools was forbidden. The local administration was to be Georgian and Georgian was to be the official language; Russian was made the official language, and Russian bureaucrats ruled everywhere.

END OF RUSSIAN RULE

Nevertheless, Georgia remained submissive. Not till 1905, when the Russian revolution reached the Caucasus, did Georgia make any serious effort at independence; the uprising, however, was mercilessly put down by the Russian Cossacks; Nicholas II. was said to have given express orders that no mercy be shown. In Guria, inland from Batum, all the villages were burned, the crops destroyed, the inhabitants killed or driven into the mountains; women and girls were collected in groups, the Colonel of a Chersonese Regiment (the 33d) declaring that the Czar wanted loyal subjects for breeding.



THE CAUCASUS REGION, WHERE THE NEW GEORGIAN REPUBLIC IS ATTEMPTING TO ESTABLISH ITS PLACE AMONG THE INDEPENDENT NATIONS OF THE WORLD

Considering this record, it is not to be wondered at that Georgia in the war did not enthusiastically support the Russian cause and only took such part as was forced upon her. In 1914 Georgia suffered from the first Turkish successes, when the Turks, under Enver Bey, came within a three days' march of Tiflis, the capital. But General Winter, on whose severity Russia can always count, checked the Turkish advance, and in 1915 the tables were turned when the Russians entered Turkish territory and occupied Erzerum and Trebizond. Georgia, however, could do little more than watch the varying fortunes of the war, finding little to choose between friend and foe.

But on March 15, 1917, the President of the Duma in Petrograd telegraphed to the Town Council of Tiflis that the Czar had abdicated—the same Nicholas II. who had ordered that no mercy be shown to Georgia. The Georgians, however, took no immediate revolutionary action, but supported the Provisional Government instituted by the Duma. The Mayor of Tiflis, Khatissian, an Armenian, sent a circular letter to twenty-eight cities of the Caucasus, asking the authorities to preserve order till they could receive instructions from Petrograd. The Town Council of Tiflis, with members added to it representing the different nationalities, undertook to

preserve order. The representatives of the old Russian bureaucracy were arrested. On March 20 the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch, who had been made Viceroy of the Caucasus, left Tiflis and thus ended the old Russian rule.

STEPS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

The five Caucasian members of the Russian Duma came from Petrograd to organize an administration. Meanwhile Georgian Socialists undertook, instead, to organize Georgian Soviets. No declaration of Georgian independence was made at this time, though steps were taken in this direction. The first step was to make the Georgian Church independent of the Russian Holy Synod. Other measures looked toward the formation of a national army, the nationalization of the schools, the establishment of Georgian law courts, the opening in Tiflis, Jan. 1, 1918, of a university, the language of which was to be Georgian. On Nov. 22, 1917, a further and decisive step was taken, when a Georgian National Assembly elected a National Council.

Formal declaration of independence, however, was still deferred, while all eyes were watching the outcome of the drama enacted at Petrograd, first by the Provisional Government of the Duma, and then in the struggle between the supporters of Kerensky and the Bolshe-

vi. At last the Kerensky Government fell, and the Bolsheviks came into power, making peace with Germany March 3, 1918, in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, which handed over Batum and considerable Georgian territory to Turkey. Then Georgia and the Caucasus generally felt that it was time to act in self-defense.

GENESIS OF THE REPUBLIC

The first measure, however, was not to declare independent Georgia, but an independent federated Republic of the Caucasus, established April 9, 1918, with a temporary government composed of representatives of the Georgians, Armenians, and Tatars in the Caucasus. The Georgian Socialist, Tchkhensheti, was chosen President. This Republic of the Caucasus did not endure.

The Turks, losing ground before the British advance in Syria, believed that they could recoup themselves by gaining territory in the disorganized Caucasus. They therefore undertook an offensive directed principally against Armenia and Georgia, and succeeded in winning Baku, Batum, and extensive territory. Chaos and a reign of terror resulted. Georgia appealed to Germany to restrain her Turkish allies, and finally, encouraged by Germany, withdrew from the federated Caucasian Republic, and May 26, 1918, the Georgian National Council proclaimed the Republic of Georgia, this declaration of independence being ratified by a National Constituent Assembly March 12, 1919. The Tatars and Armenians followed two days later by declaring the Republic of Azerbaidjan and the Republic of Armenia.

Nevertheless, the war with Turkey went on. The Armenians, being more exposed than the Georgians to the Turkish offensive, made the chief resistance, till, defeating the Turks in June, an armistice was signed between Turkey, on the one hand, and the Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjan on the other. Georgia thus found herself independent and at peace.

FIRST YEAR OF REPUBLIC

On the 26th of May, 1919, the Republic of Georgia celebrated the com-

pletion of its first year of life, and had every reason for congratulation as to its record and its achievements. To create and establish a new republic under the conditions in which the Government found itself was no easy task. There were enemies without and within.

In the Spring of 1919, bands of Turks were still attacking in the vicinity of Akhaltsikh and Akhalhalak, west and southwest of Tiflis, and had to be suppressed and repulsed with serious fighting. In the northwest, too, suddenly the All-Russia Volunteer Army, under General Denikin, entered Georgian territory in the vicinity of Gagri, on the Black Sea, and had to be dispossessed by the new Georgian Army.

Between the republics of the Caucasus itself, however, while there were serious differences as to boundaries and on other points, agreements were gradually made without fighting, and on April 27 there met in Tiflis the first conference of the republics of the Caucasus, to consider such topics, common to all, as railroads, postal and telegraph service, finances, customs, boundaries, common defense against outside foes, legal and judicial matters and the problem of the very numerous refugees within their borders. There was manifest a marked desire for co-operation, with a general recognition of the mutual interests of the republics, a position amounting almost to federation, a representative from each republic presiding in turn. Conditions in the Caucasus, it is true, were still too chaotic for the permanent solving of these problems; but the republics today at least are not fighting.

INTERNAL PROBLEMS

The machinery of government, local and national, in the Republic of Georgia had to be created almost *de novo*, but the difficult task seems to have been accomplished with great success. From the first, the republic adopted an ultra-democratic basis. The members of the Constituent Assembly which ratified the act of independence were elected by the direct, equal, universal, secret and proportional voting of both sexes. All races and peoples were represented, there being chosen 109 Social Democrats (So-

cialists), 9 National Democrats, 8 Social Federalists, and 5 Socialist Revolutionaries, so that the republic may be characterized as one of moderate socialism. The President of the republic is Noah Zhordania.

Georgia is not Bolshevik. There was an effort to establish Soviets, but in April, 1918, the special Transcaucasian Commission issued an order for each nationality to establish town or village councils, and in Georgia this was largely done. It is on this basis that the republic rests. A satisfactory financial system has been worked out. The paper ruble of the Caucasus has, it is true, little exchange value, but it meets the emergency, and a system of taxation has been developed, mainly of direct taxes. It is estimated that the indirect taxes will bring in 61,000,000 rubles, or about four times as much as in 1917, and the direct taxes 90,000,000 rubles, or eight times as much as in 1917.

ALL LAND NATIONALIZED

Agrarian reform has played a large part in working out the new system. All land in the State has been nationalized, being taken from the owners without compensation; but such portions as it was believed they could profitably cultivate have been given back to the original owners in fee simple, while the balance has been divided among peasant proprietors or is used for school or other public purposes. All marks of nobility have been canceled, and the former nobility have largely tendered their lands

for school purposes. Thus the country has a very wide distribution of land for all.

All, however, is not harmony. The Georgian is prone to fight. A story is told of the Police Commissioner of Tiflis consulting an English Commissioner as to how to stop fights in the street. The English Commissioner suggested taking away arms from the fighters. The Police Commissioner answered that he had tried that the other night. He had taken arms from two fighters and found that one was the Commissioner of Education and the other Commissioner of Finance. [The titles in this story are altered.]

Industry and agriculture, under the old Russian bureaucracy, were little encouraged, so that there is great need of development for both; but the natural resources and opportunities of Georgia are great. Railroads starting from Batum and Poti, on the Black Sea, and connected, through Baku, with the Russian railway system, pass through Tiflis, southwest to Erzerum, in Asia Minor, and southeast to Tauris, in Persia; so that Georgia becomes the commercial approach to all Central Asia. Georgia is rich in copper, manganese, and "white coal"; there is also gold and argentiferous lead, antimony and tin, with important beds of peat. There are numerous mineral springs. Sulphur is everywhere, while mountain timber is scarcely touched. With peace at home, the Georgian Republic awaits only a world peace to enter upon unquestioned prosperity.



The Lettish Witches' Caldron

By MAJOR GEN. COUNT VON DER GOLTZ

[FORMER COMMANDER OF GERMAN FORCES IN THE BALTIC STATES]

Special interest attaches to this article because it is written by the General who commanded the German forces remaining in the Baltic States of Russia after the armistice, and a part of whose army—the "Iron Brigade"—attacked Riga under Colonel Bermond and was finally driven home ignominiously by the Letts after heavy fighting. The article gives the German viewpoint and explanation of the Baltic situation, both in the printed words and in what may be read between the lines. It has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the Berlin magazine Die Woche of Nov. 1, 1919.

WHEN on a dull morning of Dec. 16, 1918, the last German troops left the port of Helsingfors, there resounded in the German soldiers' ears from 25,000 throats an enthusiastic "Hoch Deutschland!" and "Auf Wiedersehen!" The Finns had become attached to their liberators, not only because the latter had freed them, but also because in the course of their eight months' stay in Finland these conscientious, upright German soldiers had won their high esteem as human beings, and also because the German troops, despite the direct danger of contamination by way of the sea, had held themselves aloof from the revolution and from military Soviets, and had thus prevented the German revolution from being carried into Finland. All Finns were united in this affection for Germany, whatever their descent or the political faction to which they belonged.

It was therefore not surprising that when, a month later, I came to occupy my post as Commander in Chief of the military forces of Courland, I held the preconceived opinion that I should be able to win for Germany the favor of all anti-Bolshevist circles in the country. I believed that the common struggle against the common foe, viz., Bolshevism, would unite us with the population, and that gratitude on the part of the liberated people would win Germany new friends. Immediately, therefore, I called on the Lettish Ministers and issued a proclamation to the people. But no response came from the people, and even in

German circles there was doubt concerning the success of my activities. I can still see the smile of the Military Chaplain there, an intelligent and patriotic man, as I explained to him that I wanted to stand above all party considerations, especially those affecting relations between the Letts and the German Balts, and expressed the opinion that the friendship of the whole people for Germany should be built up upon such an attitude of impartiality.

Some points of difference soon arose over such questions as policing, conscription, &c.; but all this could have been overcome, if the German General Staff and the Lettish Government could have found some common ground of agreement, and if both sides had sincerely desired to wage war on Bolshevism. But this ground was lacking. From speeches of the Ministers, from proclamations to the people, I soon saw unmistakably that some of the Ministers were themselves more or less Bolshevistic in tendency, and that almost all hated the Balts and the Germans of Germany more than they did the Bolsheviks, and were attacking them in the most insidious and secret ways, making fair promises to their faces and doing the exact opposite behind their backs.

HATRED OF THE LETTS

What was the reason for this hatred against the Balts? They had ruled over the Letts for 600 years, and all the Balts, not merely the one per cent. of Barons among them, felt toward the Letts like conquerors, and despised them because

of their low state of culture and their lack of sincerity. This haughty attitude toward the Letts had reached such proportions that the Germanization of this people would have met with disapproval. The Letts were even forbidden to speak German, and undoubtedly this was a



MAJOR GEN. COUNT VON DER GOLTZ

great hindrance when they first grew conscious of their unity and wished to become an independent people. Thus from of old the Balts and Letts stood opposed to each other as peoples, the former as conquerors, the latter as conquered. Only in the last generations did the latter migrate to the cities and begin competition with the Balts in skilled professions. They still possessed no culture of their own; their whole culture embodied in the Lettish language was purely Germanic in origin.

On this foundation, then, the hatred of the Letts developed, and especially since the revolution of 1905, suppressed by Russians and Balts at the cost of much bloodshed, the sparks glimmered beneath

the ashes. When in 1917 the Russian revolution began again, the Letts became the bodyguard of Lenin and Trotzky in Russia, furnished them their best troops, and protected the leaders of the revolution in Moscow and Petersburg.

And when, after the German revolution, the German troops streamed back to Germany in disorder, Bolshevism flamed up everywhere in Esthonia, Latvia, and Courland, and the whole land went Bolshevik. This continued until our German volunteers brought the Red hordes to a halt just before Libau. The Lettish Ministers, who had begged for the protection of these German volunteers, now grew hostile after the most critical danger from the Bolsheviks had been overcome. Instead of being thankful to the Germans, who under my command had won back Courland as far as Riga, they showed only hatred for Germany, although they were repeatedly assured that Germany pursued no imperialistic aims in this region, and was only interested in preventing East Prussia from becoming Bolshevik.

BALTIC BARONS' HOPES

It is comprehensible in these circumstances that the fulfillment of my original plan to stand above all partisanship became much more difficult. The circles on which I wished to base myself lacked the required political unity, due especially to the fact that the Balts, in view of the increasing hostility of the Lettish attitude, hoped for safety and support for the perpetuation of their Germanism, not only as against Bolshevism, but also as against the Letts. Thus it happened that the war against Bolshevism developed, in Balt psychology, into a war for Germanism. It went without saying, however, that these Germans, in view of the changed conditions, could never return to Germany, that no question of an extension of German boundaries was concerned, and that the German Balts, who had preserved their German culture among Letts and Russians for 600 years, wished only to perpetuate it.

This, however, was necessary not only because of Germanism, but also because of the state of culture in these regions generally. If the Baltic intelligentsia

should be annihilated, the country would be destitute of all wisdom and culture. The Letts could not offer a substitute, although they had a few prominent men, such as the subsequent Minister Nedra and others, who, besides possessing culture, had also heart and character. But such men were far too few to be significant. The great mass of the people stands very low in respect to culture and morality. A very large per cent. are Bolshevistic, and the rest are split up into innumerable small factions. The only thing that holds the people together is a blind hatred of the Balts and Germans.

LOW GERMAN MORALE

It must, of course, be admitted that four years of war, with all the inevitable consequences, could not create an attitude of friendliness toward the Germans, and that above all the German revolution had turned the remnants of the Eighth Army—which had remained in Courland—into such a disorderly horde that they had become an actual source of fear to the population. Even the first volunteer units had sunk to the same low condition of morale which the revolution had produced in Germany generally, and I and my officers succeeded only gradually in transforming these soldiers again into conscientious and honorable men, obedient to their commanders. But even after this had been accomplished, the Letts characteristically attacked certain isolated defects publicly, and in unseemly language abused the troops, which, for a volunteer unit formed after the revolution, had become quite efficient.

In these circumstances our relations with the Ullmannis Ministry became tenser and tenser. It was clear to me, nevertheless, that the adoption of violent measures against this Ministry was impossible, as this would only produce new hatred for Germany. I therefore warned the Balts against all violent and purely military action, and hence bore no responsibility for the military outbreak of April 16. I was all the more surprised by it, in that only the day before I had held a council to discuss the way in which we could legally change our rela-

tions with the Lettish Ministry. The new Nedra Ministry, however, kept its full independence, both in regard to the German occupation forces and the English demands, and in my opinion was a worthy representative of the Lettish



COLONEL AVALOV-BERMONDT

people under the most difficult circumstances.

ATTITUDE OF THE ENGLISH

Even before this Ministry came into power, both English and American commissions arrived, with whom it was my wish to enter into the most favorable relations possible. I succeeded in this with the Americans most completely, but the English, after the first peaceful and harmonious interview, soon espoused the cause of the Letts. The reason for this was very simple. The English representatives were interested in business, and wished to establish a commerce in flax and wood. It was clear that to attain this object they were bound to win the favor of the Letts, and understandable that their relations with the Germans soon became strained.

Ullmannis, on his part, tried to use the English as a counterbalance against the Germans, and soon stood ready to purchase good business at the cost of Lettish independence, and to make of Latvia an English colony under the protecting mantle of a provisional independence. The English ambition to win new colonies in this region became more pronounced when General Gough became

the head of the Interallied Commission. England's object was to dominate the Russian Baltic ports, to give independence provisionally to the Lettish people, who were unfit for all Government, and thus cut off the future Russia from the sea.

As it was clear to the English that the Letts would immediately become Bolshevistic after the evacuation of the German troops, they sought in the Baltic Landwehr, in the Northwestern Army of Yudenitch, and in those Lettish troops of Balloed that could be used, a means of setting up a defensive wall against Russian Bolshevism and to constitute a police force to secure inner peace and order. These troops, which were planned to be completely in the English service, were to make the presence of the German troops unnecessary.

The German Border State policy of the year 1918 was undoubtedly a blunder; but so also was the English policy, for it is clear that Russia, already recuperating, and bound to rise again sooner or later, can under no consideration allow the English to occupy the Baltic coast, and that this policy must inevitably lead to a war between Russia and England.

GERMAN INTEREST IN BALTIC

The German interest in this question is as follows: Every form of imperialism, in view of the present weakness of Germany, is out of the question. It would be quite unthinkable, even for the greatest Chauvinists, that extensions of territory could be won for Germany, as against England, in this region. It is therefore ridiculous nonsense to assert that Germany's support of von Bermondts undertaking was occasioned by a desire to annex Russian territory to Germany. But Germany, as well as Russia, is interested in keeping Bolshevism away from its boundaries, and wishes Russia to be healed, in order that Germany may again enter into peaceful trade relations with her. It would be foolish for Germany, through an imperialistic policy in the East, to lose her new friend. The relations now being established between Germany and the future Russia, therefore, are of a purely pacific and economic nature, and if Eng-

lish Imperialism did not cherish boundless ambitions, the English would find no objection to such relations.

The intelligent Lettish element also favors these relations. Not only the upright upper circles, but, above all, the population of the country, who wish peace and order to be restored to the land, and even the jingoistic Lettish factions should content themselves with the promise of a cultural autonomy, inasmuch as a real independence can never be won by this small land, destitute of intellectual elements, of outside aid, lacking coal and industry, and with no considerable revenues, in opposition to the Russian Government, which needs its harbors. The future belongs to the great powers, and it is probable that from the Balkanization of Europe a peaceful amalgamation of all these small States must occur, assuming that the Entente in its imperialism will permit the peaceful development of Europe.

DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARISM

At the present time all the small States are making war on one another. The Entente has lately turned the Letts, Esthonians, and Lithuanians against von Bermondts and his undertaking, with the obvious intention of embarrassing the retreat of the troops still loyal to Germany, so that Germany's peaceful intention to evacuate these regions is threatened with destruction by the warlike purpose of these small peoples. It looks, therefore, as though in Eastern Europe, and perhaps through the whole world, the development of militarism, despite the war-weariness of the peoples, has by no means reached its end, and that the League of Nations was devised only to throw dust in the eyes of the German Michel and the pacifists of all countries, and under this cover to attain the imperialistic objects of the Allies more completely. But this troubles many prominent circles in Germany not at all; on the contrary, they have only one wish, namely, to be "admitted" to this so-called League of Nations, whose object, however, is to effect Germany's destruction.

The war of peoples which I have described, and which by no means appears

to have reached its end, can be prevented in the future only when the conquerors of the world war at last perceive that no further danger threatens them from the conquered, and that all civilized nations have the same objects of inner policy and culture, to make an end of the menace of Bolshevism from Russia, in order that the world may not fall a

victim to criminality and ignorance. Apparently, however, the fear of conquered Germany is still so great in England and France that these countries are losing sight of their great cultural opportunity, namely, after the victorious ending of the world war to become the leaders of the world in a common war against Bolshevism.

Cruelty on Both Sides in Russia

By WILLIAM J. ARCHER

[COUNCILOR OF THE SIAMESE LEGATION IN LONDON]

THE extreme form of the revolutionary movement called Bolshevism stands condemned, not because of its atrocities, but by virtue of the fact that it is an attempt at class rule, odious to every believer in democracy. Many writers against Bolshevism have committed a grave blunder by resting their case on lurid accounts of atrocities. Proofs of such stories are incontrovertible, and the indignation is legitimate, but closer investigation would have shown that the stinging anathemas hurled at Lenin and Trotzky might with equal justice have been launched against the anti-Bolshevist forces. It is not the Reds alone who torture, for wherever the Russian marches, and whatever party conducts military operations, their movements are stained by deeds that shock Western people.

Human nature is not the same in every clime, and there is some truth in the saying, "Scratch the Russian and you find a Tartar." It seems as natural for the Russian to torture his foe as for the Prussian, and both have Oriental characteristics which find little sympathy in Western civilization.

Admiral Kolchak's soldiers in war are cruel. The Bolsheviki are cruel, and there were credible reports received in Siberia that General Denikin's soldiers were not saints. Two instances will suffice to show the variation in the point of view of the East and the West. Near one camp where I was stationed two Russian officers had their noses slit and their ears cut off, in addition to other nameless mutilations. If we base our

attacks on Bolshevism, on atrocities, the case is lost, not because the stories are not true, but because they are not peculiar to the Bolsheviki. Let me recite a few instances of atrocities on the part of the anti-Bolsheviki from a long list in my possession. The facts are reliable, and were obtained by a member of one of our British commissions. After the coup d'état in November last year, by which Admiral Kolchak became supreme ruler, there was a reign of terror established throughout Siberia. Villages were burned and leading Socialists tortured and murdered. One of the most conspicuous cases was that of Fomin, who had played a prominent part in freeing Siberia from Bolshevism. On his dead body there were more than a dozen sword wounds. Eight well-known social workers and literary men were murdered at Omsk, although the Minister of Justice, Starrinkevitch, personally guaranteed their safety.

In Nerchinsk, a punitive force, sent to arrest the caretaker of the Zemstvo building, who was accused of being a Bolshevik, arrested and shot instead the President of the Zemstvo. In Kansk, the town Mayor, Stepanoff, a Moderate Socialist, was hanged, after being arrested by Ataman Krasilnikov, and the record of the brutal and disgusting crimes of Semenov, Kulmikov, and Ivanov-Rinov—Kolchak's Generals—would fill pages, and many of their victims were tortured and mutilated before being shot. I give these instances in support of the view that atrocities are not peculiar to any party in Russia and Siberia.

Soviet Russia's Peace Drive Vol. XI

Moscow Government, Successful in War, Seeks Peace With Baltic States—Armistice With Esthonia

[PERIOD ENDED JAN. 15, 1920]

THE Soviet Government of Russia, triumphant over the anti-Bolshevist armies on all fronts, with the army of Yudenitch scattered and demoralized, with General Denikin retreating further and further in South Russia, with Admiral Kolchak's armies in full flight toward Irkutsk, Kolchak himself virtually self-deposed and his Government threatened by internal revolt, continued violent assaults upon the Esthonian front in December and January, while conducting peace negotiations with Esthonian delegates at Dorpat. Negotiations at this historic conference, the first official discussion of peace which the Bolsheviks had been able to secure with any of their enemies, were repeatedly threatened with failure, owing mainly to the demands of the Bolshevik envoys regarding strategic boundaries.

These difficulties, however, were overcome, and an armistice of one week, automatically renewable from week to week, was finally signed on the last day in December. The negotiations of the Soviet envoy, Litvinov, with the British representatives at Copenhagen, regarding an exchange of prisoners, were interrupted by the British representative's departure to London for consultation and report, and subsequently resumed. They were still continuing when these pages went to press.

Despite the military successes won by the Red Army, conditions in Soviet Russia continued unfavorable in respect to food, fuel and economic questions, and the anxiety of the Bolshevik authorities to extend their peace campaign to all their external enemies, exclusive of Denikin and Kolchak, was made clearly manifest in various directions. Bolshevik propaganda in the East continued unabated, and the agitator, Karl Radek, before his departure from Berlin to Dor-

pat, boasted that, unless the Entente made peace with Soviet Russia, England's Eastern Empire would be undermined in every country to which Bolshevik propaganda could penetrate.

THE BALTIC SITUATION

After the routing by the Letts of the German-Russian forces of Colonel Avalov-Bermondts and the evacuation of Courland by the German troops formerly under General von der Goltz (see the latter's article, Page 285), the Baltic situation underwent much clarification. Up to Nov. 30, 5,000 military men and 2,000 Russian fugitives who fought under Avalov-Bermondts in the attack on the Lettish capital had crossed the frontier. For the time being they were billeted in the war prisoner camp at Neissen, in Silesia, and subsequently were transferred to Danzig, Nauen, and Grabow, Posen. Some 8,000 of the Russian soldiers expressed a desire to be sent to the northern front to fight the Bolsheviks, and Herr Noske, German Minister of Defense, stated that this desire would probably be granted.

The German forces of the Iron Division, which, under General Bischoff, took part in the attack on Riga, completely disregarded the orders of General Niessel, head of the Interallied Commission, that they should leave the country by fixed routes and by railway only; in direct opposition to these orders the Iron Division marched from Shavli to Memel, at which place, as well as at Heidekrug, billets had been prepared for it, and there remained. As Memel was German territory, the Interallied Commission could not enforce its removal to Central Germany, although its presence in such proximity to the Baltic nations gave the latter much anxiety. According to information received by Mr.

Duranty, German-Balt-Bolshevist propaganda was continuing in the Baltic region devised to upset the Lettish Government and to gain the objects which the Bermondts and von der Goltz adventures had failed in securing, namely, German predominance in the Baltic.

LATVIA AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

The Latvian Ministry, which had shown conservative tendencies since its organization, made strong efforts to combat Bolshevism both on the front and within its borders. It bent its efforts toward finding food and work for the unemployed. Latvia's task at home was rendered more difficult by the destruction and removal of machinery and materials in the invasions to which the country had been subject. It was stated on Dec. 17 from Riga that an English syndicate had arranged to make a loan to Latvia and Lithuania, and also that private American enterprise had placed food supplies and goods to the value of several million dollars at the disposal of the Latvian Union of Co-operative Societies.

Meanwhile the Latvian military defense against the onslaughts of the Red Army showed no slackening, though the campaign was much hampered by lack of food and the extreme cold. The Letts were able nevertheless to reinforce their front, which they held firmly at the end of December, while a second army was maintained in Courland, where the presence of the Iron Division at Memel gave the Letts much ground for anxiety. From defense the first of these two armies soon passed to offense, and on Jan. 5 had succeeded in breaking the Bolshevist front along the Dvina, with the capture of booty and a considerable number of prisoners. Two divisions of Letts, supported by Baltic landwehr, participated in these operations, in which, after heavy fighting, the Dvina was crossed. They then revealed their intention to make Dvinsk their objective and thus clear East Lettland of the Bolsheviki; in this project they were supported by the Polish Army on their right wing.

DVINSK CAPTURED

With almost startling ease the Dvinsk objective was attained, and this important city was occupied by Lettish and Polish troops the same day. Large quantities of stores and materials were taken, including an armored train. Meanwhile the Letts announced openly in the Riga press that the operation begun so successfully was "for the liberation of Letgalen" (East Lettland). The loss of Dvinsk was admitted by Moscow on Jan. 6; the Lettish and Polish Armies were then advancing along the Pskov Railway. Rail communication between Riga and Dvinsk was at once reopened. The Letts again began a heavy attack Jan. 9 in the direction of Regziza, the capital of Letgalen Province, and were continuing it when these pages went to press.

The population of Dvinsk gave the occupying troops an enthusiastic welcome. Conditions in Dvinsk were bad; typhus and other epidemics were prevailing, and people were dying daily in the streets. The necessity of obtaining food supplies for the population gave the Letts much cause for anxiety. The military situation underwent practically no change, but the Lettish military command ascertained that six new Bolshevist regiments had been released from the Esthonian front, after the conclusion of the armistice agreement between Esthonia and the Soviet Government, and had been transferred to the Lettish front, on the trunk line between Pskov and Dvinsk, foreshadowing new fighting for the Letts against heavy odds.

A BALTIC ALLIANCE

An offensive and defensive alliance was concluded at Kovno toward the end of December between Latvia and Lithuania for the purpose of resisting future Bolshevist attacks from the west and east. The terms of this alliance provided that the two armies should have a joint commander and a joint General Staff. Both the Letts and Lithuanians refused definitely to negotiate with the Bolshevist envoys at the Dorpat Conference, though each had sent representatives in the capacity of observers. The Lettish

Premier, M. Ulmanis, on Dec. 24, discussed hopefully the possibility of an extension of such a Baltic alliance to Esthonia, Finland, and Poland.

YUDENITCH UNWELCOME

General Yudenitch arrived at Riga on Dec. 20. He was accompanied by General Etievant, the French military representative, through whom Marshal Foch's communications of the wishes of the Allies were given to the Esthonian Government. It was no secret that their visit concerned the possibility of establishing the Yudenitch forces at a point within striking distance of Petrograd, yet not in Esthonia, as the presence of anti-Bolshevist forces there at a time when Esthonia was conducting peace negotiations with the Bolsheviks would prove extremely embarrassing.

The relations of General Yudenitch with the Esthonian Government, in view of the circumstances, soon became strained. The Supreme Council on Dec. 4 sent a note to that Government, asking that it cease disarming the Yudenitch soldiers who had crossed its boundaries, and that it permit the reorganization of the whole army on Esthonian soil. To this note the Esthonians replied on Dec. 13, declaring such a procedure impossible, in view of their negotiations with the Bolsheviks. A week later (Dec. 20) General Yudenitch sent a communication to the Allies asking that he be allowed within seven days to occupy a position on the Latvian front and there reorganize his army. In this note he declared that his relations with the Esthonian Government were such that his position at Narva had become untenable.

M. Ulmanis, the Lettish Premier, on Dec. 22 stated officially that Latvia could not give her consent to the transfer of Yudenitch to Lettish soil, saying:

This would mean that our internal as well as international position would be in danger. First, General Yudenitch would be followed by the Bolsheviks, and we, therefore, would have to face an immediate offensive from the Red Army on our front. Second, much more dangerous, would be the opposition of our people. Frankly, to invite General Yudenitch is to invite trouble. Everything we possess and our whole edifice would be jeopardized. We cannot take such a risk.

ALLIED COMMISSION DEPARTS

The Interallied Commission had virtually completed the task for which it was sent to the Baltic by Dec. 18. The chief object, the evacuation of the Baltic by the German soldiers of the army of von der Goltz, and their return to German territory, had been attained. Regarding the removal of the Iron Brigade from Memel, General Cheney, the American military representative, declared that the Interallied Commission had no power, as Memel, pending the plebiscite, still remained German soil. Assurances, however, he said, had been given by the German Government that these troops would be withdrawn. Subcommissions were to remain some time longer in the Baltic to assess damages of all kinds inflicted by the army of von der Goltz, including the Iron Brigade; these damages were to be included in the reparations which Germany must pay. General Cheney emphasized the bad behavior of the Germans during the evacuation. "They acted in true Hun style," he declared. Both the German forces proper and the German-Russian forces of Colonel Avalov-Bermondts had indulged in widespread looting, and departed laden down with plunder of all kinds. So serious had been these infractions of all agreements that the commission, on its way back to Paris, laid before the German Government in Berlin a full and detailed complaint of looting and various outrages committed by German officers, with the names of the offenders. The German Government promised to restore the stolen property and to punish those responsible.

THE DORPAT CONFERENCE

The historic negotiations at Dorpat between representatives of Esthonia and the Soviet Government, begun on Dec. 6, were carried through December, with numerous delays and interruptions, and finally were concluded successfully on the eve of the new year.

In opening these negotiations the Esthonian Government issued the following explanation and defense:

The Esthonian people having waged war against the Bolsheviks for more than a

year, and having driven them out of their country, must now resume their peaceful occupations. Last September, with the consent of the Constituent Assembly, negotiations were opened with the Soviet Government. It is now quite clear that the other Governments of the border States are prepared to begin negotiations.

The Government hopes that the great allied powers, who have aided us so far, will understand our position. Esthonia desires to bring about the cessation of hostilities. Other relations with the Soviet Government will be settled on the same basis as the future relations between the Allies and the Soviet Government.

The President of the Esthonian peace delegation was M. J. Poska, late Minister for Foreign Affairs; the other members were M. Piip, Foreign Minister; General Soots, Chief of the Esthonian General Staff, and Messrs. Seljamaa and Pueman, members of the Constituent Assembly. The President of the Bolshevik delegation was M. Joffe, former Soviet Ambassador to Germany; Herr Krassin, a recent convert to Bolshevism, who formerly represented at Petrograd the German firm of Schuchardt & Schutte, and who had repeatedly voiced strong conviction of the necessity of making peace even at the cost of sacrifices by Soviet Russia; M. Litvinov, in the intervals of his negotiations at Copenhagen, and Karl Radek, the Bolshevik agitator, who was released from virtual internment in Berlin to attend the conference.

A CURIOUS SITUATION

At the very moment when the Soviet envoys were asserting their desire for peace, the Red forces were attacking the Esthonians fiercely on the Narva front. To understand this situation it must be borne in mind that the solution of the questions of boundary and military guarantees was conceived only as provisional, and that Esthonia and Soviet Russia remained potential enemies until the making of a permanent and definitive peace. The necessity, meanwhile, of maintaining the military front explains the importance attached to the fixing of boundaries.

This question of strategical boundaries was one of the thorny points of discussion, and twice almost brought about the

disruption of the conference. Esthonia demanded undivided control of the Gulf of Narva, as well as the Gulf of Luga, both extremely valuable for the defense of Petrograd. The Soviet envoys not only rejected these claims, but through M. Kostisev, a former Major General in the Czar's army, proposed shifting the front west from Kunda Bay, about sixty miles west of Narva, to Lake Peipus. These excessive demands were repudiated by M. Krassin. Then the Bolshevik delegation made a series of boundary proposals, first naming the west bank of the Narva and then the east bank. Later they proposed to consider the Narva as the provisional frontier, and to arrange for a plebiscite in disputed territory between the Narva and Luga Rivers after the war. The Esthonians refused to evacuate such territory, and a deadlock was reached again.

A strenuous attempt to conclude an agreement by Christmas failed in a conference lasting late into Christmas morning, because of the refusal of the Bolshevik envoys to concede Esthonia's right to fortify part of the Narva front. This difficulty was eventually solved by removing Esthonia's frontier ten kilometers east of the Narva River, both parties agreeing that the Gulf of Finland should be neutral water. The frontier further south was fixed at ten kilometers east of Lake Peipus, crossing Lake Peipus and Lake Pskov, and running thence southward to the east of Isborsk. The Esthonian military line was left approximately intact.

Soviet Russia renounced all sovereign rights over Esthonia. The text of this clause, most important for Esthonia, haunted by the constant fear of the imperialistic intentions of Denikin, Kolchak, and the Allies, was as follows:

In accordance with the principles proclaimed by the Soviet Russian Government of the right of all peoples to a free determination of their nationality, even to the complete secession from the State to which they belong, Russia recognizes without reservation the independence of the Esthonian State and freely abdicates for all time all the sovereign rights which belonged to Russia with respect to Esthonia's land and people in accordance with



ESTHONIA AND THE BALTIC REGION CONCERNED IN THE ARMISTICE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA SIGNED AT DORPAT ON DEC. 31, 1919

former State orders, as well as those rights given under international treaties. Esthonian land and people shall have no obligations whatever with respect to Russia because of the former connections of Esthonia with Russia.

ARMISTICE SIGNED

Thus having found a basis of mutual adjustment, the delegates of the two countries met on Dec. 31 to sign a preliminary armistice. The delegates were seated at a large, round table, with the respective heads of each delegation, M. Poska and M. Joffe, in the centre, and the two delegations facing each other. The formalities took only twenty minutes. The clerical staff, which included many young women, chatted unconcernedly at tables in the corners. M. Joffe, wearing a red insignia on the lapel of his frock coat, offered the only color in the gathering. The armistice itself, as signed, was only for one week, automatically renewable from week to week, with full power on the part of either Government to denounce it within twenty-four hours' notice. A full armistice, or preliminary peace, was subject to Esthonia's Constituent Assembly, which was not scheduled to meet until the end of January. Thus Soviet Russia was virtually put on probation for one month.

Under the armistice, as signed, the Esthonians were not required to eject from their territory soldiers who had fought under General Yudenitch in his abortive campaign against Petrograd until after the peace treaty between Esthonia and Soviet Russia should be ratified. This excited much surprise on the part of the allied representatives. The Bolshevik envoys, however, admitted that they had made great concessions regarding frontiers and military guarantees. M. Joffe himself declared at Dorpat the day following the signing: "I far exceeded the latitude allowed by the Moscow Government, and expect to be called to account for it when I return, but we have shown that we are able to make peace."

According to advices received by the State Department at Washington on Dec. 31, the Governments of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania had asked the Governments of Poland and Finland to join them in a conference at Helsingfors with a view to discussing plans for military defense against the Bolsheviks. Finland had agreed to join this conference; Poland had not decided, but the probabilities were favorable. Esthonia's part in such a conference remained open

to doubt, owing to the signing of the armistice with the Soviet Government.

THE DENIKIN DEBACLE

The Reds' military successes against Denikin in the south continued uninterrupted throughout December and January. The Denikin forces were retreating continuously from about Dec. 10; between that date and Dec. 18 they had been compelled to fall back another fifty miles on a wide front. By this time Poltava, Kharkov, and Kiev had been taken by the Bolsheviks, and Odessa was aimed at. The Bolshevik success was explained by the fact that the fighting in other sectors had so slackened that they were able to rush heavy reinforcements south. The Bolsheviks were committing atrocities in Kursk and other occupied towns, and throngs of refugees fled from their advance.

The army of Denikin strove desperately to prevent the Reds from cutting their way through the Donetz coal basin to the Black Sea and the Caucasus. Small, sporadic successes were won, but the Red cavalry drove the Denikin forces back again on a wide front. Cossack units under Mamontov and Chelnokov were defeated by the Soviet troops, and over a thousand Cossacks killed. Much booty was captured. Rostov, on the Don, was partly evacuated, and the civilian population of Odessa began to flee.

On Jan. 1 the Bolsheviks announced the capture of Ekaterinoslav and a point 15 miles to the northeast. The Bolsheviks at this time were advancing toward Taganrog, Denikin's headquarters. The position of Denikin was daily becoming more critical. The Donetz coal basin was lost, less than 100 miles from the coast; the left flank of the Caucasus army was imperiled, and the Red forces were within eighty miles of Krasnovodsk in the Transcaspian territory.

On the west the port of Mariupol, on the Sea of Azov, sixty-three miles west of Taganrog, was captured by the victorious Red troops, and subsequently Taganrog itself; the Denikin forces fled on steamers and by foot along the coast. The Bolsheviks were advancing at all

points. Strong defensive preparations were being made at Odessa.

KOLCHAK RULE SHAKEN

After the loss of his capital and the rout of his armies by the Bolsheviks, Admiral Kolchak appointed M. Pepelaiev Premier of the All-Russian Government



SCENE OF BOLSHEVIST SUCCESSES AGAINST DENIKIN IN SOUTH RUSSIA

and charged him to form a new Cabinet. M. Pepelaiev was a Constitutional Democrat (Cadet), a former member of the Fourth Duma, a member of Lvov's Government during the revolution, who resigned on Kerensky's accession to power and became a common soldier. When the Bolshevik coup d'état occurred he at once took an anti-Soviet attitude, and was sent to Ufa, in Siberia, to build up a new Government. The Cabinet formed by him was as follows:

Premier and Minister of Home Affairs, M. Pepelaiev.
 Vice Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Tretiakov.
 Finance, M. Bouriskin.
 Trade, M. Okorokov.
 Agriculture, M. Petrov.
 Labor, M. Shoumilovsky.
 Communications, M. Oustrougov.
 War, M. Khanjin.
 Public Instruction, M. Preobrajensky.
 Provisional Head of the Ministry of Justice, M. Morozov.
 State Controller, M. Krasnov.
 Chief Manager of Affairs, M. Guins.

The program published by the new Premier included the emancipation of the system of military administration of the country; a severe struggle against

all abuses and injustice, no matter by whom committed; an extension of the competency of the future legislative State and Country Assembly; close relation between the Government and people and co-operation with the Opposition and all the healthy elements of society united.

From Irkutsk other projects of reform in the Kolchak administration were announced. The Siberian people were to have a representative Parliament, a Sobor (Assembly), to consist only of elected members and to possess legislative powers. Elections were begun in the various provinces toward the end of December. Despite these far-reaching projects of reform, the smoldering fires of discontent in Siberia against the Kolchak Government were not quenched, and finally burst forth in a conflagration which threatened the existence of the new Government at Irkutsk and the personal safety of Kolchak himself.

MILITARY SITUATION

The military situation of the Kolchak Government grew steadily worse. At the capture of Novo Nikolaevsk on Dec. 13, 10,000 soldiers and 500 officers fell into the hands of the Bolsheviks, according to official Soviet claims. Booty taken by the Reds included a section of the American Red Cross, the Ufa branch of the State Bank, with 40,000,000 rubles in Siberian Bank notes, and masses of other stores. Evacuation of the City of Tomsk, Western Siberia, made necessary by the Bolshevik advance, began on Dec. 16. A Moscow wireless on Dec. 26 announced the capture of Tomsk and seven other towns in Siberia. Part of Kolchak's army had been destroyed and the Red Army had pushed on from Novo Nikolaevsk to Taiga, on the main line of the Trans-Siberian Railway; the road to Irkutsk, the seat of the new Kolchak Government, was thus laid open. Polish troops caught west of Taiga about Dec. 23 fought desperately to make their way eastward. The American consular officials were safe. Bolshevik gains were won also on the Amur line in Eastern Siberia, and Blagoveschensk was completely cut off.

REVOLT IN IRKUTSK

It was announced on Dec. 25 that Admiral Kolchak, in consequence of ill-health, had relinquished the military command to General Semenov, the Cossack leader, whom he had appointed Commander in Chief of the Irkutsk, Transbaikal, and Amur military districts. Under this appointment all other military leaders were to be subordinate to the new commander.

Kolchak himself, harassed on the military front by the incessant onslaught of the ever-advancing Bolsheviks, had also to face rebellion from within. It was reported on Dec. 27 that 800 Revolutionary Socialist soldiers of the Kolchak Army had formed a "Committee Government" at Irkutsk and had taken possession of the Irkutsk Station on the Trans-Siberian Railway. This coup was accomplished during the absence of the new Premier, M. Pepelaiev, who had gone to consult Kolchak at his headquarters, Taiga, regarding the composition of his new Cabinet. M. Tretiakov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was also absent from Irkutsk at the time, as he had gone to meet General Semenov in the Baikal region.

After the capture of Taiga, Kolchak's whereabouts remained uncertain. Irkutsk was virtually in a state of siege. Martial law was declared following the uprising of social revolutionary troops. The pontoon bridge across the Angara River had been cut, and American Red Cross boats were the only means of communication. The revolutionary forces were in virtual control of the railroad from Irkutsk westward to Krasnoyarsk, and a report from the Japanese Military Department on Jan. 9 declared that Irkutsk was wholly occupied by the revolutionary forces, and that Kolchak's army had been completely dispersed.

JAPAN STIRRED

Stirred by the victorious advance of the Red armies, by the crumbling of Kolchak's power, and by the constant Bolshevik attacks upon the Trans-Siberian line, Japan took measures to cope with the menace of the new situation created by the adoption of a new mili-

tary and political policy. The Japanese Publicity Bureau at Vladivostok on Dec. 18 announced that in future Japan would give all her efforts to guarding the railroad, as opposed to her previous policy of giving help to the Kolchak Government and relegating the guarding of the road to secondary importance. Japan had reached at this date a tentative agreement with the United States based solely upon this policy, which had been consistently followed by the American military officials in Siberia.

The main question was how to resist the repeated Bolshevik raids upon the railway line. In September and October 436 distinct raids on points held by Japanese troops had occurred, and these raids were increasing in frequency and importance. Japan, therefore, considering the situation precarious, faced the necessity of increasing her military forces in Siberia, whatever decision the United States might make regarding co-operation. Above all, the Japanese wished to stem the tide of Bolshevism that was washing across Siberia right to the borders of Korea, across which and the narrow straits separating Japan from the mainland of Asia it could easily penetrate. On Jan. 8 it was announced that Japan, realizing the seriousness of this menace, had stationed her soldiers at Lake Baikal, charged with the duty of resisting all Bolshevik advance beyond that point.

AMERICAN FORCES RECALLED

Transported 4,000 miles from the far western front in Russia, more than 200 wounded American soldiers arrived in Vladivostok about Dec. 23 and were received in the American Red Cross hospital, which had been taken over from the British naval authorities.

The United States Army transport Logan left Vladivostok on Dec. 28 for the United States, bearing 842 soldiers. Only fifty-three drafted American soldiers were left in Siberia; thirty of these were on their way to Vladivostok from the railway zone; others were still in hospitals.

It was announced at Washington on Jan. 12 that President Wilson had decided to

recall the American Expeditionary Force in Siberia under Major Gen. William S. Graves, and that Japan had been officially notified of the fact through the American Ambassador at Tokio. Our troops were to be brought home as soon as they had finished assisting the Czechoslovak contingents and the Stevens Siberian Railway Mission to leave the country. All the 72,000 Czechoslovak, Polish, Yugoslav, and Rumanian troops were to be got out of Siberia in the quickest possible time. The Czech republic had asked the United States to take care of the transportation of 32,000 of its 50,000 men, and the remainder of the foreign troops were to be removed by Great Britain, the expense of repatriation to be borne in each case by the home Governments of the soldiers.

There were approximately 9,000 American regulars in Siberia, all the drafted men having been replaced. The units included the 27th Infantry, the 31st Infantry, General Graves's Headquarters Staff, the 53d Telegraph Battalion, and several hospital units. The task of bringing these men home, with the Czechs as well, was intrusted to Major Gen. Frank L. Hines, Director of Army Transportation. The army transport Edellyn, the first of a small fleet assigned for the work, left New York on Jan. 16 for Vladivostok via the Panama Canal; the President Grant and the America were to follow in a few days.

The news that all allied troops were to be on their way home before March 1 caused a sensation in Siberia, both among the repatriated soldiers and among the Russian elements which would thus lose their support. Measures for the protection of Japan against the eastward-moving wave of Bolshevik power were undertaken at once by the Tokio Government, which proposed, with the consent of the United States, to increase its military forces in Siberia.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The internal economic weakness in Soviet Russia, which explained the eagerness of the Bolshevik Government to make peace with its enemies, continued and increased. Extreme measures were being taken to meet the fuel fam-

ine; wooden houses were being razed for fuel and barges were being demolished. Great scarcity of food prevailed. Little work was to be had, owing to the closing down of numerous factories and industrial firms. Steps were taken to send workmen to different towns in the interior, though the industrial conditions at these places were no more favorable. According to the Pravda the number of employes in Petrograd's factories had been decreased approximately 67 per cent. in two years. According to the same authority the number of schools in the former capital, owing to the fuel scarcity, was to be cut down two-thirds and the curriculum curtailed.

The Red terror continued. The arrest of 900 persons, including some French and English nationals, was reported in Petrograd on Dec. 19. Of those arrested 350 were executed, following trial by a revolutionary tribunal. On Dec. 10 the well-known literary critic Edmund Gosse published a letter in The London Times appealing in behalf of Countess Aleksandra, youngest daughter of Count Tolstoy, who had just been arrested in Moscow and was in imminent danger of execution. Word was received in Berlin on Jan. 6 of the execution of Admiral Sakhimev, who fought brilliantly against the German fleet in 1917.

According to an official note published in the Bolshevik organ, Izvestia, 14,000 persons were shot by the Bolsheviks of Russia in the first three months of 1919 by order of the Extraordinary Committee at Moscow.

Karl Radek, who had been sent on a special mission to Germany before his departure as a peace delegate to Dorpat,

insisted on the Soviet desire for peace. In this connection he said:

If we cannot have peace we will fight to a finish. We are suffering from hunger in Russia, but the Entente cannot starve us out. If the war keeps on we will set the Near and Far East on fire. We will stir up such trouble in Turkey, Afghanistan, Turkestan, Kurdistan, Persia, and India that England will not have another quiet moment. It is no secret that I have been negotiating with the Young Turks. And we will form an alliance with the devil himself, if necessary, to fight the Entente until it gives us peace.

Advices received in London on Jan. 8 from the Middle East indicated that these threats were not empty words. Southeastward by way of the Caucasus toward Persia, eastward and southward by way of the northern shore of the Caspian, and in all directions southward from the Siberian Railway Red forces and propagandists were overrunning Southwestern and Central Asia.

Among their objects were control of the Caspian, the seizure of the oil fields, the invasion of Persia from two directions, the occupation of Turkestan and Transcaspia, and anti-British penetration on a great scale toward Afghanistan and India. [See article on page 302.]

A Soviet wireless message received in London on Jan. 1 flashed New Year's greetings to the world. This message, after celebrating 1919 as a year of victory for the Soviet Government, said:

In 1920 we shall attain a victorious end of civil war. Siberia, the Ukraine, the Don region, and the Caucasus desire Soviets. There will also be Soviets at Berlin, Washington, Paris, and London. Soviet authority will be supreme throughout the world.

Patriarch's Letter to Lenin and Trotzky

THE evils of Red rule in Russia were restated by the Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia, M. Tikhon, in the following encyclical letter, which was made public by the Russian Liberation Committee in London on Nov. 26, 1919:

"They that take up the sword shall perish by the sword." St. Matthew, xxvi., 52.

This prophecy of Christ we address unto

you, the present rulers of the destinies of our country, styling yourselves "The People's Commissars." You are holding the State power in your hands and are preparing to celebrate the anniversary of the October revolution, 1917, but the torrents of blood of your brothers, mercilessly killed at your bidding, compel us to speak unto you the bitter word of truth.

In seizing power and inviting the people to place their confidence in you, what did

you promise them and how did you fulfill your promise?

"Verily you have given them a stone instead of bread, and a serpent in place of fish." St. Matthew, vii., 9-10.

You promised to a people worn out by sanguinary war to give them peace "without annexations and indemnities."

What conquests could you renounce, you, who have brought Russia to a shameful peace, the humiliating conditions of which even you dared not fully publish? In place of annexations and contributions our great Motherland herself is conquered, humiliated, and dismembered. You have robbed the fighting men of all they lately gallantly fought for. You have taught those who a short while ago were brave and invincible to give up the defense of their country and flee from the battlefield. You have quenched in their hearts the inspiring consciousness that "greater love hath no man than this, to lay down his life for his friend." You have replaced the Motherland by a soulless Internationale, although you yourselves know full well that where the defense of their native country was concerned the proletarians of all lands were its loyal sons and not traitors. Having refused to defend your country from external foes, you are nevertheless continually organizing armies. Against whom are you leading them? You have divided the whole people into enemy camps and have hurled them into fratricide unheard of for its cruelty. You have openly exchanged the love of Christ for hatred, and instead of giving peace have artificially kindled class war. And there seems no end to the war originated by you, for you aspire by the hands of Russian workers and peasants to bring about the triumph of the phantom of world revolution.

It was not that Russia needed the shameful peace with the external enemy, but that you desired to break completely our internal peace. Nobody feels safe; all live in constant fear of perquisition, robbery, arrest, execution; hundreds of defenseless people are seized daily, and lie for months rotting in foul prisons, are executed without investigation or trial, even without the simplified method of trial established by you. Not only are those executed who are found guilty toward you, but also those whom you well know to be innocent, and who were merely taken as "hostages"; these unfortunate people are killed in vengeance for crimes committed not by their relatives or friends, but frequently by your own adherents or by persons sympathizing with your own views. Innocent Bishops, priests, monks, and nuns are shot on a wholesale, vague and indefinite accusation of "counter-revolution." This inhuman existence is made still harder for the orthodox believers by their being bereft of the last consolation before death—the taking of the holy communion—and by the bodies of those slain be-

ing refused to their relatives for Christian burial.

Does not all this represent the culmination of aimless cruelty on the part of those who pose as the benefactors of humanity, and have themselves, as they say, suffered much from cruel authorities?

But you are not content with having smeared the hands of the Russian people with the blood of their brethren; by concealing it under different terms, such as contributions, requisitions, nationalizations, you have pushed them toward the most open and shameless robbery.

You have incited them to destroy and seize the land, farms, works, factories, houses, cattle, to loot money, furniture, clothes. At first wealthy people were robbed on the pretense of their being "bourgeoisie," then hard-working and well-to-do peasants, because they were supposed to be "kulaki," thus increasing the number of paupers, although you cannot but know that by ruining multitudes of private citizens you are destroying national wealth and ruining the country. By tempting the ignorant people with the possibility of easily acquired loot, you have befogged their consciences and dulled the consciousness of sin, but whatever names you give to iniquities—murder, aggression, and rapine will always remain sin and crime, crying out to Heaven for vengeance.

You promised liberty.

Great is the gift of liberty—if it is rightfully understood as freedom from evil, which does not oppress others, does not merge into aggression or self-will. But that is the liberty which you did not give: your liberty consists in encouraging the evil passions of the mob, in leaving murders and pillage unpunished. All manifestations either of true civic or of the higher spiritual freedom have been ruthlessly suppressed.

Is that liberty, when no one dares to obtain food for himself, to change one's dwelling, to move from town to town? Is that liberty when families and sometimes all the inhabitants of a house are evicted and their property thrown out in the street, and when all citizens are artificially divided into categories, of which some are destined to famine and plunder? Is that liberty when no one dares to state openly one's opinion out of fear of being accused of counter-revolution? Where are freedom of speech and of the press? Where the freedom of Church preaching? Have not many brave Church preachers already paid the price of their blood—the blood of martyrs? The voice of social and State discussion is suppressed, the press, with the exception of the narrow pro-Bolshevik section, is completely strangled.

Particularly hard and cruel is the suppression of liberty and faith. Not a day passes but the most monstrous calumnies against the Church of God, angry blasphemy and sacrilege appear in your press. You mock

the servants of the Church, you force Bishops to dig trenches (Hermogen, Bishop of Tobolsk), and set priests to perform the meanest tasks. You have laid your hands upon the inheritance of the Church, gathered together by generations of the faithful, and have not hesitated to violate their last will and testament.

You have closed monasteries and chapels for no cause or reason whatsoever. You have closed the entrance to the Moscow Kremlin—that sanctuary of the people. You have destroyed the parish-time, that old order of Church community; you are suppressing the brotherhoods and other philanthropic and educational institutions. You disperse church and diocesan meetings, interfere with the internal affairs of the Orthodox Church, you evict sacred images from the schools, and, by forbidding religious teaching, you deprive the children of the spiritual nourishment so indispensable to a Christian upbringing.

"And what shall I more say? For the time would fail me" (Hebrews, xi., 32), to describe all the calamities which have befallen our mother country. I will not speak of the disruption of the once mighty Russia, of the complete disorganization of transport, of the unheard-of disruption of the food supply, of the cold and famine which threaten to bring death to the towns, of the absence of all necessities in the villages. That is patent to all eyes. Yea, we are passing through terrible times, and the memory of your power will remain for a long time uneffaced out of the people's soul, for in it you have darkened the image of God and imprinted that of the beast. The words of the prophet are being realized: "Their feet run into evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood; their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity, wasting and destruction are in their path." Isaiah, lix., 5-7.

We know that our denunciation will only kindle your wrath and indignation, that you will only seek in them a pretext for accusing us of defiance of your authority, but as the "pillar of your wrath" rises ever higher, the greater will be the evidence of the justice of our denunciations.

It is not our business to judge of earthly

powers; any power tolerated by God would receive our blessing if it appeared as "the judgment of God" for the good of the people, and was not a terror to good works, but to the evil. (Romans, xiii., 3.)

But now unto you, who use your power for persecution of your brethren and the extermination of the innocent, we tender our word of persuasion: Celebrate the anniversary of your coming into power by liberating the prisoners, by ceasing bloodshed, aggression, ruin, persecution of the faith; turn from destruction toward the restoration of law and order; give the people the longed-for and merited rest from civil war. But now the blood of the righteous which you have shed shall be required of you (St. Luke, xi., 51), "and you that have taken the sword shall perish by the sword." (St. Matthew, xxvi., 52.)

(Signed)

TIKHON,

Patriarch of Moscow and All-Russia.

A few weeks after the publication of this scathing arraignment the Bolshevik Government at Moscow announced that Patriarch Tikhon had issued a second encyclical reversing his attitude, recognizing the authority of the Soviet, and inviting all believers to obey Soviet laws. It added that a new clerical party had been organized among the officials of the Orthodox Church with a program for (1) close co-operation with the Soviet power; (2) instruction for the masses in all Bolshevik measures, and (3) a campaign against the old traditions of the reactionary clergy.

Appearances indicated that if the Patriarch did issue such a retraction it was not done as a free agent. An earlier report from Taganrog had stated that he had been arrested, together with other ecclesiastics, many of whom had been shot, and when the Moscow wireless announced the new encyclical a fortnight later there was no evidence to show that it had not been signed under compulsion.



The Bolshevik World-Offensive

How the Moscow Reds are Spreading Their Revolutionary Doctrines Through a Worldwide Propaganda

LENIN and his followers in Moscow, confronted by the economic failure of their system in their own factories, have sought to lay the blame on the allied blockade, and have repeatedly declared that the ultimate success of Bolshevism, even in Russia, depended upon the forcing of the same system upon the rest of the world. In this belief they began a year ago to devote large sums to a widely ramifying propaganda for the undermining and overthrow of other Governments, primarily in Asia, but later in all parts of the world. The paid agents of the Moscow Communists have long been at work in Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, France, and even Great Britain and the United States. All these countries have taken steps to get rid of them. Countries as far distant as Argentina and Brazil have been forced into campaigns for the arrest and deportation of these agitators.

The importance attached to this propaganda by the Moscow dictators was indicated in a statement made by the Commissary of Foreign Affairs to Dr. T. H. Fokker, the Dutch Consul General at Kiev. In an interview with an Amsterdam editor in December Dr. Fokker said:

The Commissary for Foreign Affairs (M. Tchitcherin) frankly declared to me that he attached much more importance to the exportation of parcels of propaganda matter than to the importation of foodstuffs—much more. Perhaps it will now be understood why some people are anxious that the blockade of "poor Russia" should be stopped at once. * * * All countries should strictly watch against the spreading of this dangerous propaganda; everywhere the peoples should be carefully informed of the dangers which threaten them through Bolshevism.

With the opening of peace negotiations between Soviet Russia and Esthonia the Bolshevik authorities seized the opportunity to prepare a new campaign. It was revealed in Helsingfors on Dec. 2

that Litvinov, the Bolshevik envoy, took with him to Copenhagen 30,000,000 rubles in Duma notes for the purpose of making Soviet propaganda while ostensibly negotiating with a British envoy.

BOLSHEVIST "SCRAPS OF PAPER"

The Russian Division of the State Department at Washington prepared and made public at the beginning of 1920 a "Memorandum on Certain Aspects of the Bolshevik Movement in Russia," which contains many Bolshevik documents, all showing, as Secretary Lansing pointed out in the preface, that "the purpose of the Bolsheviks is to subvert the existing principles of government and society the world over, including those countries in which democratic institutions are already established." The documents include various utterances of the Moscow leaders indicating that they do not mean to cease their revolutionary offensive even though they may promise to do so in a treaty of peace. After the expulsion of the Bolshevik Ambassador Joffe from Berlin, Tchitcherin boasted of the millions of rubles taken to Berlin for propaganda purposes (official note to German Foreign Office in *Izvestia*, Dec. 26, 1918). Another illustration of the "scrap-of-paper" attitude of the Bolsheviks toward treaties is contained in a signed article (*Izvestia*, Jan. 1, 1919) on "Revolutionary Methods," in which Joffe says:

Having accepted this forcibly imposed treaty (Brest-Litovsk), revolutionary Russia, of course, had to accept its second article, which forbade "any agitation against the State and military institutions of Germany." But both the Russian Government as a whole and its accredited representative in Berlin never concealed the fact that they were not observing this article and did not intend to do so.

And this agitation continued even after the Bolsheviks had signed with Germany, Aug. 27, 1918, the so-called supplement-

any treaties of Brest-Litovsk, which were not signed like the original treaty under seeming duress, but were actively sought for and gladly entered upon by the Bolsheviks.

William Phillips, Assistant Secretary of State, recently wrote in a letter to the Secretary of the Harvard Liberal Club:

Bad faith is the avowed essence of Bolshevik diplomacy, and its avowed ulterior purpose is to obtain every possible opportunity for the spread of its subversive doctrines. It is only necessary to quote the following extract from a speech made by Zinoviev, President of the Petrograd Soviet, on Feb. 2, 1919, on the subject of the Prince's Island proposal:

"We are willing to sign an unfavorable peace with the Allies. It would only mean that we should put no trust whatever in the bit of paper we should sign. We should use the breathing space so obtained in order to gather our strength in order that the mere continued existence of our Government would keep up the world-wide propaganda which Soviet Russia has been carrying on for more than a year."

ACTIVITIES IN UNITED STATES

The Bolshevik world-offensive was carried into the United States in the latter half of 1919, resulting finally in the arrest and deportation of hundreds of agitators in this country who were attempting to follow the revolutionary instructions received from Moscow. The Red literature, it was learned, was being brought from Russia by couriers.

Shortly before Christmas a Bolshevik conspiracy to overthrow the Latvian Government was discovered by the Lettish authorities at Volmar, near Riga, and 100 persons implicated were arrested; among these was a Russian sailor, on whom were found large sums of money and jewels of great value concealed in the soles of his boots, together with a letter from one of Lenin's closest satellites addressed to the Bolshevik "comrades" of America. This sailor had been a considerable time in Latvia awaiting an opportunity to sail for the United States; indignant letters found upon him complained of the delay. Lying in hiding in an old house, he finally sent a woman messenger to Moscow to demand instructions; the apprehension of this messenger, as she was attempting to pass the

lines, led to the arrest of the courier himself.

The letter to American "comrades" found on this courier's person was signed by Buharin, Chief of the Executive Committee Bureau of the Communist International, and by Bersin, alias Winter, a Bolshevik of Lettish origin. More than any argument it showed the essential aims of the Red leaders.

TEXT OF BOLSHEVIST LETTER

The text of this remarkable document is given herewith:

Dear Comrades, permit us to give you a full résumé of our advice and instructions regarding current work in America.

1. We firmly believe that after the expulsion of a number of sections of certain nationalities from the American Socialist Party the time has come to organize in the United States a Communist Party, which will proceed to get officially in touch with the Communist International.

We firmly believe also that this party could be organized from, firstly, the Socialist Propaganda League; secondly, the extremer—and now excluded—elements of the American Socialist Party; thirdly, the extremer elements of the Socialist Labor Party, which, as we are well aware, it is most important to split, as its actions are contrary to our aims, and fourthly, the International Workers of the World, whose principle on non-political action will disappear as it comes to recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet rule. The organization of this party should be effected in Moscow.

2. We firmly believe that one of the most important aims at present is the organization of communist small nucleus centres among soldiers and sailors—as a fighting section to carry on energetic propaganda in organizing Soviets of soldiers and sailors, and in preaching fanatical hostility [the Russian word means literally persecution] toward officers and Generals.

3. Such organizations of workmen Soviets as already exist should not be allowed to degenerate into philanthropic or cultural associations. We are much afraid that in America there is just this danger. Therefore we strongly emphasize that until the Soviets have grasped the upper hand they must regard themselves as militant [the word is underlined] units of the fight for national control and proletariat dictatorship. There must not be an inch yielded from this standpoint. [All the last sentence is underlined in the original.]

The organization of strikes and of unemployed and the fomenting of insurrections—that is the task appointed. Secondly, it is necessary to take the utmost

precautions against the splitting up of the proletariat among the already existing national political parties. Therefore direct your energies along the lines of developing the movement to establish Soviets of workers of different political views.

The general platform will be as follows:

(a) Down with the Senate and Congress.

(b) Down with capitalists in the factories. Long live the management of the factories by the workers.

(c) Down with speculators. All organizations of food and supply to be in the workers' hands.

Everywhere it is necessary sharply to emphasize the idea of seizing the whole machinery of economic administration by the working class, and to direct toward this object propaganda and agitation—by an outcry against the high cost of living.

It is desirable to spread hostility [again the Russian word persecution] toward Wilson as a two-faced criminal as well as toward his League of Nations.

Regarding intervention, you already know what to do, but we ask you to stress the factor of our economic strangulation—and not only ours, but Hungary's previously—and also to rub in the fact that western democrats are acting as our executioners.

5. It is of supreme importance to pay the closest attention to the American Federation of Labor. This must be smashed in pieces—[last three words are underlined]—by active work in collaboration with the International Workers of the World to bring about strike movements and revolution.

6. It is most necessary to develop propaganda to instill into the minds of the workers the paramount necessity for arming—[this word is underlined]. Revolutionary soldiers who are demobilized should not give up their rifles.

As a more general platform:

(A) An international Socialist republic.

(B) Frighten every one with the bogey of new wars being prepared by the capitalists.

(C) Use the utmost efforts to oppose the organization of White Guards. This should be done in most ruthless and violent manner.

7. Work for the centralization and combination of your endeavors. Don't give them any opportunity to smash you separately. Organize conspirative committees.

With Communistic greetings.

(Signed) *Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.*

BUHARIN AND J. BERSIN, ALIAS WINTER.

MARTENS INVOLVED

This document of specific instructions for revolutionary activities in the United States was accompanied by a general letter of advice from the Third Communist International of Moscow—a letter of interest chiefly because it contained a mention of Ludwig A. C. Martens, the Soviet "Ambassador" to the United States, whose connection with subversive propaganda has been charged repeatedly by the Lusk Legislative Committee, which is investigating seditious activities in New York. After devoting some space to advice against factional quarrels the letter concluded as follows:

Much depends upon your work in America. The International Bureau insists upon the union of all groups on the Soviet platform. Party work should proceed conjointly and in close touch with the work of the Soviets. Anarchists, former Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, Intelligentsia, &c., willing to work with the Soviets, should be permitted to co-operate. There must be no division or split.

The Embassy and Comrade Martens are not subordinate to any organization. Organizations are advised to work in full contact with the Embassy which is responsible only to the All-Russian Central Committee of Soviets. There can be no question as to control of the Embassy by local organizations.

In addition to this letter we are sending all kinds of information and propaganda literature which should be published at once.

With friendly greetings.

(Signed) A. MENSHPMY,
J. A. BERSIN.

In the course of his testimony before the Lusk Committee, most of whose questions he refused to answer, Martens admitted that he was in regular communication with Moscow through special couriers, whose identity and whereabouts he refused to disclose, and that he had received through this agency from the Soviet Government the sum of \$90,000 since March, 1919.

NATURE OF PROPAGANDA

An example of the propaganda literature shipped into the United States by the Communist International of Moscow and disseminated here by Socialist and Communist organizations is found in the following extract from a Lenin-Trotsky

manifesto, which was among the papers seized by the Lusk Committee:

It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary expense of the working class and to further hasten the complete victory of the Communist revolution. Civilian war is forced upon the laboring classes by their arch enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow. The Communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible. It has become an iron necessity to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborers, and the formation of a Communist army such as the Red Army of Soviet Russia. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in personnel, but annihilation of the enemies' apparatus of the Government. The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the Government machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance. Long live the international republic of the proletarian councils.

PROPAGANDA IN ASIA

The most serious results of the Bolshevik propaganda have been apparent in Asia, where the Reds' efforts to stir up revolution have been aimed at India. Their method of operating in the Near and Far East through paid agitators was thus described by a Swedish correspondent of *The London Morning Post*:

With the help of the untold wealth in gold, silver, and jewels, during centuries hoarded up in holy Russia's thousands of convents, churches, and palaces, they have succeeded in setting the whole world rocking, and have made the Mohammedan world boil with sedition from far-away Afghanistan to Egypt. . . . And if you negotiate, how will you keep them to their engagements, how will you prevent their poisoning the whole intellectual atmosphere of our time?

The religious situation in Russia itself gave the Reds an opening in the East. There are over 20,000,000 Mohammedans in Russia, concentrated, for the most part, on the Volga, in the Ural region, in Turkestan, and the Eastern Caucasus. Lenin took due note of the fact that during the last twenty years a national

movement had been developed among these Russian Mohammedans, finding expression in a new literature and in religious and social reforms, including the emancipation of women. This national movement was strongly affected by Russian literature and by Russian political tendencies, and for that reason was more advanced than the corresponding national movement in other Mohammedan countries.

The participation of Turkey in the war against Russia had been a severe test of the loyalty of the kinsmen of the Turks in Russia, and not all the national leaders had proved superior to temptation. German and Turkish influences had made themselves strongly felt in the Russian Mohammedan movement during the war, and more particularly during the revolution.

The establishment of a Tatar Republic with Turkish aid revealed the extent to which the German and Turkish agitators had been operating to open a way from the Black Sea into Central Asia. It was this Russo-Mohammedan movement, backed by Germany and Turkey, that Lenin seized as a lever for provoking a revolution in the Mohammedan East, to be turned into Bolshevik channels and used as a weapon against Great Britain, the ultimate object of attack.

TATAR PROPAGANDA

Taking full advantage of their occupation of the Mohammedan districts of Russia, the Bolsheviks, under the direction of Lenin, began, therefore, a violent agitation. Never had there been such propaganda among the Tatars. Never had there been so many Tatar newspapers on the Volga and in the Urals, where all the Tatar press soon consisted only of subsidized Bolshevik sheets. Agitators traveled about in towns and villages making speeches, founding Mohammedan communist centres, preaching revolt. It was not all plain sailing for the Bolsheviks. Turkestan has simmered constantly with revolt against the despotism of the Red Government, as Dr. Harold Williams has repeatedly noted in his cables, and if there were many Mohammedans mobilized in the Red Army there were also many loyal Mohammedans.

dans from the Caucasus fighting with the green ribbon and emblem of the crescent in the ranks of Denikin's army, and whole units of Siberian Tatars bore arms under Kolchak. But the danger was there, and it has constantly increased, rather than diminished.

The Bolsheviks dream of arousing not merely a part, but the whole of Asia. The appearance of an Afghan mission in Moscow, received with high honors; the intensive propaganda work conducted via Tashkent, in Afghanistan, which, much to the alarm of its neighbors, has become almost an outpost of Bolshevism in the East, are merely isolated symptoms of a vast movement to harass and embarrass Great Britain. The capture of Kazandjik in the Transcaspian region, reported on Dec. 11, produced a serious situation for Great Britain in Asia, and a month later the capture of Samarkand and Krasnovodsk, the gateway to Turkestan, emphasized the threat against India. A wedge had been driven between the forces of Denikin and Kolchak, and Bolshevism was holding out the right hand of fellowship to Pan Turanianism in the name of a common hostility to Western Democracy.

The success of the Bolshevik forces in the trans-Caspian region brought Moscow into closer relations with Afghanistan, whither a special Soviet mission had already proceeded, and emphasized the threat of trouble. To shake the British rule in India by "bolshevizing Islam" is one of Trotzky's avowed objects. Great Britain has thus far refused to be bluffed into lifting the Russian blockade, and it remains to be seen whether Bolshevik propaganda can do what German propaganda failed to do during the world war.

BOLSHEVISM IN PERSIA

Meanwhile, Lenin looked for other openings. How eagerly the Bolshevik Government of Russia seized upon the news of the negotiation of the Anglo-Persian treaty as an excuse for trying to stir up revolution in Persia is shown by the full text of the message from Moscow circulated, via Turkestan, among the Persian masses. This message from the

Soviet Foreign Office, which was widely circulated in Persia during the closing months of 1919, read as follows:

To the Workers and Peasants of Persia!

During the entire nineteenth century you were treated like an enslaved people by the Russian and English Governments, while they profited by the fact that the once so mighty Persian people had reached the greatest degree of misery and degradation under the intolerable yoke of its despotic Shah and of its lying and pleasure-seeking rulers. The English robbers and the agents of Czarism, continually lusting after conquests, degraded you to an even greater degree of slavery.

In Russia there ruled the intolerable power of the autocratic Czar, in England there reigned, and still reigns today, the power of a handful of capitalist robbers. Between the two principal competitors, Russia and England, there existed only one difference regarding Persia, and it was merely over the best way to plunder your country and to hold it under the yoke. Then came the day when the Persian masses arose and, in an undaunted manner, attempted to shake off the shackles of the intolerable autocratic power of the Shah and of the feudal blood-suckers and oppressors that had held sway for centuries. The leaders in the battle for the freedom of Persia ended their lives on the scaffold at Teheran and in Tabriz.

But the great Russian revolution broke out. One of the first acts of the Soviet Government of Russia was a declaration to the effect that every nation, be it great or small, be it independent or attached to another State, must be free to dispose of itself and must not be forcibly bound to any other power. So far as Persia was concerned, Comrade Trotzky solemnly assured the Persian people, in his note of Jan. 14, 1918, that all the secret treaties between Russia and England and other countries regarding Persia were abrogated and that the Russian people wanted to return to Persia everything that had been taken away from it by the Czar's Generals. The Persian Government, for its part, declared all such treaties null and void. It seemed as if a new, free life was about to begin for the Persian people.

But it did not turn out that way. In the Spring of 1918 the English gradually occupied all of Persia. The English promised to evacuate Persia as soon as the Turks were definitely expelled from the country, and to compensate the nation for all the requisitions made by the English troops. The English Government's note of March 12, containing these promises, was published in the Persian newspaper Baab on March 14. The English promised, although no one had asked them to do it, to help the Persian people in the rebuilding of its collapsed economic life. Instead of this, they made the Persian population their slaves.

Since the English capitalists, together with

those of France and America, have destroyed their world rival, German imperialism, and are now celebrating their victory, the capitalists of England consider it a favorable time to lay their hand upon the whole Persian Empire for good and all. Thus Persia is excluded from the list of free nations. Her people are no longer free, for her own depots get money from England and have become England's paid servants. As a heavy burden will they lay their hand upon the Persian people, but in so doing they will still remain the prey of that still greater wild beast of the world, English capitalism, which wants to suck the last drop of blood from the Persian people.

BOLSHEVISM IN CHINA

As far away as China the Bolshevik tentacles have stretched. Agitation began in the outlying regions, especially in Mongolia and Manchuria, as early as 1918. It was mainly due to this agitation that China again resumed her rule over Outer Mongolia, which she had nominally abdicated in 1913, when she had granted that region autonomy. The so-called tripartite agreement between China, Outer Mongolia and Russia in 1915 had brought no real improvement of China's position toward this former dependency, and in 1918, with the spread of Bolshevism and general disorder, China began to be seriously alarmed for the safety of Peking. In this attitude the dignitaries of Urga insisted upon the need of troops to guard the Siberian frontier. On June 23, 1919, the Outer Mongolian Government invoked the help of Chinese troops to prevent the crisis which was being created by the Buriats and their bandit allies. Since November, 1919, Outer Mongolia has again come under the protection of Chinese sovereignty, and for this restoration of an integral portion of her territory China

has, indirectly, the influence of the Bolshevik propaganda to thank.

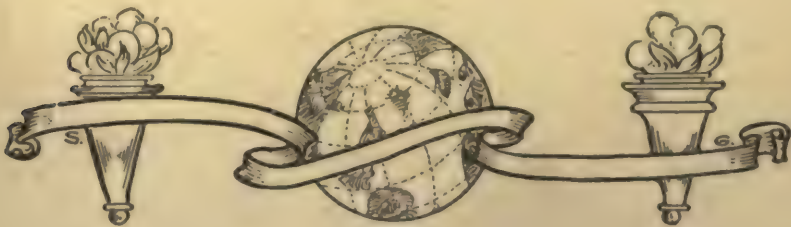
The Soviet Government has its agitators in China as well as in Siberia, but there have been no convincing indications as yet that China can be persuaded to accept the doctrines of Bolshevism, though, with the defeat and continuing retreat of the Kolchak armies, and the withdrawal of Kolchak from power, the Bolshevik menace draws ever closer.

JAPAN AND THE REDS

Concerning Japan's attitude to the advance of Bolshevism in the Far East, Premier Kei Hara, in an interview given on Dec. 25, made the following important statement:

While Japan hopes to harmonize her military action in Siberia with that of America, and to square it with the general anti-Bolshevist policy, under no circumstances can she permit the Red influence, as long as it remains dangerous, to touch her borders. The Japanese cannot afford to permit this dangerous influence to touch her territory, and we must protect ourselves against it as we would against a great scourge. The collapse of the Kolchak Government indicates that Japan and the Allies are deceived as to the Red weakness. Just what will happen no one knows, nor can the Allies' future policy in European Bolshevist Russia be prophesied, but Japan's own position must be clear: a Moscow Government determined to spread its doctrines over the world and to bring revolution everywhere must not touch on our borders.

The Premier further indicated that Japan, with America's consent, was ready to take military action in the matter. His words made clear his Government's determination not to permit any considerable advance of the Reds beyond the region of Lake Baikal.



Program of the "Third International"

Moscow Manifesto Urging Members in All Democratic Countries to Seize Power by Violent Methods

THE members of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party in the United States have openly proclaimed their allegiance to the radical body known as the Third International, which was organized at a convention held in Moscow the first week of March, 1919. The members of the Socialist Party in this country are also voting in a referendum to decide the question whether they shall affiliate with the Moscow body or call for the reorganization of the Socialist parties of the world in a new international. In view of these facts interest attaches to a circular letter sent out from Moscow to all the parties adhering to the Third International, giving the views of the Executive Committee of that organization on the moot question of parliamentary vs. "direct" action, in other words, violence.

As is shown by the text of this manifesto, which reached the United States via German Communist papers and was printed in the New Yorker Volkszeitung, the Moscow leaders have practically no use for parliamentary action, except as a spectacular means of agitation, and they welcome the support of anarchistic agitators and I. W. W. bodies, while branding such prominent Socialist leaders as Karl Kautsky in Germany, Jean Longuet in France, and Morris Hillquit in America as potentially anti-Socialist.

So far as this Bolshevik message applies to America it is a declaration of war on the United States Government and a call to American Communists to use both secret and violent methods to overthrow the present republic and found in its place a dictatorship of labor councils. The passages advising the betrayal of parliamentary responsibilities especially are of timely interest. The message reads as follows:

Dear Comrades:

The present phase of the revolutionary movement has, along with other questions, very sharply placed the question of parlia-

mentarism upon the order of the day's discussion. In France, America, England, and Germany, simultaneously with the aggravation of the class struggle, all revolutionary elements are adhering to the Communist movement by uniting among themselves or by co-ordinating their actions under the slogan of Soviet power. The anarchist-syndicalist groups and the groups that now and then call themselves simply anarchistic are thus also joining the general current. The Executive Committee of the Communist International welcomes this most heartily.

In France the syndicalist group of Comrade Pericat forms the heart of the Communist Party; in America, and also to some extent in England, the fight for the Soviets is led by such organizations as the I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World). These groups and tendencies have always actively opposed the parliamentary methods of fighting.

On the other hand, the elements of the Communist Party that are derived from the Socialist parties are, for the most part, inclined to recognize action in Parliament, too. (The Lorient group in France, the members of the A. S. P. in America [possibly meaning the American Socialist Party], of the Independent Labor Party in England, &c.) All these tendencies, which ought to be united as soon as possible in the Communist Party at all cost, need uniform tactics. Consequently, the question must be decided on a broad scale and as a general measure, and the Executive Committee of the Communist International turns to all the affiliated parties with the present circular letter, which is especially dedicated to this question.

The universal unifying program is at the present moment the recognition of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet power. History has so placed the question that it is exactly on this question that the line is drawn between the revolutionary proletariat and the opportunists, between the Communists and the social traitors of every brand. The so-called Centre (Kautsky in Germany, Longuet in France, the I. L. P. and some elements of the B. S. P. in England, Hillquit in America) is, in spite of its protestations, an objectively anti-Socialist tendency, because it cannot, and does not wish to, lead the struggle for the Soviet power of the proletariat.

On the contrary, those groups and parties which formerly rejected any kind of political struggle (for example, some anarchist groups) have, by recognizing the Soviet power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, really abandoned their old standpoint as to

political action, because they have recognized the idea of the seizure of power by the working class, the power that is necessary for the suppression of the opposing bourgeoisie. Thus, we repeat, a common program for the struggle for the Soviet dictatorship has been found.

The old divisions in the international labor movement have plainly outlived their time. The war has caused a regrouping. Many of the anarchists or syndicalists who rejected parliamentarism conducted themselves just as despicably and treasonably during the five years of the war as did the old leaders of the Social Democracy, who always have the name of Marx on their lips. The unification of forces is being effected in a new manner: some are for the proletariat revolution, for the Soviets, for the dictatorship, for mass action, even up to armed uprisings—the others are against this plan. This is the principal question of today. This is the main criterion. The new combinations will be formed according to these labels, and are being so formed already.

In what relation does the recognition of the Soviet idea stand to parliamentarism? Right here a sharp dividing line must be drawn between two questions which logically have nothing to do with each other: The question of parliamentarism, as a desired form of the organization of the State and the question of the exploitation of parliamentarism for the development of the revolution. The comrades often confuse these two questions, something which has an extraordinarily injurious effect upon the entire practical struggle. We wish to discuss each of these questions in its order and make all the necessary deductions.

What is the form of the proletarian dictatorship? We reply: The Soviets. This has been demonstrated by an experience that has a worldwide significance. Can the Soviet power be combined with parliamentarism? No, and yet again no. It is absolutely incompatible with the existing parliaments, because the parliamentary machine embodies the concentrated power of the bourgeoisie. The deputies, the Chambers of Deputies, their newspapers, the system of bribery, the secret connections of the parliamentarians with the leaders of the banks, the connection with all the apparatuses of the bourgeois State—all these are fetters for the working class. They must be burst. The governmental machine of the bourgeoisie, consequently also the bourgeois Parliaments, are to be broken, disrupted, destroyed, and upon their ruins is to be organized a new power, the power of the union of the working class, the Workers' Parliaments; i. e., the Soviets.

Only the betrayers of the workers can deceive the workers with the hope of a "peaceful" social revolution along the lines of parliamentary reforms. Such persons are the worst enemies of the working class, and

a most pitiless struggle must be waged against them; no compromise with them is permissible. Therefore, our slogan for any bourgeois country you may choose is: "Down with the Parliament! Long live the power of the Soviets!"

Nevertheless, the question may be put this way: "Very well, you deny the power of the present bourgeois Parliaments; then why don't you organize new, more democratic Parliaments on the basis of a real universal suffrage?" During the Socialist revolution the struggle has become so acute that the working class must act quickly and resolutely, without allowing its class enemies to enter into its camp, into its organization of power. Such qualifications are only found in the Soviets of workers, soldiers, sailors and peasants, elected in the factories and shops, in the country and in the barracks. So the question of the form of the proletarian power is put this way. Now the Government is to be overthrown: Kings, Presidents, Parliaments, Chambers of Deputies, National Assemblies, all these institutions are our sworn enemies, that must be destroyed.

Now we take up the second basic question: Can the bourgeois Parliaments be fully utilized for the purpose of developing the revolutionary class struggle? Logically, as we just remarked, this question is by no means related to the first question. In fact: A person surely can be trying to destroy any kind of organization by joining it and by "utilizing" it. This is also perfectly understood by our false enemies when they exploit the official Social Democratic parties, the trade unions, and the like, for their purposes.

Let us take the extreme example: The Russian Communists, the Bolsheviks, voted in the election for the Constituent Assembly. They met in its hall. But they came there to break up this Constituent within twenty-four hours and fully to realize the Soviet power. The party of the Bolsheviks also had its Deputies in the Czar's Imperial Duma. Did the party at that time "recognize" the Duma as an ideal, or at least an endurable, form of government? It would be lunacy to assume that. It sent its representatives there so as to proceed against the apparatus of the Czarist power from that side, too, and to contribute to the destruction of that same Duma. It was not for nothing that the Czarist Government condemned the Bolshevik "parliamentarians" to prison for "high treason." The Bolshevik leaders were also carrying on an illegal work, although they temporarily made use of their "inviolability" in welding together the masses for the drive against Czarism.

But Russia was not the only place where that kind of "parliamentary" activity was carried on. Look at Germany and the activities of Liebknecht. The murdered comrade was the perfect type of a revolutionist. Was

there, then, something nonrevolutionary in the fact that he, from the tribune of the accursed Prussian Landtag, called upon the soldiers to rise against the Landtag? On the contrary. Here, too, we see the complete admissibility and usefulness of his exploitation of the situation. If Liebknecht had not been a Deputy he would never have been able to accomplish such an act; his speeches would have had no such echo as they had. The example of the Swedish Communists in Parliament also convinces us of this. In Sweden Comrade Hoglund played, and plays, the same rôle that Liebknecht played in Germany. Making use of his position as a Deputy, he assists in destroying the bourgeois parliamentary system; no one else in Sweden has done as much for the cause of the revolution and the struggle against the war as our friend.

In Bulgaria we see the same thing. The Bulgarian Communists have successfully exploited the tribune of Parliament for revolutionary purposes. At the recent elections they won seats for forty-seven Deputies. Comrades Blagoeff, Kirkoff, Kolaroff, and other leaders of the Bulgarian Communist Party understand how to exploit the parliamentary tribune in the service of the proletarian revolution. Such "parliamentary work" demands peculiar daring and a special revolutionary spirit; the men there are occupying especially dangerous positions; they are laying mines under the enemy while in the enemy's camp; they enter Parliament for the purpose of getting this machine in their hands in order to assist the masses behind the walls of the Parliament in their work of blowing it up.

Are we for the maintenance of the bourgeois "democratic" Parliaments as the form of the administration of the State?

No, not in any case. We are for the Soviets.

But we are for the full utilization of these Parliaments for our Communist work—as long as we are not yet strong enough to overthrow the Parliament.

Yes, we are for this—in consideration of a whole list of conditions. We know very well that in France, America and England no such parliamentarians have yet arisen from the mass of the workers. In those countries we have thus far observed a picture of parliamentary betrayal. But this is no proof of the incorrectness of the tactics that we regard as correct! It is only a matter of there being revolutionary parties there, like the Bolsheviks or the German Spartacists. As soon as there is such a party, everything can become quite different. It is particularly necessary: (1) that the deciding centre of the struggle should lie outside Parliament—strikes, uprisings and other kinds of mass action; (2) that the activities in Parliament be confined with this struggle; (3) that the deputies also perform illegal work; (4) that they act for the Central Committee and subject to its

orders; (5) that they do not heed the parliamentary forms in their acts—have no fear of direct clashes with the bourgeois majority, "talk past it," &c.

The matter of taking part in the elections at a given time, during a given electoral campaign, depends upon a whole string of concrete circumstances, which in each country must be particularly considered at each given time. The Russian Bolsheviks were for boycotting the elections for the first Imperial Duma in 1906; and these same persons were for taking part in the elections for the second Imperial Duma, when it had been shown that the bourgeois-agrarian power would still rule in Russia for many a year. In the year 1918, before the election for the German National Assembly, one section of the Spartacists was for taking part in the elections, the other was against it; but the party of the Spartacists remained a unified Communist Party.

In principle we cannot renounce the utilization of parliamentarism. The party of the Russian Bolsheviks declared in a special resolution in the Spring of 1918, at its Congress, when it was already in power, that the Russian Communists, in case the bourgeois democracy in Russia through a peculiar combination of circumstances should once more get the upper hand, might be compelled to return to the utilization of bourgeois parliamentarism. Room for manoeuvring is also to be allowed in this respect.

The comrades' principal efforts are to consist in the work of mobilizing the masses; establishing the party, organizing their own groups in the unions and capturing them, organizing soviets in the course of the struggle, leading the mass struggle, agitation for the revolution among the masses—all this is of first line importance; parliamentary action and participation in electoral campaigns are only helps in this work, no more.

If this is so—and it undoubtedly is so—then it is a matter of course that it doesn't pay to split into factions over this now secondary question. The practice of parliamentary prostitution was so disgusting that even the best comrades have prejudices regarding this question. These ought to be overcome in the course of the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, we urgently appeal to all groups and organizations which are carrying on a real struggle for the Soviets and call upon them to unite firmly, even despite lack of agreement on this question.

All those who are for the Soviets and the proletarian dictatorship wish to unite as soon as possible and form a unified Communist Party.

With Communist greetings,

G. ZINOVIEV,

President, Executive Committee, Communist International.

Sept. 1, 1919.

Lenin's Statement of His Aims

The Policy of the Bolshevik Government at Home and Abroad Expounded by Its Leader

NIKOLAI LENIN, the chief dictator of Soviet Russia, gave an interview in Moscow last Autumn to an American journalist after exacting a written promise that his statements would be published "in more than 100 newspapers of the United States." In his answers to five questions propounded by the interviewer Lenin formulated the existing political program of the Bolshevik Government. The version here presented appeared in the Swedish Bolshevik paper *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, and was translated by *The London Morning Post* in its issue of Nov. 27, 1919. For convenience *CURRENT HISTORY* places each question immediately before Lenin's answer, which follows in smaller type. The first question and reply are as follows:

1. Modifications, if any, of original Bolshevik program of internal, foreign, and economic policy:

The program of the Soviet Government has never been a program of reforms, but only a revolutionary one. Reforms are merely concessions granted by the governing classes on the condition that their rule shall remain in power. Revolution is a throwing over of the ruling classes. That is why, whereas a program of reforms generally includes a large number of special clauses, our program, which is revolutionary, contains as its principal basis one and only clause: To throw over the yoke of the capitalists and landowners, to break their power and liberate the working masses from their exploiters. We have never for a single moment wavered from this program. The special measures aiming at the realization of this program have, it is true, often been modified or revised. A complete list of such modifications and revisions would fill a whole book. Therefore I will limit myself to the statement that there exists also another general point: Our Governmental policy, which has given occasion for the greatest number of modifications in the sphere of special measures, viz., the breaking of the resistance put up by the exploiters. After the revolution of the 25th of October-7th of November, 1917, we did not suppress a single bourgeois paper, and there was not the slightest question

of any sort of terror. We not only set free several Ministers of the Kerensky Cabinet, but even let General Krasnov out of prison, who immediately took up arms against us. Only after the exploiters, that is to say the capitalists, began to organize open resistance against us, we in our turn started systematically to break down this resistance, having recourse even to terror.

This was the answer of the proletariat to the assistance the bourgeoisie accorded to the plot hatched against us in conjunction with the capitalists of Germany, England, Japan, America, and France, and which aimed at the restoration of the power of the exploiters in Russia. Then came the bribing of the Czechoslovaks with English and French capital; later still the support of French and German money given to Yudenitch, Denikin and Co. One of the latest plots, which has called for a similar "modification"—the sharp reign of terror applied lately to the bourgeoisie in Petrograd—was organized by the bourgeoisie in order to hand over Petrograd to the enemy; also the attempt made by a conspiracy of officers to take possession of the fortress of Krasnaya Gorka, and the attempts by English and French capitalists to bribe the personnel of the Swiss Legation and officials of the Soviet Government, &c.

2. The tactical policy of the Soviet Government toward Afghanistan, India, and other Moslem countries outside Russia's frontiers:

The policy of the Soviet Government regarding Afghanistan, India, and other Moslem countries outside Russia is identical with our tactics regarding the numerous Moslem and other non-Russian nationalities living within Russia's borders. So, for instance, we have given the Bashkir masses the possibility to found an autonomous republic of their own within Russia; we favor in every way the free and independent development of all nationalities, and encourage the circulation and spreading of literature published in the spoken languages of these nationalities; on the other hand, we translate into every one of these languages and spread with all means in our possession our Soviet Constitution, which has the misfortune to appeal to more than one thousand million inhabitants of this planet, belonging to the oppressed nationalities deprived of their rights and

inhabiting the colonies and vassal States of the Western powers. Our Constitution appeals to these millions a great deal more than the "democratic" Constitutions of Europe and the United States, which support the private ownership of land and capital, and consolidate the power of a handful of "civilized" capitalists to oppress the workers of their own countries, and also hundreds of millions of human beings in their Asiatic, African, and other colonies.

3. The political and economic aims pursued in relation to the United States and Japan:

As regards the United States and Japan, our aims are first of all political; to resist the cynical and criminal attack of these countries on Russia; an attack which has all the distinctive qualities of highway robbery, and the only aim of which is to serve the capitalists of these aforesaid countries. We have repeatedly and solemnly offered these two countries to make peace, but they have not even answered us, and continue to wage war on us by helping Kolchak and Denikin, by plundering the regions of Murmansk and Archangel, by trying to grab East Siberia, where the Russian peasants are showing heroic resistance to the American and Japanese brigands. Our political and economic aims continue to be the same regarding all countries, the United States and Japan included; a brotherly union with the workers in all lands without exception.

4. Peace conditions with Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenitch:

The conditions on which we are ready to make peace with Denikin, Kolchak, and Yudenitch have been specified by us several times in writing in precise and explicit terms. These conditions have been communicated by us to several people, and specially to Mr. Bullitt, who negotiated with us, and with me personally in Moscow, on behalf of the Government of the United States, and were repeated in our letter to Fr. Nansen, &c. It is not our fault if the Government of the United

States and others are afraid to publish these documents in their entirety and prefer to keep them secret from their peoples. I limit myself to repeating our principal conditions: We are ready to repay all debts to France and other countries, on the understanding that the peace will be an effective peace and not merely a peace of words—that is to say, that this peace will be formally and officially signed by all the allied and associated powers—because Denikin, Kolchak, Yudenitch and Co. are only mere puppets in the hands of the Governments of these powers.

5. Message to the American people:

Compared with feudalism, capitalism, in the history of the world, has been a step forward on the way toward "freedom," "equality," "democracy," and "civilization." But, nevertheless, capitalism always was and remains a system of "paid slavery," where thousands of millions of workers and peasants have remained for ages in a servile state under the yoke of a minority of modern slave-owners, landlords, and capitalists. The bourgeois-democracy has merely slightly altered the form of this economic slavery; as compared with feudalism, the bourgeois-democracy has managed to cleverly mask this slavery, but it has not, and is unable to, alter the substance of this slavery.

Capitalism has become the greatest and most powerful peril to the development of humanity. It has fallen into the hands of a clique of multi-millionaires and millionaires, who compel the masses to slaughter each other in order to solve the question which group of robbers—the German or the Franco-English one—shall today gain possession of the imperialistic plunder, own all the colonies, hold the ruling financial interests, and get all the mandatory powers over the oppressed nationalities.

Details of Lenin's propaganda campaign to undermine and overthrow the United States Government and many other existing Governments are given elsewhere in these pages.



The Soviet System and Ours

An Analysis and Deadly Parallel

By BURTON L. FRENCH*

Congressman From Idaho

WHAT is the Soviet system of government, and do we want it? A Government has no right to exist save only as it serves the highest interests of the people who make up the Government and who come into contact with it. Now, if the Soviet system is better than ours, by all means let us adopt it; let us lay aside the experiment in government that we have tried for over 100 years and take over the Soviet system that promises so much.

It is, then, from the standpoint of a comparison of the essential principles of the Soviet system with the essential principles of the representative system such as we know it in America that I want to consider the question.

In January, 1918, the group of Russian people headed by Lenin and Trotzky adopted what might be called a declaration of rights, and on July 10, 1918, the All-Russian Congress of Soviets formally adopted a constitution, and this instrument recites that the bill of rights is part of the organic law. These documents are the basic foundation of the Soviet Government. The form of government is known as Soviet, and the active leaders in its support are Bolsheviks.

Strangely enough, a good many writers seem to assume that the only unique feature of the Soviet Government is group representation. For instance, Oswald G. Villard, in a paper in the official organ of the Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, for July, 1919, on the "Need of Social Reorganization in America," said:

There is something attractive in group representation, which is what the Soviet is.

Again he says:

Yet the other day one of our own American officials at Paris solemnly assured the newspaper men that if the Soviet type of government were made really representative, he saw no reason why it

should not be as democratic as any Government, if not more so. It was only to the men who were running the present unfair and undemocratic Soviet Government in Russia that our Government objected, he declared.

I desire to discuss group representation under the Soviet Government a little later on, and I think before I get through it will be quite clear that group representation is a mere feature of the Soviet form of government. It is merely the sugar-coating to the pill.

The American official referred to by Mr. Villard says if the Soviet type of government were made "really representative, it would be as democratic as any Government, if not more so." You might as well say that if black were made white it would be white. The fact of the business is there is absolutely no philosophy by which the Soviet form of government can be made representative unless the fundamental principles on which it rests shall be transformed and changed as completely as the changes of elements would be in color to make black white.

STRUCTURE OF THE SYSTEM

From an examination of the Soviet Constitution, it appears that the executive authority is combined with the legislative, and there is no mention of a judiciary. Also it will be seen that Russia for its government is divided into units of various sizes, just as is the United States. We have the country as a whole—States, counties, and other local units, such as districts, precincts, or parishes, or urban units, such as cities, towns, and villages, depending upon the

*The striking analysis of the Russian Soviet system of government here given to CURRENT HISTORY readers was formally presented to the National House of Representatives in a speech delivered by Congressman French on Dec. 9, 1919.

State. Then we have the different bodies chosen to govern in these units. So in Russia.

Russia, considered as a whole, is divided into regions, provinces, counties, and rural and village units. Then we have the governing body for each unit. This governing body is known as a Soviet. There is no magic in the word "Soviet." It merely means a council. It means a legislative or deliberative body. It might as well be called a council, a congress, or a parliament. In Russia there are several different Soviets—the local rural, the rural, the village or urban, the county, the provincial, the regional, and the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. These may correspond to deliberative bodies of our precincts, our counties, our States, and our nation.

Now, so far there is nothing incongruous. But how are the Soviets elected?

SOVIETS—HOW ELECTED

In the first place, instead of the people voting by parties or by groups representing public opinion, they vote, at least theoretically, by trades or crafts. This point I want to discuss later. But for whom do they vote? For members of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets? No. For members of the regional or provincial Soviet? No. For members of the county Soviet? No. For members of the local Soviet? Yes. That is, the people voting by trades elect members of the particular craft to which they belong to the local Soviet. Now, this is all the part the people themselves have in this much heralded government.

The people, then, or, I shall say, those of the people who have the franchise, in theory have the right to vote for the members of the local Soviet. The local Soviet in the cities is called the urban Soviet; in the country it is called the rural local Soviet.

Now, this represents the final responsibility that is placed upon the people. There probably never was devised a clearer way to show the contrast between two objects being compared than to do as Portia did when she said, "Look on this picture and then on this." Having that in mind, I am going to try to examine the Russian Government by placing it

alongside of the Government of your own country. Let me then direct your attention to the different units of government as they exist in Russia and the corresponding units of government as they exist in the United States.

COMPARISON OF LEGISLATIVE BODIES

I want you to consider first the legislative bodies that exist in Russia and the subdivisions of government under Russia and the legislative bodies that exist in the United States from our Federal Government through the States on down to the officers elected in our precincts, villages, and towns.

LEGISLATIVE BODIES OF RUSSIA (UNDER SOVIET SYSTEM) AND THE UNITED STATES—HOW CHOSEN

The deadly parallel

RUSSIA	UNITED STATES
1. All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Members are chosen by members of—	Senate and House of Representatives. Elected by direct vote of people.
(a) Urban Soviets.	
(b) Provincial Soviets (but provincial Soviets are not elected by the people).	
2. Regional Soviet. Members are chosen by—	No governmental subdivision to correspond (would be like a group of States, as New England States).
(a) Urban Soviets.	
(b) County Soviets (but the county Soviet is not elected by the people).	
3. Provincial Soviet. Members are chosen by members of—	State Legislatures. Elected by the direct vote of the people.
(a) Urban Soviets.	
(b) Rural Soviets (but the rural Soviet is not elected by the people).	
4. County Soviet. Members are chosen by members of—	County Commissions or similar offices. Elected by the direct vote of the people.
(a) Urban Soviets (in cities of not more than 10,000).	

RUSSIA	UNITED STATES
(b) Rural Soviets (but the rural Soviets are not elected by the people).	
5. Rural Soviet. Members are chosen by members of—	No corresponding governmental subdivision. (It is less than a county and more than a township.)
(a) Village Soviets (of less than 1,000 people).	
(b) Rural local Soviets (the people allowed to vote for village and local Soviet members).	
6. Local Soviet.	Precinct, township, or other local organization, Officers elected by the people.
(a) Rural local Soviet. Elected by part of the people.	
(b) Urban Soviet. Deputies elected by part of the people.	City, town, and village offices, Elected by the people.

The parallel to which I have called your attention is most striking. Take first the highest legislative body in the United States—the Congress. It is made up of Senators and Representatives elected by the direct vote of the people. For over a hundred years we chose our Senators in indirect manner; that is, the Senators were elected by members of the Legislature who themselves were elected by the people.

RUSSIAN VOTER'S LIMITATIONS

In Russia the highest legislative body is known as the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Do the people vote for the members of that body? Not at all.

The farmer in Russia votes for his rural local Soviet member, and when he casts that ballot his power as a voter has come to an end. The members of that local Soviet vote to elect members to the rural Soviet; the members of the rural Soviet then vote to elect members to the Provincial Soviet; and the members of the Provincial Soviet vote to elect members to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

In other words, as the Senator of the United States in the olden times used to be once removed from the American voter, the members of the All-Russian

Congress of Soviets are three times removed from the Russian farmer. The city voter is trusted more than the farmer, for he votes direct for his urban representative, who in turn votes for the member of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

In Russia the political organization that is less than the entire nation is what is known as a region. It would correspond in the United States to a group of States such as the New England States or the Pacific Coast States. In the United States we have no political organization that presides over or is responsible to a group of our States. The State itself is the only unit above the county between the county and the Federal Government. However, under the Russian Soviet system the members of the legislative body known as the regional Soviet are chosen not by the people but by the urban and county Soviets, the urban Soviet members being elected in the cities by the direct vote of those of the Russian people who are permitted the ballot, while the county Soviets are twice removed from the farmer, who again cannot be trusted with the responsibility of voting for so much as a county officer in Russia. Each body has charge of and elects its own officers.

The next political unit in Russia is the province. This unit corresponds with the State under our own system. In Russia the Provincial Soviet, a legislative body, is made up of members elected by whom? The people? Not at all. It is made up of members elected, first, by the urban Soviets, who are elected by the people, and by the rural Soviets, who are once removed from the people. In the United States our State legislatures are elected by whom? By the people.

In the translation of the Constitution of Russia that I have, the word "county" is used as the English equivalent of the Russian word, and it corresponds with a small section of country similar to the county in our own Government. In the United States the persons who are intrusted with the supervision of county affairs are the County Commissioners. These officers are elected by the people just as are our Senators and members

of the House, and just as are members of the Legislatures. In Russia we find that the members of the county Soviet are not chosen by the people; they are chosen by the urban Soviets and by the rural Soviets.

We pass to the organizations that are less than the county Soviet, and we find rural Soviets made up of members who are elected not by the people but by two groups, first, the village voter, from villages whose population is less than 1,000 people, and by the rural local Soviet. In the cities of more than 10,000 people we find urban Soviets. The members of the urban Soviets, the members of the village Soviets, and the members of the local rural Soviets receive their franchise direct from the people. This is Russia. This is the Soviet system.

OUR CONSTITUTION

The struggle for liberty, the struggle for the right to participate in government, is one that is close to the life thought of English-speaking people. It is close to the life thought of the American people. As we search the traditions that tell of the struggles for parliamentary government in Great Britain we go back to the time when Magna Charta was wrested from King John. We go back to the time when Edward the First, I believe, called together the noblemen of Great Britain in repeated conclaves that could be considered a forerunner of the legislative bodies of today in Great Britain. And then we drafted our own Constitution, written by the lifeblood of the bravest of our land and amid the suffering of all our people. We drafted such a Constitution as would reserve to the people themselves the right to cast their votes for the members of the most numerous branch of their national representative body and made only once removed from the people the Senate, and within the last six years that one barrier that has stood between the people and the Senate of the United States has been broken down, and today the American people vote not only for their precinct and village and city officers as do the Russian people, whose power is exhausted with such vote, but our people vote as well for their county officers,

they vote for their State officers, and for the officers that represent them in the great legislative bodies of all the States and of the United States.

There never was a system applied to any large country that was more free, more democratic than is the system applied in the United States, and there never was a system under which the people could hold their representatives to greater responsibility than in the United States. On the other hand, there never was a representative system in any government that is worthy of the name so tyrannical and so calculated to separate the people from their right to participate in government as the system that has been devised by the Soviet rulers of Russia.

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

Now let us pass on to the executive officers in Russia and the executive officers in the United States. For comparison I have again presented what I have called the deadly parallel. The executive officers of all Russia are what are termed in the Constitution the commissars.

RUSSIA

1. The executive officers of all Russia are chosen by the All-Russian Executive Committee, which is chosen by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which is chosen by provincial and urban Soviets, &c.

(In Russia the chief executive is three times removed from the city voter and five times removed from the rural voter).

2. Regional and provincial executive officers are chosen by the respective Soviets, which themselves are not chosen by the people.

UNITED STATES

The President is elected by electors chosen by the direct vote of the people to vote for a particular person.

(In the United States the President is once removed from the people).

Governors are elected by direct vote of the people.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is necessarily a very large body and it is an unwieldy body. For the purpose, then, of close executive administration the Constitution provides that there shall be an executive committee appointed of

200 members. This executive committee is chosen by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. As the congress itself is once removed from the city dweller and three times removed from the country dweller, the committee chosen by the congress is two times and four times, respectively, removed from these groups of Russian people.

This committee then selects another committee of seventeen members, which is called the council of people's commissars, each member of which presides over another committee chosen by the council and which exercises the function of a Cabinet department of the Government. The Chairman of each committee is the chief executive of the particular department to which the business of the committee pertains. The Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Chairman of the Committee on the Army and the Navy become necessarily the most important members of the Russian Government, and the Chairmanship of the Foreign Affairs Committee is the office that is now filled by Lenin. It is by virtue of being Chairman of this commissariat that Mr. Lenin has become what we popularly call the Premier, the head of the Russian Government. The Chairmanship of the Committee on Military Affairs is the office filled by Trotsky.

Mr. Lenin, then, is responsible not to the people, not to the country, not to the State or province. He is responsible to the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which in turn is responsible to the congress. He is from three to five times removed from the voting power of the people of Russia.

Contrast this, if you please, with the Chief Executive of the United States. The President, it is true, is not elected by a direct vote of the people, but by electors who are chosen with the specific duty of voting for a particular candidate for President. For more than a hundred years we have followed this system and no man has ever failed to vote for the candidate for President for whom he was chosen to cast his ballot. It is practically the same as the people themselves voting direct for President. No choice is given to the elector. He becomes a

sort of living ballot typifying the vote of the people. He expresses the voice, the wish of the people. Is it possible that any thoughtful person can contrast this system with the system that obtains in Russia and find that the system in Russia is more democratic?

But how about organizations that are less extensive than all of Russia? As I said, we have no political organization that corresponds to the regional organization that exists in Russia, and I shall say in passing merely that the executive officers of the regional organization in Russia are appointed by the regional Soviet in precisely the same way as the officers of all Russia are appointed by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. But the title "people's commissar" belongs only to an officer of all Russia and may not be used by an officer of a lesser unit.

We then pass to the Provincial Government, which corresponds to the government of States. In the United States the Chief Executive of every State is chosen by the direct vote of the people. Not so in Russia. The executives of each province are chosen by and are responsible to the provincial Soviet, which, as I have already indicated, is a body that is not elected by the people.

I shall not pursue the matter further with the lesser organizations in Russia, other than to say that, while the people in the United States vote for their executive officers in precinct, in village, and in county, all the executive officers, from the local Soviet through the urban and village Soviets up to the county Soviets, are chosen not by the people but by the Soviets themselves of the region over which they are expected to preside.

REPRESENTATION

From what I have said we need not be surprised in turning to the basis of representation in the legislative bodies of Russia under the Soviet system to find that this basis of representation is such as to place as much of the responsibility as possible in the groups of laborers who are organized by trades and in the hands of soldiers and sailors and as little as possible in the hands of the farmers.

I have prepared again what I have called the deadly parallel and again I want you to "look on this picture and then on this"—the one being the method of apportioning representation to the legislative bodies in Russia and the other the method of apportioning representation to the legislative bodies in the United States:

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION IN THE
LEGISLATIVE BODIES OF RUSSIA
(UNDER SOVIET SYSTEM) AND
THE UNITED STATES.

The deadly parallel

RUSSIA	UNITED STATES
All-Russian Congress of Soviets.	Senate
Members chosen by—	Two Senators elected from each State.
1. Urban Soviets (cities and towns). (One member elected for every 25,000 voters).	House of Representatives.
2. Provincial Soviets (representing urban and country population). (One member elected for every 125,000 inhabitants).	Representatives chosen from States on basis of population (farmers sharing equally in government with city population).
Regional	
Regional Soviet is made up of—	No similar body in United States.
1. One representative for every 5,000 city voters; and	
2. One representative for every 25,000 inhabitants of the county.	
Provincial	State
Provincial Soviet is made up of—	State Senators apportioned by counties or on basis of population.
1. One representative for every 2,000 voters in the city; and	State representatives apportioned on basis of population.
2. One representative for every 10,000 inhabitants of rural districts.	

In Russia the overwhelming majority of people are farmers, and only six of the fifty provinces have any considerable population engaged in nonrural industries. Lenin and Trotzky when they seized control knew that if they were to retain their control and pass it on to others capable of thinking along similar lines it would be necessary for them to work out a system by which the craftsmen and the men in the army and navy

would have an unfair and undue share in the representation in the legislative bodies. Accordingly we find the Constitution solemnly declaring that one member to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, if he shall represent city people, shall be elected for every 25,000 voters, and if he represents provincial people—the farmers—one member shall represent 125,000 inhabitants. The Constitution uses the word "voter" as applied to the city dweller, but "inhabitant" as applied to the country. The reason is plain. The farmer must be disfranchised. Remember, now, that both men and women in Russia over 18 years of age under certain conditions may vote. In the city is where we find the large groups of men and women who are working in factories or in mines and mills and who are untached. In and near the city is where we find the soldiers. This is where we find the sailors. In the cities of Russia we will find the very people for whose interest the Soviet Government exists, and it is for that reason that the Constitution is so drafted as to give the city dweller of Russia a greater representation in their All-Russian Congress of Soviets than is given to the farmers.

FURTHER DISCRIMINATIONS

Notice further that the population of the city is figured in with the population of the country for the basis of province representation, thus giving an additional double representation to the city.

Now, when you go to the regional unit in Russia, you find the same principle applied. One representative to the city dweller is given to every 5,000 voters, while the county as a whole is given one representative for every 25,000 inhabitants.

Notice again that the city population is included in making up the county population, and thus has an additional double representation. And when you go to the provincial unit the city dweller is given one representative in the provincial Soviet for every 2,000 voters, while the farmers are given one representative for every 10,000 inhabitants.

Examine the Constitutions of all countries that pretend to be civilized and you

will not find a more flagrant abuse in the organic act of apportionment of representation among the people than you will find in the Constitution of the Soviet Government of Russia. Do those who urge that system in the United States propose to disfranchise the farmers of the United States? Is that part of their theory? Or shall we assume, as I have assumed, that those who have carelessly spoken words of approval of the Soviet system are not aware of the plan that they have so lightly indorsed?

I have pointed out that the Soviet Government is organized so as to deliberately eliminate the farmer. And I now come to another instance in point. I have said that the All-Russian Congress of Soviets is chosen by the urban Soviets and the provincial Soviets. But the urban Soviets are elected by city folks alone, while city and country folks unite to elect the provincial Soviets. That gives the city people double representation and cuts down correspondingly the representation of the country.

The same principle applies to the regional Soviet. The members of the regional are elected by the urban and county Soviets. The city voters elect the urban Soviets and then through the urban Soviets have a part in electing the county Soviets. The whole scheme is devised and worked out to take away from the farming communities political power and to vest it in the hands of soldiers and sailors and craft groups.

CLASS AGAINST CLASS

One of the most striking features of the Russian Constitution is that which has to do with representation from the standpoint of political units or groups of people through which may be had an expression of opinion.

In all kinds of orderly government heretofore men have been intrusted with responsibility because they have stood for a policy; their position might be affirmative or it might be negative, but at least their position was comparable.

This is the system that obtains in France, Italy, Great Britain, Switzerland, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and in the United States. It is the system that it seems commends itself to

thoughtful people everywhere. There are variations in the terms through which the system is worked out, but, after all, the one principle is held in view that people should have the opportunity of acting as units of thought. This principle is applied in the county when the issue is whether or not a system of county roads shall be built. It is applied in the State on State issues, and it is applied in the National Government. Accordingly, the people of our great land have learned to think on big subjects as well as upon little subjects. We have learned to think on issues that confront the nation and the world as well as issues that confront the precinct and the county.

In Russia, it is solemnly set forth in the Constitution that the representation accorded to the people shall come from the class to which they belong. That is, a group of carpenters in a city shall elect a carpenter to the Soviet, the blacksmiths shall elect a man who can swing a hammer, the painters shall elect one of their own group, while the farmers shall elect a farmer.

Here is a distinctive feature of the Soviet system, and let us analyze it. What does it mean? It means selfish interest, pure and simple. It means self-interest magnified to the nth power. It means that the carpenter as he considers a candidate for the urban Soviet, shall have in mind not Russia, but a province of Russia, not a county, but a little group of carpenters in the particular community which selects a member to the urban Soviet. It means that the blacksmith will not think of the interests of carpenters or peasants, that he will not think of the interests of all Russia, or the regional or provincial group, but that he will think of the interests selfishly of those who work at the forge. It means that the farmer will shut his eyes to the well-being of everything else in his country and think of nothing but the welfare of the farmer of Russia.

It means in its last analysis selfishness to a degree unheard of, and it means disintegration of national sentiment and of national power. No people can be taught to look in and not out without

becoming narrow, selfish, suspicious of others.

OUR REPRESENTATIVE SYSTEM

Now, it is urged in behalf of this system that every trade and craft is thereby given representation, but let us look a little further. I have already shown from the Constitution that the people vote merely for the members of the urban Soviet in the city and the rural local Soviet in the country. These people, it is true, are limited in their choice of representation to a member of the craft to which they belong, but when the local Soviet elects to the county Soviet or when the county and urban Soviets elect to the provincial or regional Soviet or when the regional and urban Soviets elect to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets there is absolutely no limitation in their choice and the members of the county Soviet under the Russian Constitution could all be carpenters or blacksmiths, and so could the members of the provincial, the regional, and the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. What, then, becomes of the Government that recognizes each trade group? Under that system how can there be a more generous distribution of people in legislative bodies from among the trades than there is under our own system in our State, in our nation?

Our system means that every carpenter, that every blacksmith will have in view the broad vision of his country, of his State, of his county, and that every American citizen will be able to assume the responsibility of citizenship that recognizes something broader and larger than the selfish interests that are wrapped around the particular profession or trade or craft with which he happens to be identified.

THE FRANCHISE

In a Government that has been heralded so widely as being the most profound experiment in democracy that has ever been undertaken, we would naturally expect that the franchise would be along lines that would recognize all mankind embraced within the citizenship of the nation as standing upon an equal footing. The United States has for many years

adhered to that principle. It was that principle largely for which our fathers died when they established our Government, and yet that principle seems foreign to the way of thinking of Lenin and Trotzky as they shaped the Russian Constitution.

Now, may I draw the deadly parallel of the franchise as it exists in Russia under the Soviet system according to the Constitution and as it exists in the United States:

THE FRANCHISE UNDER THE SOVIET SYSTEM IN RUSSIA AND IN THE UNITED STATES

RUSSIA.

1. The franchise extends to all over 18 years of age who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society and also persons engaged in housekeeping for the former.

2. Soldiers of the army and navy.

3. The former two classes when incapacitated.

Disfranchised and not eligible for office:

1. Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

2. Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, &c.

3. Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.

4. Monks and clergy of all denominations.

5. Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarme corps, and the Czar's secret service; also members of the former reigning dynasty.

6 and 7. Persons unfit on account of mental ailment or criminal record.

UNITED STATES.

The franchise extends to men in all States (and women in many States, and soon in all) who are citizens and over 21 years of age, less those disfranchised on account of illiteracy, mental ailment, or criminal record.

Bear in mind the liberal franchise with which the American Nation meets her citizens and let me ask you to contemplate the franchise that is handed out to the people of Russia. All people of Russia who are 18 years of age or over who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society and persons engaged in housekeeping in behalf of the former are entitled to the franchise. Who else? The soldiers of the army and navy. Who else? Any of the former two classes who have become incapacitated.

THOSE WHO CANNOT VOTE

Now turn to the next sections of the Russian Constitution and see who are disfranchised.

The merchant is disfranchised; ministers of all denominations are disfranchised; and then, while condemning the Czar for tyranny, the Soviet Constitution solemnly declares that those who were in the employ of the Czar or had been members of certain military and police groups and the members of the families of those who had ruled in Russia for many generations shall be denied suffrage.

Persons who have income from capital or from property that is theirs by reason of years of frugality, industry, and thrift are penalized by being denied the right to vote. They are placed in the class with criminals, while the profligate, the tramp who works only enough to obtain the means by which he can hold body and soul together, is able to qualify under the Constitution of Russia and is entitled to a vote. Under this system in the United States the loyal men and women who bought Liberty Bonds in their country's peril would be disfranchised while the slacker would have the right of suffrage.

Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits may not vote or hold office. Under that system the manufacturer who furnishes employment for a thousand men would be denied the ballot, while those in his employ could freely exercise the right of franchise. Under that system the farmer who hires a crew

of men to help him harvest his crop is denied the franchise. Under that system the dairyman who hires a boy to milk his cows or to deliver milk is denied the franchise.

The farmer is discriminated against, especially in the fixing of the groups of people who are disfranchised under this last provision to which I have directed attention.

Does the soldier employ labor? No.

Does the sailor employ labor? No.

Does the craftsman employ labor? Not generally.

In the cities those who are interested in industrial lines are very few in comparison with the craftsmen, the soldiers, and the sailors; but how about the country? We know that every successful farmer now and then needs to employ additional labor. He needs to employ it when he puts in his crop; sometimes he employs it when he is caring for the crop; usually he must employ it when the harvest season is on. Now, what does this mean? It means that in all Russia every farmer who has gumption enough to continue his business along such lines as make it necessary that he employ so much as one man to help him in his work when the services of that man are of assistance in increasing the income of the farmer is disfranchised.

No; the whole scheme, with all the other iniquities that I have indicated, is a deliberate plan to eliminate the farmers, the peasants of Russia, from a share in their Government.

But this provision of the Constitution is more deadly still. It crushes out all progress, all ambition. The carpenter who would like to take a contract and employ men to help him in his work must forfeit his right to vote. The blacksmith who is enterprising and puts a second forge and anvil into his shop and employs a helper must forfeit his franchise. The farmer who is frugal and thrifty and industrious, and who employs another man to help him put in his crop or tend it or harvest it, thereby loses his right to vote. In other words, here is a system that chains men down; here is a system that makes men slaves; here is a system that puts a premium on

sloth and indolence and stupidity, and chains the hands of him who would arise.

OTHER AMAZING FEATURES

The Constitution of Russia adopts the declaration of rights as part of the organic act to the extent that changes have not been made by the Constitution. Examining them—the Constitution and the declaration of rights—we find other most astonishing doctrines in the Soviet fundamental law. I shall not discuss, but merely mention only a few of them. They do not pertain so much to the structure of government as they do to the economic and social conditions surrounding the people under the Soviet system:

1. Private ownership of land is abolished. (No compensation, open or secret, is paid to the former owner.)

2. Civil marriage alone is legal.

- (a) By act of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets a marriage may be accomplished by the contracting parties declaring the fact orally or by writing to the Department of Registry of Marriage.

- (b) Divorce is granted by petition of both or either party upon proof alone that divorce is desired.

3. The teaching of religious doctrines is forbidden in private schools as well as in schools that are public.

4. No church or religious society has the right to own property. (The Soviet leaders boldly proclaim the home and the church as the enemies of their system, and from the foregoing it would seem that they are trying to destroy them.)

5. Under the general authority granted to the Soviets by the Constitution inheritance of property by law or will has been abolished.

These amazing features of the Constitution and laws enacted under the Constitution speak more eloquently than any words that could be used to amplify them in portraying the hideousness of a system of government that, if permitted to continue, must inevitably crush out the home in large part by the flippancy with which marriage and divorce are regarded, by the refusal of permitting the land to be held in private ownership, and by refusing the parent the right at death to pass on to his wife or to his children the fruits of years of toil. Furthermore, the Constitution has gone as far as it seems it could go in the

effort to wipe out religious thought and to make Russia an atheistic nation. No church or religious society may own property, and religious doctrines which could properly be barred from public schools may not be taught in even a private school. That means that the home, shattered and wrecked as it is, shall be the only centre in which religious ideas may be reasonably considered and there can be no general and systematic comparison of religious views, or culture, refinement, and purity of life attained through their general consideration.

A PYRAMID OF TYRANNY

If what I have said in analyzing the Russian Soviet Constitution is amazing; if the disfranchisement of the people by arrangement of representation in the Soviets and by the withholding of suffrage is startling; if the provisions to which I have just referred pertaining to the ownership of land, inheritance, limitations on religious teachings are hideous, there is one feature still that is impossible in connection with a Government of people who would be free.

I refer to the language of the Constitution that specifically provides that in a pyramidal manner the power of each Soviet increases from the small unit to the higher until in the All-Russian Congress of Soviets complete and absolute authority has been conferred. This feature of the system is so amazing that I want you to read the three sections of the Constitution which confer this tyrannous power:

Section 12. The supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and, in periods between the convocation of the congress, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Section 50. Besides the above-mentioned questions (broad powers conferred specifically in Section 49), the All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee have charge of all other affairs which, according to their decision, require their attention.

Section 62. The Congress of Soviets and their executive committees have the right to control the activity of the local Soviets (i. e., the regional congress controls all Soviets of the respective regions; the provincial, of the respective province, with the exception of the urban Soviets, &c.); and the regional and Provincial Con-

gresses and their executive committees, in addition, have the right to overrule the decisions of the Soviets of their districts, giving notice in important cases to the central Soviet authority.

What I have said in analyzing the Russian Soviet system is upon the assumption that the Constitution is adhered to and that the provisions of the Government, such as they are, are faithfully followed throughout Russia. Disgraceful and tyrannical as the system would be were it carried out according to the letter of the Soviet Constitution, the cold, bare fact is that the Soviet Constitution is not respected by those who are trusted with responsibility under it.

In a system in which the executive authority is so far removed from the people, the executives have not hesitated in their arbitrary rule to exercise this function of government. All over the part of Russia that is dominated by the Soviet Government terrorism prevails, and the terrorism emanates from the central authority of Government as it is represented in Lenin and Trotzky.

THE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

I have talked with man after man who has come back from Russia and each tells the same story. Not only are elections set aside and not only are the people dominated in this high-handed way, but all who dare to stand in the path of the all-powerful executive committee of the Russian Government are dealt with most ruthlessly. Men and women are murdered by the officers of the Government for no other reason than that they are opposed to the Soviet system. Indeed, more than that, the relatives of men who have had the courage of their convictions have been murdered because, forsooth, they happened to have kinsmen who were brave enough to stand out in their communities against the Russian system. This high-handed system of butchery and death that has prevailed for more than two years has been carried on to such an extent that in large part the educated, the thoughtful, the well-trained men and women of Russia have been exterminated or have been driven from the country. These are not idle tales; these are the reports and statements that come to us from those

who have had the opportunity of close observation in Russia, no matter whether they have been Russians themselves or citizens of other countries who have had the opportunity or the dread privilege of spending months in Russia during the régime of Lenin and Trotzky.

More than that, the very system has reflected itself upon the industrial life of Russia. It was ushered in as a system that would be the panacea for labor disturbances, that would mean equality among the people of Russia, but what has been the result? Before the system was adopted, even in spite of two or three years of war in which Russia had been constantly engaged, her factories were operating, her railroads were being administered, her cities filled with populous throngs, and albeit the hardship of war was present, Russia was a live nation, but what is the situation today? Factories have been closed or destroyed until at this time there is only a small percentage of factories and mills of Russia in operation in comparison with those that were running only two years ago at the beginning of the Soviet régime.

The whole history of Russia for the last two years has been that of a saturnalia of financial, of social, of industrial ruin, with all that those words imply. Worse still than that: following Lenin and Trotzky into authority rode the four horsemen of the Apocalypse—War, Famine, Pestilence, and Death—and the population of Petrograd, the capital of Russia, has been reduced in two years from more than 2,000,000 to between 500,000 and 750,000 people today. The population of other fair cities and splendid country settlements has been woefully chastised. Famine, hunger, disease—these are raising havoc in all the parts of Russia that are under the rule of the Soviet; and through the curse of that despotic system—the brute force of Bolshevism that is masking in the name of democracy—untold thousands of that brave people are forfeiting their lives because they stand for law and order and decency in government.

THE ARRAIGNMENT

What, then, is my arraignment of

Sovietism according to the Soviet Constitution?

1. The people have no direct vote or voice in government, except the farmers in their local rural Soviets and the city dwellers in their urban Soviets.

2. The rural, county, provincial, regional, and all-Russian Soviets are elected indirectly, and the people have no direct vote in the election.

3. The people have no voice in the election of executive officers of the highest or lowest degree.

4. There is no mention of justice or judicial officers in the Constitution.

5. The people are very largely disfranchised.

6. The farmer of Russia is discriminated against:

(a) Equal representation is denied him.

(b) He may vote for only the members of the local rural Soviet, not for rural, county, provincial, regional, or All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

(c) The farmer who employs any profitable labor is disfranchised.

(d) The city voter has a double voice in electing the regional and all-Russian Soviets.

7. The system raises class against class; the voters vote by trade and craft groups instead of on the basis of thought units.

(a) This means rank selfishness.

(b) It kills national and even provincial and county interest or loyalty.

8. The system strikes a blow at the church and the home.

9. The system is pyramidal and means highly centralized and autocratic power.

A WORD IN CONCLUSION

No; the Soviet system of government cannot be defended. It is against the interests of the very man for whom it is

supposed to have been established—the laboring man. He is the man most of all who must suffer under any kind of government or system that is wrong. He is the man who would be out of bread within the shortest time. He is the man whose family would be destitute of clothing in the shortest time. He is the man whose family will suffer most through disease, famine, and pestilence in the shortest time.

As it is against the best interest of the laboring man, so it is against the best interest of all our people, and, as a matter of fact, the overwhelming mass of people of this country and all countries is made up of laboring people.

For what did our boys fight at St. Mihiel, the Argonne, and Belleau Wood? Was it for the Soviet system of government? No; a thousand times no. Rather it was for a system of government where the ideals of free peoples prevail, where there is freedom of religious worship, where there is no stricture upon the conscience of man, where there is liberty of voice and the press, where justice is administered to all alike, and where the people, regardless of race or creed, regardless of religious or political thought, may have the right of an equal share in the responsibilities of government. They fought and they died for America, whose Government in warp and woof was created for the people, is of the people, and is maintained by the people of our splendid land.

What Bolshevism Would Mean in America

Senate Committee's Report

The United States Senate passed a resolution on Feb. 4, 1919, directing a judiciary sub-committee to investigate Bolshevist propaganda in the United States. This committee made a thorough inquiry, calling witnesses from both the friends and the opponents of the Soviet system, and at length formulated an elaborate report, the substance of which appeared in the Congressional Record of Dec. 12, 1919. The salient features of that official report are as follows:

CONFISCATION on a wholesale scale has been used [in Soviet Russia] as a means of undertaking to create and maintain tangible assets that could be used as the economic foundation upon which could be built the industrial and

financial superstructure of the Bolshevik State. By constitutional edicts and by a series of decrees issued by the dictatorship all land, forests, and natural resources of Russia have been confiscated by the Government in order that

the Bolshevik Government may become the landlord of the entire population and exercise the control incident thereto. Where a man shall live and toil and till the soil is determined by the State, and the right to determine the nature and extent of each man's domicile, and the power to compel the migration of the peasant from the locality of his birth or adoption, even to the extent of separating families as the population of the various communities expands or contracts, is exercised by the Bolshevik Government through the laws which it has decreed for the control of the people.

The alleged purpose of the seizure of land by the Government was that the right to the land might be transferred to the rank and file of the people of Russia, in order that the individual Russian peasant might become the unrestrained and unrestricted architect of his own future economic development, but the methods adopted by the Bolsheviks have merely transferred the landlordship from the large landowners, and in many instances from the peasant group themselves, to the Bolshevik Government, and the present control by that Government is not confined to the land itself, as was the control of the landowners under the old régime, but extends as well to the persons and even the tools, implements, and products of the peasants. The aged and infirm are deprived of all right to utilize and enjoy during their declining years the soil their efforts may have enriched, because their physical strength makes them powerless to perform all of the labor incident to its full cultivation. They, thereupon, become mere pensioners of the State.

This system guarantees to the peasant only the present enjoyment of a given piece of land, and consequently only warrants him in so utilizing the beneficence of the State in according him the right to use the same as to insure the maximum present production to the exclusion of a scientific development that will enure to future advantage. In other words, an uncertain tenure is naturally accompanied by an exploitation rather than by a systematic development of the leasehold interest. Under this system the

peasant can never become the owner of the land he tills or of any other land. To aid in the system and to establish a larger control of peasant activities by the Government the principle of confiscation has also been invoked in the case of all live stock and all agricultural implements, and as a consequence these essential instruments of land cultivation, these chattels necessary to the production of both meat and vegetable foodstuffs, have become, without regard to the rights of former owners or the advantage to the individual of future ownership therein, the property of the Bolshevik Government, and the only right thereto that the peasant can in the future acquire is a use upon such terms and conditions as the Government may prescribe.

The financial condition of the dictatorship, however, required the adoption of some constructive policy that would finance it. It was necessary to maintain at least a color of legitimacy, an appearance of honest business methods, in supporting its so-called Red Army and in securing control of the articles necessary to sustain life. Further than that, it was desirable to devise ways and means by which service in the Red Army and employment in nationalized enterprises might appear sufficiently attractive, and at the same time give an appearance of prosperity to the Government itself, in order that hope as well as fear might assist in maintaining the Bolshevik Government. The policy adopted was the printing of unlimited amounts of fiat paper money unsecured by any reserve. This naturally furnished to the Government a cash capital limited only by the capacity of the printing presses of the Government, which, in turn, had been confiscated and nationalized. Already it is estimated that a sum in excess of 30,000,000,000 rubles has been put into circulation. This has created a ridiculously inflated circulating medium of no material value to the public, but of enforced value to the Government.

Every activity of the Bolshevik Government indicates clearly the antipathy of the Bolsheviks toward Christianity and the Christian religion. Its program is a direct challenge to that religion. The

Christian Church and Bolshevism cannot both survive the program that is being developed by the Russian dictatorship and which it is undertaking to extend throughout the world. Not only have they confiscated all church property, real and personal, but they have established the right of anti-religious propaganda as a constitutionally recognized institution. Church and school have been divorced even to the extent of suppressing the Sunday school, and the teaching of all religious doctrines in public, either in schools or educational institutions of any kind, is expressly forbidden. Religion can only be taught or studied privately. All church and religious organizations are prohibited from owning property of any kind. All recognition of a Supreme Being in both Governmental and judicial oaths is abolished. The clergy and all servants or employes of church bodies are expressly disfranchised and deprived of all right to hold public positions. The full significance of the attitude of the Bolsheviks toward Christianity is most fully manifested in the fact that, though by Russian custom and decree under the old régime, every newspaper or periodical published on Easter Sunday in the Russian Empire was required to carry the headline, "Christ Is Risen," on Easter Sunday in 1918, all Bolshevik papers substituted for this sacred sentiment the headline and slogan, "One Hundred Years Ago Today Karl Marx Was Born." Thus the issue has been framed between the gospel of Karl Marx and the teachings of Christ. We reiterate, therefore, that Bolshevism and the Christian religion cannot both survive.

Bolshevism accords to the family no such sacred place in society as modern civilization accords to it. Conflicting reports have been passing current during the last few months relative to the nationalization of women by the new Russian Government. Two or three local Soviets have apparently thus degraded the womanhood of their particular districts, but the Central Government has refrained from adopting any such policy in the whole nation. They have, however, promulgated decrees relating to marriage and divorce which practically

establishes a state of free love. Their effect has been to furnish a vehicle for the legalization of prostitution by permitting the annulment of the marriage bonds at the whim of the parties, recognizing their collusive purposes as a ground for the severance of the matrimonial state.

The freedom of the press and of speech, though heralded by the advocates of Bolshevism as necessary to the intelligent participation of the people in popular government, has been abrogated in Russia, and by the usual confiscatory method of the accepted formula all of the mechanical devices and materials necessary for the publication of periodicals and all places of meeting and public assemblage have been seized by the Bolshevik Government.

To make the control more complete and effective the publication of all advertisements, whether in regularly published periodicals or on handbills or programs, is made a monopoly of the Government. As a consequence the people of Russia are deprived of all facts, literature, and public expression through the medium of the press or public meetings, except such as is approved by the dictatorship and has been passed by its censorship.

In the attempted establishment of an educational system it is to be expected that much difficulty would arise because of the large percentage of illiteracy that afflicts Russia, and it is not surprising that this system is largely on paper and of little practical value. It is interesting to note, however, that under this system age rather than attainment determines the admissibility of the student to a given school or grade, and that to require the production of evidence of the qualification of a student for such admission is a criminal offense. This again reflects the Bolshevik theory that equalization can be accomplished by dictatorial decrees.

The apparent purpose of the Bolshevik Government is to make the Russian citizen, and especially the women and children, the wards and dependents of that Government. Not satisfied with the degree of dependency incurred by the economic and industrial control assumed by

its functionaries, it has destroyed the natural ambition and made impossible of accomplishment the moral obligation of the father to provide, care for, and adequately protect the child of his blood and the mother of that child against the misfortunes of orphanhood and widowhood. To accomplish this it has by decree expressly abolished and prohibited all right of inheritance, either by law or will. Upon death all of the decedent's estate is confiscated by the State, and all heirs who are physically incapable of working become pensioners of the State to the extent that the assets confiscated by the Government make such pensions possible.

Insurance of all kinds has been nationalized, the assets of insurance companies confiscated, and the business of insuring life, property, accident, old age, and unemployment made a State monopoly. In the attempted liquidation of existing companies and associations the liquidating representatives of the Government seem only concerned in securing possession and record of all their assets and fail to recognize the propriety of accurately adjusting their liabilities. As a consequence, those insured and the beneficiaries under existing policies find themselves without the protection for which they have been paying premiums.

The salient features which constitute the program of Bolshevism, as it exists today in Russia and is presented to the rest of the world as a panacea for all ills, may be summarized as follows:

1. The repudiation of democracy and the establishment of a dictatorship.
2. The confiscation of all land and the improvements thereon.
3. The confiscation of all forests and natural resources.
4. The confiscation of all live stock and all agricultural implements.
5. The confiscation of all banks and banking institutions and the establishment of a State monopoly of the banking business.
6. The confiscation of all factories, mills, mines and industrial institutions and the delivery of the control and operation thereof to the employes therein.
7. The confiscation of all churches and all church property, real and personal.
8. The confiscation of all newspapers and periodicals and all mechanical facilities and machinery used in the publication thereof.

9. The seizure and confiscation of all public meeting places and assembly halls.

10. The confiscation of all transportation and communication systems.

11. The confiscation of the entire estate of all decedents.

12. The monopolizing by the State of all advertisements of every nature, whether in newspapers, periodicals, handbills or programs.

13. The repudiation of all debts against the Government and all obligations due the non-Bolshevist elements of the population.

14. The establishment of universal compulsory military service, regardless of religious scruples and conscientious objections.

15. The establishment of universal compulsory labor.

16. The abolition of the Sunday school and all other schools and institutions that teach religion.

17. The absolute separation of churches and schools.

18. The establishment, through marriage and divorce laws, of a method for the legalization of prostitution, when the same is engaged in by consent of the parties.

19. The refusal to recognize the existence of God in its Governmental and judicial proceedings.

20. The conferring of the rights of citizenship on aliens without regard to length of residence or intelligence.

21. The arming of all so-called "tool-men" and the disarming of all persons who had succeeded in acquiring property.

22. The discrimination in favor of residents of cities and against residents of the rural districts through giving residents of cities five times as much voting power as is accorded to residents of rural districts in such elections as are permitted.

23. The disfranchisement of all persons employing any other person in connection with their business.

24. The disfranchisement of all persons receiving rent, interest or dividends.

25. The disfranchisement of all merchants, traders and commercial agents.

26. The disfranchisement of all priests, clergymen or employes of churches and religious bodies.

27. The denial of the existence of any inalienable rights in the individual citizen.

28. The establishment of a judicial system exercising autocratic power, convicting persons and imposing penalties in their absence and without opportunity to be heard, and even adopting the death penalty for numerous crimes and misdemeanors.

29. The inauguration of a reign of fear, terrorism and violence.

This is the program that the revolu-

tionary elements and the so-called "parlor Bolsheviks" would have this country accept as a substitute for the Government of the United States, which recognizes that "all men are created equal," and that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" are the inalienable rights of all its citizens. * * *

With a view of concretely illustrating just what this new social order would accomplish if transplanted into the political, educational, industrial, and religious life of the United States attention is invited to the following unavoidable consequences:

1. The application of force and violence, the shedding of blood and the destruction of life and property, the common incidents of all revolutions, and all this to destroy a democratic form of government, under which the majority can secure just the kind of government that it desires. The advocacy of revolutionary methods is an admission, therefore, that minority rather than majority rule is the goal sought to be attained.

2. To make possible the control of the minority as the dictators of the majority, the disfranchisement of millions of substantial, patriotic citizens who would fall in the so-called bourgeois or capitalistic class. This would deprive of the right to participate in affairs of government—

(a) Millions of farmers, merchants and manufacturers, both large and small, employing persons in the conduct of their business, and all professional and business men utilizing the services of a clerk, bookkeeper or stenographer.

(b) All persons receiving interest on borrowed money or bonds, rent from real estate or personal property, and dividends from stock of any kind.

(c) All traders, merchants and dealers, even though they do not employ another person in the conduct of their business.

(d) All preachers, priests, janitors and employees of all churches and religious bodies.

It is apparent, with the millions of persons falling into these several classes, disfranchised and deprived of all right to participate in the affairs of government, accompanied with the immediate enfranchisement of all aliens who do not fall within these prohibited classes, and the opening of the doors of all prisons and penitentiaries, the domination of the criminal and most undesirable alien elements of the country would be a comparatively easy matter. To simplify the question of this control, however, the substantial rural portion of the population would be

further suppressed and restricted, and under the revolutionary formula the voting power of the cities would be five times as great as that of the rural communities, the ratio of representation in cities being one to every 25,000 of the population, while that of the rural districts would be only one to every 125,000 of the population. In the United States the rural population under the 1910 census was considerably in excess of the urban. We must also remember that the application of the formula would include the disarming of all disfranchised classes and the arming to the teeth of these criminal and alien elements.

3. It would result in the confiscation by the Government thus constituted of the land of the United States, including 6,361,502 farms, of which 62.1 per cent., or 3,948,722 farms, are owned in fee by the farmers who cultivate them, and represent the labor and toil of a lifetime. On the farms of the United States there are improvements, machinery and live stock to the value of \$40,991,449,090 (census of 1910), all of which would be confiscated with the land. The confiscation program would include the more than 275,000 manufacturing establishments, including the \$22,790,980,000 of invested capital, much of which is owned by the small investor, whose livelihood depends upon the success of the respective enterprises. The confiscation would also include 203,432 church edifices. Forests aggregating 555,000,000 acres would be seized by the Government, and an annual product of \$1,375,000,000 would come under the control of the dictatorship. Dwellings to the number of 17,805,845, of which 9,093,675 are owned in fee, with 5,984,248 entirely free from debt, would be confiscated and the owners dispossessed at the pleasure of the Government.

4. Although clamoring loudly for a free and unrestricted press, the revolutionary program would require the seizure and confiscation of the 22,896 newspapers and periodicals in the United States, together with all mechanical equipment necessary for their publication, and a control and ownership of the public press by the Government.

5. Complete control of all banking institutions and their assets is an essential part of the revolutionary program, and the 31,492 banks in the United States would be taken over by the Government and the savings of millions, including 11,397,553 depositors drawing interest on accounts in savings banks, and consequently belonging to the so-called bourgeois or capitalistic class, jeopardized.

6. One of the most appalling and far-reaching consequences of an application of Bolshevism in the United States would be found in the confiscation and liquidation

of its life insurance companies. There is 20 per cent. more life insurance in force in this country than in all the rest of the world, and nine-tenths of it is mutual insurance. Almost 50,000,000 life insurance policies, representing nearly \$30,000,000,000 of insurance, the substantial protection of the women and children of the nation, would be rendered valueless.

7. The atheism that permeates the whole Russian dictatorship is clearly reflected in the activities of their revolutionary confreres in the United States, and in their publications they have denounced our religion and our God as "lies." This gives added significance to the revolutionary attitude toward the Christian Church and the Christian religion. The

prohibition of religious schools and the teaching or studying of religion, except in private, would necessitate the abolition of 194,759 Sunday schools in the United States and a great number of seminaries, colleges and universities; 19,935,890 Sunday school scholars would be deprived and prevented from enjoying the institution that has become an important part of their lives and is one of the great moral influences of the nation. Catholic schools, colleges and seminaries to the number of 6,681 would be suppressed. Church property of the value of \$1,676,600,582 would be confiscated and 41,926,854 (census of 1916) members of 227,487 church organizations would be subjected to the domination of an atheist dictatorship.

The Retreat of the Serbian Army

By CAPTAIN G. GORDON-SMITH

[ROYAL SERBIAN ARMY]

The retreat of the Serbian Army across Albania was one of the greatest and most tragic episodes of the world war, but at the same time it is the one of which the public knows least. This is due to the fact that from the beginning of October, 1915, till the middle of December, King Peter's army was practically isolated from the rest of the world. Captain Gordon-Smith was the only English-speaking correspondent who accompanied the Serbian Army from the Danube to Durazzo. He has compiled the following account of its fateful Odyssey, partly from material placed at his disposal by the Headquarters Staff and partly from his own observations during the retreat.

IN the whole history of the world war there is no episode which reaches a greater degree of tragedy than the retreat of the Serbian Army through Albania. In the annals of warfare there is no military enterprise to compare to it. Napoleon's passage of the Alps, the only similar military exploit, was voluntarily undertaken by him, after elaborate and painstaking preparations for its successful carrying out. The retreat of the Serbs was imposed on an army exhausted by months of ceaseless combat, with provisions and munitions at their lowest ebb, by an enemy three times their superior in number, provided with an artillery of crushing superiority and a practically unlimited supply of war material and munitions.

It is difficult, even now, to obtain exact data as to the effectives of the Serbian Army when it began its retreat

through Northern Albania from the left bank of the Sitniza to the Adriatic. Before the Austro-Germano-Bulgarian attack in October, 1915, the vacancies caused by the heavy losses in the first period of the war, (August, 1914, to October, 1916,) and by the ravages of the epidemic of typhus, had been filled. On account of the immense front to be guarded, every effort was made, in the lull in the fighting which followed the repulse of the second Austrian invasion, to complete the infantry and especially the artillery units, to create new units, and instruct the personnel.

At a cost of sacrifices of every kind, the Serbian Army, on the eve of the Austro-Germano-Bulgarian attack, was made up as follows:

Officers inscribed	10,000
Officers present	8,897
Non-commissioned officers and soldiers inscribed	532,000

Present with the colors.....	411,700
Horses inscribed	75,400
Horses present	71,200
Oxen inscribed	75,400
Oxen present	65,200

These effectives were made up of the three "bans" (or classes) of the National Army, with a corresponding amount of reserve personnel as well as animals and baggage train.

EFFECTIVES REDUCED ONE-HALF

The desperate defense of the northern front, where the enemy disposed of greatly superior forces, especially in heavy artillery, and the bloody struggle against the Bulgarians on the eastern front, had caused the Serbian Army very heavy losses. In the continual combats, night and day, from Sept. 23 up to the last desperate sortie at Kossovo, combats in which the Serbs retreated from one sector to another on the two fronts, the losses in men, killed and wounded, increased continually, so that the original effectives were reduced by half.

The fatigues and the commissariat difficulties in the course of forty days' fighting had exhausted the troops, even before the beginning of the retreat toward the south. It was, therefore, to be expected that there would be a still greater percentage of loss in men, material, and animals, in the difficult conditions of movement and of provisioning the army in a mountainous, sterile country wanting in roads of any kind.

The agricultural wealth of Serbia had allowed of all the units, permanent and temporary, being well supplied with riding horses and pack and draft animals. The continual fatigue of the operations of the army in the mountainous country in the southwestern part of Serbia had, however, greatly exhausted these, especially the draft animals. But in spite of this, at the moment of the retreat from Kossovo, the army still disposed of a large number of animals and convoys. There was, however, little consolation in this, in view of the impossibility of wheeled vehicles traversing the mountains of Montenegro and Albania. But the draft animals could at least be used as pack horses.

At the beginning of the campaign of

1915 the Serbian Army was well provided with arms and ammunition, at least as regarded the medium armament such as the enemy had hitherto had at his disposition. But on the northern front the German troops appeared with heavy artillery of the most formidable description (38 and 35.8 centimeter guns) against which the Serbian artillery was completely insufficient. The largest calibre of the Serbian artillery was rapid-fire 15-centimeter howitzers, (two batteries,) some batteries of 12-centimeter howitzers, and some long guns of the same calibre.

There was an abundant field artillery, due to the fact that all the guns captured from the Austrians had been pressed into service; but there was a great want of mountain guns. In comparison with the penury of munitions during the retreat to the Kolubara in the previous campaign, the quantity of artillery munitions was sufficient. The infantry was also well armed with Serbian and Russian rapid-fire rifles. This artillery was used right up to the last moment when the retreat into Montenegro and Albania began. Desperate efforts were made to save at least a small part of it, but the success was not great.

As regards clothing and camping material, the Serbian Army was but poorly provided. This had disastrous consequences during the retreat. The fact that the troops were forced to sleep in the open during the cold weather, with torn uniforms and broken boots, wore down the strength of even the strongest among them. Those of feeble constitution succumbed.

SHORTAGE OF FOOD

When it was driven from the valleys of the Morava and the Toplitza, the Serbian Army lost its main sources of food supply. The intendant had, however, succeeded in forming a temporary provision base at Kossovo, which was increased to a certain degree from the local resources. Six days before the retreat from the left bank of the Sitnitsa there were 2,000 tons of food for the army. According to the calculations of the Headquarters Staff there was only food for nine days after the real retreat

into Albania began. Of forage there was even a smaller quantity, so that the animals were destined to perish.

It must further be remembered that all the vehicles had to be destroyed on account of the impossibility of transporting them over mountains on which there

consequences. Hunger was the great enemy, and the question of provisioning the army dominated all others.

The efforts made by the Serbian Government and the General Headquarters to induce the nearest ally—Italy—to establish a provision base on the coast



STAGES IN RETIREMENT OF SERBIAN ARMY: THE DECEMBER LINE, AT THE ALBANIAN BORDER, SHOWS THE LAST STAND BEFORE THE FINAL RETREAT

were no roads, and also that, on account of the exhaustion of the pack animals, the quantity of food and forage transported had to be reduced to a minimum.

In addition to this the army was accompanied by thousands of the civil population fleeing before a ruthless enemy. They, too, had to receive a minimum ration. As there was no possibility of procuring food from the poverty-stricken population of Montenegro and Albania, the army, during its retreat, had to suffer starvation with all its terrible

did not give satisfactory results. Such treatment of the Serbian Army, which, in the interest of all, had made such terrible sacrifices, remains inexplicable and completely unjustifiable.

The depots of provisions which, relying on this, the Headquarters Staff had promised to the troops, remained a vain promise. This not only caused bitter disappointment to the troops during the retreat, and for a certain time afterward, but it also led to their extreme exhaustion, to sickness and to death. As

a result the men lost much of their confidence in their chiefs.

THE SITUATION DESPERATE

After the attempt to pierce the Katchenik toward Uskub and Saloniki in order to establish the liaison with the Allies—an attempt made too late and doomed to fail—the Serbian Army abandoned Kossovo and on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of November retired to the left bank of the Sitnitza.

Thanks to the desperate resistance at Katchenik and at the Kondyl Pass, the Serbian Army managed to gain time. This rendered the retreat possible and caused the failure of the attempt of the Germano-Austro-Bulgarian army to force it to capitulate. But at the same time there was no longer any hope that things would take a turn favorable to the Serbs.

The attack of fresh Bulgarian forces on the extreme rear of the Serbian Army, the rupture of communications between Nish-Uskub-Saloniki, and the rupture of the liaison with the Allies, brought the army into a most critical situation, which lasted more than a month. All the efforts of the Serbian Army had one aim, that of maintaining itself in its positions, *coûte que coûte*, and this gave time for the help promised from Saloniki to arrive and bring about a change in the situation. Unfortunately, the circumstances which would have brought this about were not within the control of the Serbian Army and its high command. The longer the resistance on the northern front was prolonged, the more difficult became the situation.

At the last moment, when the army was forced to fall back from Kossovo, the General Headquarters saw that the retreat across the mountains of Montenegro and Albania, which, up to this moment, had been regarded as a possible eventuality, had become inevitable. It was necessary to accept the temporary loss of the national territory and to leave nothing undone to conserve the living force of the army. But the execution of the plan met with almost insurmountable difficulties.

In the abandonment of Kossovo the private soldier saw the final loss of

Serbia, which he would have to leave at the price of unheard of fatigues and unspeakable sacrifices. Not being able to understand the exigencies of the situation, exhausted by incessant combats and marches, day and night, under the most painful conditions, he only saw the brutal reality of the moment. He saw no help come, and, forced continually to make superhuman efforts, he ended by losing all hope.

In the course of four years of war the Serbian soldier accomplished exploits which have a permanent place in history. But this same Serbian soldier, who had given such wonderful proof of his military worth and valor, felt an intense moral depression at the moment of the retreat from Kossovo. Kossovo spelled for him the most glorious, though at the same time the most tragic, episode in the history of his country.* The abandonment of this historic battlefield, on which the Czar Lazar, five centuries before, had died fighting for Serbia's freedom, was a terrible blow to him. It was on this historic spot that he had hoped to receive the long promised aid and succor from the Allies and at last turn the tide of invasion. In quitting Serbian territory he abandoned his family, with the prospect of losing all contact with his country for a long time and being forced to live on foreign soil; he felt as if he were committing a crime in going, and a certain number, indeed, abandoned the army and returned to their homes.

WILD REGION TRAVERSED

With the exception of a few weak detachments operating in the New Territories, the main body of the army had to retreat through Montenegro and Albania. The mountainous country to be traversed included the whole complex of the Albanian Alps. It is the most savage region of the whole Balkan Peninsula, and for that reason has remained inaccessible to European culture.

The army had, therefore, to force its

*On the Plain of Kossovo ("Field of the Blackbirds") the Sultan Murad I. destroyed the mediaeval Serbian Empire by defeating and killing the Serbian King Lazar in a great battle in 1389.

passage through this region, of which the mean altitude is over 6,000 feet, and which is without any means of communication. There were only a few wretched mountain pathways for men and pack animals, running through deep valleys alternating with steep and abrupt ascents, amid rocks and snow and ice. Here and there there was an attempt at a road, but these always ran into mere sheep paths. The cloud-capped summits of the mountains, walls of vertical rock cut by deep precipices, lay between the army and the sea. The only good route was the road from Andriyeritza to Podgoritza in Montenegro, but in order to reach the former village the whole of the Albanian Alps had to be traversed, across Mount Jlieb. In addition the march had to be made in November, one of the coldest months in the year.

This wretched country is inhabited by men of a rough and inhospitable race, who received the Serbs with sullen hostility. At first they made no active resistance to the passage of the troops, but when they observed the state of exhaustion of the men they began, animated by the desire for loot, to attack the various columns. In a word, the Serbian Army had to carry out its retreat under the worst possible conditions, having constantly before its eyes the possibility of total annihilation.

DISPOSITION OF TROOPS

On Nov. 12 the greater part of the army was assembled to the west of the plain of Kossovo, on the left bank of the Sitnitza. Its extreme right wing was covered by the Char Mountain, (Kodja Balkans,) its extreme left wing by the River Ibar, to the northwest of Mitrovitza. The principal line of defense began in the northern ramification of the Kodja Balkans, passing by the summits of Mounts Neredinka, Ribarska, and Tchetchvitza, and reaching to the Souba.

Some weak detachments of Serbian troops operated, on the other hand, with the French troops in the New Territories and barred the march of the enemy in the direction of Prilep-Monastir and Gestwar-Kitchevo-Monastir.

On Nov. 12 the troops holding the left bank of the Sitnitza began to give way

under the pressure of strong bodies of Bulgarian troops. The historic City of Prisrend was their chief objective. The troops of the New Territories which were covering the Ferizovitch-Prisrend front bore the brunt of the Bulgarian attack. On the rest of the front only a few weak detachments of the Austro-Germano-Bulgarian troops succeeded in crossing to the left bank of the Sitnitza.

The fundamental idea for the retreat was to debouch as soon as possible toward the sea and leave between the Serbian troops and the enemy a country difficult to cross, which would allow the Serbian Army to be re-formed and re-organized in Albania, under the protection of a small rearguard force which would close the routes to the pursuing enemy.

This plan demanded that the movement should be carried out as rapidly as possible, on the widest possible front, toward the Scutari-El Basan-Durazzo line. The ulterior action of the Serbian Army was to be determined according to the political and military situation.

PLAN OF THE RETREAT

Taking into consideration the general grouping of the Serbian forces on Nov. 12 and the directions which might be taken, the retreat was conceived in the following fashion:

1. The First, Second, and Third Armies and the troops of the defense of Belgrade, that is to say, the main body of the Serbian Army, were to retreat via Petch-Andriyevitsa-Podgoritsa-Scutari. The retreat of this force to Andriyevitsa was to take place under the direction of the First Army, which, with this object, was to occupy positions at Rojai to cover the routes which led from the Mitrovitsa-Novi Bazar-Sienitsa front via Rojai and Borane to Andriyevitsa.

The routes which the troops were to utilize were the following:

- (a) Second Army, the route Petch-Rougovo-Velika-Andriyevitsa and beyond.
- (b) Third Army, the troops of the defense of Belgrade, and the First Army, the route Petch-Rajai-Borane-Andriyevitsa and beyond.

2. The troops of the New Territories

were to take the following route: (a) Gjis-Kovitsa-Vezirov Most. (b) Prisrend-Lioum Koula-Spas-Fleti-Puka toward Scutari and Alessio.

The mission of this latter group was to cover the retreat of the Army of the Timok as long as that army had not begun its movement of retreat, and then to retire in its turn. After crossing the Drin and the Black Drin this group was to halt on the Tvhafasai-Tchafa Moure-Mali-Doise-Orochi-Maya-Masse - Tchafa Koumoule-Floli-Gouri line and cover, with sufficient force, all the routes which, from Djikovitsa-Prisrend and the valley of the Black Drin, lead to Scutari, Alessio, and the valley of the River Matcha. Its base was to be Scutari and Alessio.

During the retreat this force was to protect itself by adopting a rational order of march. This central group had, in a general fashion, its flanks protected; but it had to assure its protection itself, for during its passage through the most savage parts of Northern Albania it was exposed throughout its entire march to attack by the Albanians.

ARMY OF THE TIMOK

3. The Army of the Timok was ordered to retreat via Prisrend-Lioum Koula-Pitchkopeys-Debar.

All the troops still operating in the New Territories (detachment of the Vardar, detachment of Tetovo, detachment of Albania and the detachment of Prisrend) were placed under the orders of the commander of the Army of the Timok. The mission of this group was to establish itself solidly in the Gostwar and Prilep region, and, in liaison with the French troops, assure the liaison with Saloniki as long as possible.

The remainder of the troops of the Army of the Timok were to remain on the Prilep-Brod-Kitchovo-Gostwar line as long as the French troops were on the left bank of the Czerna Reka, near Krivolak, and as long as the enemy did not attack them with such superior forces as to threaten their lines of communication in the direction of Prisrend-Debar. This group had its base at Monastir. In case the Army of the Timok should not be able to hold this line, or in case the

French should retire toward Saloniki, the Army of the Timok was to retire in the direction of El Bassan-Tchiafa-Sane-Krstatz-Mali Privalit-Kaptin-Tchiafa Boulchtitz-Tchiafa Sai, with the mission of covering the routes from Stougo and Debar toward El Bassan-Tirana and the valley of the Matcha. In this case this group would make Durazzo its base.

The General Headquarters had asked the commanders of these groups to keep in constant telegraphic communication, but from the first day of the operations this was found to be impossible. The character of the country did not allow of any other means of communication, so that the commanders of these groups were, during the whole movement, left to themselves. All they could do was to conform to the general directions laid down by General Headquarters.

Foreseeing the necessity of a retreat through Montenegro and Albania, the General Headquarters had, as early as Nov. 9, given orders to direct all the convoys and the heavy artillery of all the armies toward Montenegro by the Petch-Rojai-Borane route. If this was found impracticable all the convoys and artillery were either to be destroyed or buried. The horses and oxen drawing the guns and wagons were to be utilized as pack animals.

GENERAL SITUATION

A realization of the general situation of the Serbian Army at this moment will give an exact picture of the conditions under which the retreat began.

In the first place a very great number of troops were sent by the same routes. The character of the country to be traversed and the number of the troops did not allow of any other solution of the problems. But these routes did not lend themselves to the march of organized bodies of troops, and enormous difficulties were experienced, especially for the convoys (oxen and draft animals.)

On the other hand the enemy was already exercising a strong pressure, especially in the direction of Prisrend, while the Albanian population had assumed such a threatening attitude that an attack by it might be expected at any moment. The army was only in posses-



SCENE OF FINAL RETREAT OF SERBIAN ARMY ACROSS ALBANIA TO THE ADRIATIC. HEAVY BROKEN LINE ON RIGHT SHOWS LAST STAND IN DECEMBER. HEAVY LINE NEAR THE COAST SHOWS WHERE THE AUSTRIANS HAD TAKEN MT. LOVCHEN AND CETINJE IN MONTENEGRO, CUTTING OFF EGRESS BY THAT ROUTE

sion of rations for several days, and it was on this minimum quantity of food that it would have to subsist until it reached the Adriatic. The transformation of the army service corps for service in the mountains required time. An attempt to pass on the convoys and artillery sent to Petch across Mount Jlieb proved that the idea was impracticable. One division which had succeeded in passing two guns without their limbers by that mountain took two whole days for the task.

Thus, on the one hand, the transformation of the supply convoys and the formation of entire armies in column formation required time, while, on the other, the troops were threatened with starvation and the advance of the enemy called for speedy action. When to these difficulties was added the exhaustion of the men it was not difficult to foresee that the army which had in the past shown such admirable military qualities would arrive on the coast of the Adriatic in a condition which inspired both pity and admiration.

Such were the dispositions of the Headquarters Staff for the retreat of the army through Albania and Montenegro.

CONDITIONS IN PRISREND

During the last days of the retirement on Prisrend I and a French colleague, M. Paul Du Bochet, the correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, had been first with the division of Timok and later with the combined division. We reached Prisrend on Thursday, Nov. 23, and found it a cosmopolitan city. Hundreds of French aviators, automobilists, engineers and Red Cross units, Russian, British, Greek, and Rumanian doctors and nurses, and English sailors of the naval gun batteries were everywhere in evidence. The blue and crimson uniforms of the Royal Guard showed that King Peter was also in Prisrend. As the members of the Government, the Crown Prince, the Commander in Chief, and the Headquarters Staff had also arrived, all that was left of the elements of Government in Serbia was assembled within the walls of the ancient Albanian city.

The one question on everybody's lips

was, "would it be an unconditional surrender?" in which case we would all find ourselves German prisoners forty-eight hours later; or would the King, the Government, and the army leave Serbian territory and take refuge in Albania? The final councils did not last long. On Nov. 24 the supreme resolution was taken. The King, army, and Government would refuse to treat with the enemy and would leave for Albania.

To this resolution several factors contributed. One of the chief was Serbia's loyalty to her allies. She had undertaken not to sign a separate peace, and she held to her word to the last. She might be defeated, she was not conquered. Another factor was the dynastic one. It was certain that one of the first conditions of peace which Germany, and especially Austria, would have exacted would have been the abdication of King Peter. It was equally certain that M. Pashitch and the other members of the Government would have been arrested and probably exiled for life from Serbia. There was, therefore, nothing to be gained by surrender, and as long as King Peter, his Government and his army escaped the clutches of their enemies, Serbia was unconquered. The Treasury had long been placed in safety abroad, so that there was no want of funds to meet the expenses of the Government and army in exile.

BURNING THE ARCHIVES

When I reached Headquarters the first thing I noticed was a score of soldiers burning the archives, staff maps, &c., a clear proof that the journey to Scutari was resolved on. During lunch I learned the last preparations that had been made. M. Pashitch and the members of the Government were leaving for Scutari with a military escort the following day. The next day the King and the royal household with the Royal Guard would start, and on the third day Field Marshal Putnik and the Headquarters Staff would leave for Scutari. As I and my French colleague of the *Petit Parisien* were attached to the Headquarters, Colonel Mitrovitch told me he had reserved a pack horse for our baggage. All that was left of bread and biscuits would also,

we were told, be distributed the night before the march started.

It was a curious sensation to look around the large mess room, with its hundreds of brilliant uniforms worn by the men who had fought five victorious campaigns, and to think that in forty-eight hours they would be in exile, camping among the snows of the Albanian mountains, with the splendid armies they had commanded shrunk to 150,000 men, deprived of everything that goes to make an army in the field. Grief and bitterness were written on many a face; many would have preferred to be in the fighting line and to have died at the head of their men, rather than have seen this tragic hour.

One thing is certain, no reproach could be made to the Serbian Army; it had done its duty, and more than its duty. It had fought with desperate courage against overwhelming odds, and if the armed strength of Serbia was crushed, her honor at least was intact.

On the day of my arrival I paid a visit to the citadel, perched on the hill on the slopes of which Prisrend is built.

Here are the last traces of the stronghold erected by the Emperor, Stephen Doushan, the Serbian Charlemagne. At my feet flowed the Bistritza, rushing in a torrent down through the town. To the east, at the extremity of a gorge between towering mountains, I could see the snow-covered peaks of the Shar range, which formed a lofty barrier between us and the Bulgarians at Tetovo. To the left appeared the City of Prisrend, a vast agglomeration of Turkish and Albanian houses from which emerged the graceful minarets of its fifty mosques. Among these one could distinguish the belfry of the single Greek Orthodox Church. In an obscure corner was hidden a small Catholic chapel, the priest of which was subventioned by the Austrian Government.

In the afternoon arrived the news that the route from Dibra to Monastir had been cut, as the Bulgarians were at Prilep and advancing on Monastir. This extinguished the last hope of some part of the Serbian Army reaching the town to take train through Greece to Saloniki. It was the "débâcle" all along the line.

[To be Continued]

Retreat of the Serbian Army

[OCTOBER, 1915]

By E. STRACHAN ROGERS

O well-loved land, where every pleasant farm
Produced from fertile soil an ample yield,
And every cheerful toiler in the field
Sat by his fire at night secure from harm:
Then, when the cry of warfare rent the calm,
How valiantly did each his weapons wield,
Still fighting on as the warm blood congealed,
Amid the din of battle's wild alarm.

At the last stand were they not heroes all,
Preferring exile to a base defeat?
So through the horrors of the long retreat
The Serbian Army stumbled dauntlessly
Across high mountain-bars, till they could fall,
Some living and some dead, beside the sea.

General Pershing's Final Report

Complete Official Story of the American Operations in the World War

[SECOND HALF]

The first half of General Pershing's report to the Secretary of War appeared in the January CURRENT HISTORY. It covered all the military operations of the First Army to the day of the armistice. The remaining portion tells of the operations of the Second Army in France, of American troops in Italy and Russia, of the Third Army in Germany, the return of our forces to the United States, and the achievements of the various army services. It completes the official text of the most important military document on our share in the world war.

UNDER the instructions issued by me on Nov. 5, for operations by the Second Army in the direction of the Briey Iron Basin, the advance was undertaken along the entire front of the army and continued during the last three days of hostilities. In the face of the stiff resistance offered by the enemy, and with the limited number of troops at the disposal of the Second Army, the gains realized reflected great credit on the divisions concerned. On Nov. 6 Marshal Foch requested that six American divisions be held in readiness to assist in an attack which the French were preparing to launch in the direction of Château-Salins. The plan was agreed to, but with the provision that our troops should be employed under the direction of the commanding General of the Second Army.

This combined attack was to be launched on Nov. 14, and was to consist of twenty French divisions under General Mangin and the six American divisions under General Bullard. Of the divisions designated for this operation the 3d, 4th, 29th, and 36th were in army reserve, and were starting their march eastward on the morning of Nov. 11, while the 28th and 35th were being withdrawn from line on the Second Army front.

ACTIVITIES ON OTHER FRONTS

During the first phase of the Meuse-Argonne battle, American divisions were participating in important attacks on other portions of the front. The 2d Army

Corps, Major Gen. Read commanding, with the 27th and 30th Divisions on the British front, was assigned the task, in co-operation with the Australian Corps, of breaking the Hindenburg line at Le Cateau, where the St. Quentin Canal passes through a tunnel under a ridge. In this attack, carried out on Sept. 29 and Oct. 1, the 30th Division speedily broke through the main line of defense and captured all its objectives, while the 27th progressed until some of its elements reached Gouy. In this and later actions, from Oct. 6 to 10, our 2d Corps captured over 6,000 prisoners and advanced about twenty-four kilometers.

On Oct. 2-5 our 2d and 36th Divisions assisted the Fourth French Army in its advance between Rheims and the Argonne. The 2d Division completed its advance on this front by the assault of the wooded heights of Mont Blanc, the key point of the German position, which was captured with consummate dash and skill. The division here repulsed violent counterattacks, and then carried our lines into the village of St. Etienne, thus forcing the Germans to fall back before Rheims and yield positions which they had held since September, 1914. On Oct. 10 the 36th Division relieved the 2d, exploiting the latter's success, and in two days advanced, with the French, a distance of twenty-one kilometers, the enemy retiring behind the Aisne River.

In the middle of October, while we were heavily engaged in the Meuse-Argonne, Marshal Foch requested that

two American divisions be sent immediately to assist the Sixth French Army in Belgium, where slow progress was being made. The 37th and 91st Divisions, the latter being accompanied by the artillery of the 28th Division, were hurriedly dispatched to the Belgian front. On Oct. 30, in continuation of the Flanders offensive, these divisions entered the line and attacked. By Nov. 3 the 37th Division had completed its mission by rapidly driving the enemy across the Escaut River and had firmly established itself on the east bank, while the 91st Division, in a spirited advance, captured Spitaals Bosschen, reached the Scheldt, and entered Audenarde.

OUR TROOPS IN ITALY

The Italian Government early made request for American troops, but the critical situation on the western front made it necessary to concentrate our efforts there. When the Secretary of War was in Italy during April, 1918, he was urged to send American troops to Italy to show America's interest in the Italian situation and to strengthen the Italian morale. Similarly a request was made by the Italian Prime Minister at the Abbéville conference. It was finally decided to send one regiment to Italy with the necessary hospital and auxiliary service, and the 332d Infantry was selected, reaching the Italian front in July, 1918. These troops participated in action against the Austrians in the Fall of 1918 at the

crossing of the Piave River and in the final pursuit of the Austrian Army.

ON THE RUSSIAN FRONT

It was the opinion of the Supreme War Council that allied troops should be sent to co-operate with the Russians, either at Murmansk or Archangel, against the Bolshevik forces, and the British Government, through its Ambassador at Washington, urged American participation in this undertaking. On July 23, 1918, the War Department directed the dispatch of three battalions of infantry and three companies of engineers to join the allied expedition. In compliance with these instructions the 339th Infantry, the 1st Battalion, 310th Engineers, 337th Field Hospital Company, and 337th Ambulance Company were sent through England, whence they sailed on Aug. 26.

The mission of these troops was limited to guarding the ports and as much of the surrounding country as might develop threatening conditions. The allied force operated under British command, through whose orders the small American contingent was spread over a front of about 450 miles. From September, 1918, to May, 1919, a series of minor engagements with the Bolshevik forces occurred, in which eighty-two Americans were killed and seven died of wounds.

In April, 1919, two companies of American railroad troops were added to our contingent. The withdrawal of the American force commenced in the latter part of May, 1919, and on Aug. 25 there was left only a small detachment of graves registration troops.

The Allied Advance Into German Land

In accordance with the terms of the armistice, the Allies were to occupy all German territory west of the Rhine, with bridgeheads of thirty kilometers' radius at Cologne, Coblenz, and Mayence. The zone assigned the American command was the bridgehead of Coblenz and the district of Treves. This territory was to be occupied by an American army, with its reserves held between the Moselle and Meuse rivers and the Luxemburg frontier.

The instructions of Marshal Foch, issued on Nov. 16, contemplated that two French infantry divisions and one French cavalry division would be added to the American forces that occupied the Coblenz bridgehead, and that one American division would be added to the French force occupying the Mayence bridgehead. As this arrangement presented possibilities of misunderstanding due to difference of views regarding the government of occupied territory, it was represented to the Marshal that each nation should be given a well-defined territory of occupation, employing within such territory only the troops of the commander

responsible for the particular zone. On Dec. 9 Marshal Foch accepted the principle of preserving the entity of command and troops, but reduced the American bridgehead by adding a portion of the eastern half to the French command at Mayence.

Various reasons made it undesirable to employ either the First or Second Army as the army of occupation. Plans had been made before the armistice to organize a third army, and on Nov. 14 this army, with Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman as commander, was designated as the army of occupation. The 3d and 4th Army Corps staffs and troops, less artillery, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 32d, and 42d Divisions and the 66th Field Artillery Brigade were assigned to the Third Army. This force was later increased by the addition of the 7th Corps, Major Gen. William M. Wright commanding, with the 5th, 89th, and 90th Divisions.

IN WAKE OF RETREAT

The advance toward German territory began on Nov. 17 at 5 A. M., six days after signing the armistice. All of the allied forces

from the North Sea to the Swiss border moved forward simultaneously in the wake of the retreating German armies. Upon arrival at the frontier a halt was made until Dec. 1, when the leading elements of all allied armies crossed the line into Germany. The Third Army headquarters were established at Coblenz and an advance general headquarters located at Treves. Steps were immediately taken to organize the bridgehead for defenses and dispositions were made to meet a possible renewal of hostilities.

The advance to the Rhine required long, arduous marches, through cold and inclement weather, with no opportunity for troops to rest, refit, and refresh themselves after their participation in the final battle. The army of occupation bore itself splendidly and exhibited a fine state of discipline both during the advance and throughout the period of occupation.

The zone of march of our troops into Germany and the line of communications of the

Third Army after reaching the Rhine lay through Luxemburg. After the passage of the Third Army, the occupation of Luxemburg, for the purpose of guarding our line of communications, was intrusted to the 5th and 33d Divisions of the Second Army. The City of Luxemburg, garrisoned by French troops and designated as the headquarters of the allied Commander in Chief, was excluded from our control.

Upon entering the Duchy of Luxemburg in the advance, a policy of noninterference in the affairs of the Grand Duchy was announced. Therefore, when the French commander in the City of Luxemburg was given charge of all troops in the Duchy, in so far as concerned the "administration of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg," my instructions were that our troops would not be subject to his control. Later, at my request, and in order to avoid possible friction, Marshal Foch placed the entire Duchy in the American zone.

Return of Troops to the United States

On the day the armistice was signed the problem of the return of our troops to the United States was taken up with the War Department, and on Nov. 15 a policy recommended of sending home certain auxiliaries so that we could begin to utilize all available shipping without delay. On Dec. 21 the War Department announced by cable that it had been decided to begin immediately the return of our forces, and continue as rapidly as transportation would permit. To carry this out, a schedule for the constant flow of troops to the ports was established, having in mind our international obligations pending the signing of the treaty of peace.

While more intimately related to the functions of the services of supply than to operations, it is logical to introduce here a brief recital of the organizations created for the return of our troops to America. Prior to the armistice but 15,000 men had been returned home. Although the existing organization was built for the efficient and rapid handling of the incoming forces, the embarkation of this small number presented no difficulties. But the armistice suddenly and completely reversed the problem of the services of supply at the ports and the handling of troops. It became necessary immediately to reorganize the machinery of the ports, to construct large embarkation camps, and to create an extensive service for embarking the homeward-bound troops.

THE CAMP AT BREST

Brest, St. Nazaire, and Bordeaux became the principal embarkation ports, Marseilles and Le Havre being added later to utilize Italian and French liners. The construction of the embarkation camps during unseasonable Winter weather was the most trying

problem. These, with the billeting facilities available, gave accommodation for 55,000 at Brest, 44,000 at St. Nazaire, and 130,000 at Bordeaux. Unfortunately the largest ships had to be handled at Brest, where the least shelter was available.

To maintain a suitable reservoir of men for Brest and St. Nazaire, an embarkation centre was organized around Le Mans, which eventually accommodated 230,000 men. Here the troops and their records were prepared for the return voyage and immediate demobilization. As the troops arrived at the base ports, the embarkation service was charged with feeding, reclothing, and equipping the hundreds of thousands who passed through, which required the maintenance of a form of hotel service on a scale not hitherto attempted.

On Nov. 16 all combat troops, except thirty divisions and a minimum of corps and army troops, were released for return to the United States. It was early evident that only limited use would be made of the American division, and that the retention of thirty divisions was not necessary. Marshal Foch considered it indispensable to maintain under arms a total, including Italians, of 120 to 140 divisions, and he proposed that we maintain thirty divisions in France until Feb. 1, twenty-five of which should be held in the zone of the armies, and that on March 1 we should have twenty divisions in the zone of the armies and five ready to embark. The plan for March 1 was satisfactory, but the restrictions as to the divisions that should be in France on Feb. 1 could not be accepted, as it would seriously interfere with the flow of troops homeward.

In a communication dated Dec. 24 the Marshal set forth the minimum forces to be

furnished by the several allies, requesting the American Army to furnish twenty-two to twenty-five divisions of infantry. In the same note he estimated the force to be maintained after the signing of the preliminaries of peace at about thirty-two divisions, of which the American Army was to furnish six.

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS

In reply it was pointed out that our problem of repatriation of troops and their demobilization was quite different from that of France or Great Britain. On account of our long line of communications in France and the time consumed by the ocean voyage and travel in the United States, even with the maximum employment of our then available transportation, at least a year must elapse before we could complete our demobilization. Therefore, it was proposed by me that the number of American combat divisions to be maintained in the zone of the armies should be reduced on April 1 to fifteen divisions and on May 1 to ten divisions, and that in the unexpected event that the preliminaries of peace should not be signed by May 1 we would continue to maintain ten divisions in the zone of the armistice until the date of signature.

The allied Commander in Chief later revised his estimate, and on Jan. 24 stated to the Supreme War Council that the German demobilization would permit the reduction of the allied forces to 100 divisions, of which the Americans were requested to furnish fifteen. In reply it was again pointed

out that our problem was entirely one of transportation, and that such a promise was unnecessary, inasmuch as it would probably be the Summer of 1919 before we could reduce our forces below the number asked. We were, therefore, able to keep our available ships filled, and by May 19 all combat divisions except five still in the army of occupation were under orders to proceed to ports of embarkation. This provided sufficient troops to utilize all troop transports to include July 15.

The President had informed me that it would be necessary for us to have at least one regiment in occupied Germany, and left the details to be discussed by me with Marshal Foch. My cable of July 1 summarizes the agreement reached:

"By direction of President, I have discussed with Marshal Foch questions of forces to be left on the Rhine. Following agreed upon: The 4th and 5th Divisions will be sent to base ports immediately. The 2d Division will commence moving to base ports on July 15, and the 3d Division on Aug. 15. Date of relief of 1st Division will be decided later. Agreement contemplates that after compliance by Germany with military conditions to be completed within first three months after German ratification of treaty American force will be reduced to one regiment of infantry and certain auxiliaries. Request President be informed of agreement."

As a result of a later conference with Marshal Foch the 3d Division was released on Aug. 3 and the 1st Division on Aug. 15.

Enormous Task of the Supply Services

In February, 1918, the line of communications was reorganized under the name of the service of supply. At that time all staff services and departments, except the Adjutant General's, the Inspector General's, and the Judge Advocate General's Departments, were grouped for supply purposes under one co-ordinating head, the commanding general services of supply, with a general staff paralleling, so far as necessary, the General Staff at General Headquarters.

The principal functions of the services of supply were the procurement, storage, and transportation of supplies. These activities were controlled in a general way by the commanding general services of supply, the maximum degree of independence being permitted to the several services. This great organization was charged with immense projects in connection with roads, docks, railroads, and buildings; the transportation of men, animals, and supplies by sea, rail, and inland waterways; the operation of telegraph and telephone systems; the control and transportation of replacements; the hospitalization necessary for an army of 2,000,000 men; the reclassification of numerous officers and men; the establishment of leave

areas and of welfare and entertainment projects; the liquidation of our affairs in France, and the final embarkation of our troops for home.

The growth of the permanent port personnel, the location near the base ports of certain units for training, and other considerations led to the appointment of a territorial commander for the section around each port, who, while acting as the representative of the commanding general services of supply, was given the local authority of a district commander. For similar reasons an intermediate section commander and an advance section commander were appointed. Eventually there were nine base sections, including one in England, one in Italy, and one comprising Rotterdam and Antwerp, also one intermediate and one advance section.

The increasing participation of the American Expeditionary Forces in active operations necessitated the enlargement of the responsibilities and authority of the commanding general services of supply. In August, 1918, he was charged with complete responsibility for all supply matters in the services of supply, and was authorized to correspond by

cable directly with the War Department on all matters of supply not involving questions of policy.

In the following discussion of the services of supply the subjects of co-ordination of supply at the front, ocean tonnage, and replacements are included for convenience, though they were largely or entirely under the direct control of general staff sections at my headquarters.

CO-ORDINATION OF SUPPLY

Our successful participation in the war required that all the different services immediately concerned with the supply of combat troops should work together as a well-regulated machine. In other words, there must be no duplication of effort, but each must perform its functions without interference with any other service. The Fourth Section of the General Staff was created to control impartially all these services, and, under broad lines of policy, to determine questions of transportation and supply in France and co-ordinate our supply services with those of the Allies.

This section did not work out technical details, but was charged with having a general knowledge of existing conditions as to supply, its transportation, and of construction affecting our operations or the efficiency of our troops. It frequently happened that several of the supply departments desired the same site for the location of installations, so that all plans for such facilities had to be decided in accordance with the best interests of the whole.

In front of the advance depots railroad lines and shipments to troops had to be carefully controlled, because mobility demanded that combat units should not be burdened with a single day's stores above the authorized standard reserve. Furthermore, accumulations at the front were exposed to the danger of destruction or capture and might indicate our intentions. Each combat division required the equivalent of twenty-five French railway car loads of supplies for its daily consumption to be delivered at a point within reach of motor or horse-drawn transportation. The regular and prompt receipt of supplies by combatant troops is of first importance in its effect upon the morale of both officers and men. The officer whose mind is pre-occupied by the question of food, clothing, or ammunition is not free to devote his energy to training his men or to fighting the enemy. It is necessary that paper work be reduced to an absolute minimum and that the delivery of supplies to organizations be placed on an automatic basis as far as possible.

THE REGULATING STATIONS

The principle of flexibility had to be borne in mind in planning our supply system in order that our forces should be supplied, no matter what their number, or where they might be called upon to enter the line. This

high degree of elasticity and adaptability was assured and maintained through the medium of the regulating station. It was the connecting link between the armies and the services in the rear, and regulated the railroad transportation which tied them together. The regulating officer at each station was a member of the Fourth Section of my General Staff, acting under instructions from his chief of section.

Upon the regulating officer fell the responsibility that a steady flow of supply was maintained. He must meet emergency shipments of ammunition or engineering material, sudden transfers of troops by rail, the hastening forward of replacements, or the unexpected evacuation of wounded. All the supply services naturally clamored to have their shipments rushed through. The regulating officer, acting under special or secret instructions, must declare priorities in the supply of things the army needed most. Always informed of the conditions at the front, of the status of supplies, and of military plans and intentions, nothing could be shipped to the regulating station or in front of the advance depots except on his orders. The chiefs of supply services fulfilled their responsibilities when they delivered to the regulating officer the supplies called for by him, and he met his obligation when these supplies were delivered at the proper railheads at the time they were needed. The evacuation of the wounded was effected over the same railroad lines as those carrying supplies to the front; therefore, this control had also to be centralized in the regulating officer.

LOCATION IMPORTANT

The convenient location of the regulating stations was of prime importance. They had to be close enough to all points in their zones to permit trains leaving after dusk or during the night to arrive at their destinations by dawn. They must also be far enough to the rear to be reasonably safe from capture. Only two regulating stations were actually constructed by us in France, Is-sur-Tille and Liffol-le-Grand, as the existing French facilities were sufficient to meet our requirements beyond the reach of those stations.

As far as the regulating officer was concerned, supplies were divided into four main classes. The first class constituted food, forage, and fuel needed and consumed every day; the second, uniforms, shoes, blankets, and horse shoes, which wear out with reasonable regularity; the third, articles of equipment which require replacement at irregular intervals, such as rolling kitchens, rifles, and escort wagons; the fourth class covered articles the flow of which depended upon tactical operations, such as ammunition and construction material. Articles in the first class were placed on an automatic basis, but formal requisition was eliminated as far as possible for all classes.

In order to meet many of the immediate needs of troops coming out of the line and to

relieve to some extent the great strain on the railheads during active fighting, a system of army depots was organized. These depots were supplied by bulk shipment from the advance depots through the regulating stations during relatively quiet periods. They were under the control of the chiefs of the supply services of the armies and required practically no construction work, the supplies being stored in open places protected only by dunnage and camouflage tarpaulins.

The accompanying diagram illustrates graphically the supply system which supported our armies in France. The services of supply can be likened to a great reservoir divided into three main parts—the base depots, the intermediate depots, and the advance depots. The management of this reservoir is in charge of the commanding General, services of supply, who administers it with a free hand, controlled only by general policies outlined to him from time to time. Each of the supply and technical services functions independently in its own respective sphere; each has its share of storage space in the base depots, in the intermediate depots, and in the advance depots. Then comes the distribution system, and here the control passes to the chief of the Fourth Section of the General Staff, who exercises his powers through the regulating stations.

PURCHASING AGENCY

The consideration of requirements in food and material led to the adoption of an automatic supply system, but, with the exception of foodstuffs, there was an actual shortage, especially in the early part of the war, of many things, such as equipment pertaining to land transportation and equipment and material for combat. The lack of ocean tonnage to carry construction material and animals at the beginning was serious. Although an increasing amount of shipping became available as the war progressed, at no time was there sufficient for our requirements. The tonnage from the States reached about seven and one-half million tons to Dec. 31, 1918, which was a little less than one-half of the total amount obtained.

The supply situation made it imperative that we utilize European resources as far as possible for the purchase of material and supplies. If our services of supply departments had entered the market of Europe as purchasers without regulation or co-ordination, they would have been thrown into competition with each other, as well as with buyers from the allied armies and the civil populations. Such a system would have created an unnatural elevation of prices, and would have actually obstructed the procurement of supplies. To meet this problem from the standpoint of economical business management, directions were given in August, 1917, for the creation of a General Purchasing Board to co-ordinate and control our

purchases both among our own services and among the Allies as well. The supervision and direction of this agency was placed in the hands of an experienced business man, and every supply department in the American Expeditionary Forces was represented on the board. Agents were stationed in Switzerland, Spain, and Holland, besides the allied countries. The character of supplies included practically the entire category of necessities, although the bulk of our purchases consisted of raw materials for construction, ordnance, air equipment, and animals. A total of about 10,000,000 tons was purchased abroad by this agency to Dec. 31, 1918, most of which was obtained in France.

The functions of the purchasing agency were gradually extended until they included a wide field of activities. In addition to the co-ordination of purchases, the supply resources of our allies were reconnoitred and intimate touch was secured with foreign agencies; a statistical bureau was created which classified and analyzed our requirements; quarterly forecasts of supplies were issued; civilian manual labor was procured and organized; a technical board undertook the co-ordination, development, and utilization of the electric power facilities in France; a bureau of reciprocal supplies visé the claims of foreign Governments for raw materials from the United States, and a general printing plant was established. Some of these activities were later transferred to other services as the latter became ready to undertake their control.

The principles upon which the usefulness of this agency depended were extended to our allies, and in the Summer of 1918 the general purchasing agent became a member of the Interallied Board of Supplies. This board undertook, with signal success, to co-ordinate the supply of the allied armies in all those classes of material necessities that were in common use in all the armies. The possibility of immense savings were fully demonstrated, but the principles had not become of general application before the armistice.

OCEAN TONNAGE

Following a study of tonnage requirements an officer was sent to Washington in December, 1917, with a general statement of the shipping situation in France as understood by the allied Maritime Council. In March, 1918, tonnage requirements for transport and maintenance of 900,000 men in France by June 30 were adopted as a basis upon which to calculate supply requisitions and the allocation of tonnage.

In April the allied Maritime Transport Council showed that requirements for 1918 greatly exceeded the available tonnage. Further revisions of the schedule were required by the Abbéville agreement in May, under which American infantry and machine-gun units were to be transported in British ship-

ping, and by the Versailles agreement in June.

In July a serious crisis developed, as the allotment for August made the American Expeditionary Forces by the Shipping Control Committee was only 575,000 deadweight tons, afterward increased to 700,000, whereas 803,000 tons (not including animals) were actually needed. It was strongly urged by me that more shipping be diverted from trades, and that a larger percentage of new shipping be placed in transport service.

Early in 1918 a scheme had been proposed which would provide priority for essential supplies only, based upon monthly available tonnage in sight. Although it was the understanding that calls for shipping should be based upon our actual needs, much irregularity was found in tonnage allotments.

REPLACEMENTS OF PERSONNEL

Under the original organization project there were to be two divisions in each corps of six divisions, which were to be used as reservoirs of replacements. One-half of the artillery and other auxiliaries of these two divisions were to be utilized as corps and army troops. They were to supply the first demands for replacements from their original strength, after which a minimum of 3,000 men per month for each army corps in France was to be forwarded to them from the United States. It was estimated that this would give a sufficient reservoir of personnel to maintain the fighting strength of combat units, provided the sick and wounded were promptly returned to their own units upon recovery.

The 32d and 41st Divisions were the first to be designated as replacement and depot divisions of the 1st Army Corps, but the situation soon became such that the 32d Division had to be employed as a combat division. For the same reason all succeeding divisions had to be trained for combat, until June 27, when the need for replacements made it necessary to designate the 83d as a depot division.

1. By the middle of August we faced a serious shortage of replacements. Divisions had arrived in France below strength, and each division diverted from replacement to combat duty increased the number of divisions to be supplied, and at the same time decreased the supply.

On Aug. 16 the War Department was cabled as follows:

"Attention is especially invited to the very great shortage in arrivals of replacements heretofore requested. Situation with reference to replacements is now very acute. Until sufficient replacements are available in France to keep our proved divisions at full strength replacements should, by all means, be sent in preference to new divisions."

At this time it became necessary to transfer 2,000 men from each of three combat divisions (the 7th, 36th, and 81st) to the

First Army in preparation for the St. Mihiel offensive.

By the time the Meuse-Argonne offensive was initiated the replacement situation had become still more acute. The infantry and machine-gun units of the 84th and 86th Divisions, then in the vicinity of Bordeaux, were utilized as replacements, leaving only a cadre of two officers and twenty-five men for each company. To provide immediate replacements during the progress of the battles new replacement organizations were formed in the zone of operations; at first as battalions and later as regional replacement depots.

2. On Oct. 3 a cable was sent the War Department reading as follows:

"Over 50,000 of the replacements requested for the months of July, August, and September have not yet arrived. Due to extreme seriousness of replacement situation it is necessary to utilize personnel of the 84th and 86th Divisions for replacement purposes. Combat divisions are short over 80,000 men. Vitality important that all replacements due, including 55,000 requested for October, be shipped early in October. If necessary, some divisions in United States should be stripped of trained men, and such men shipped as replacements at once."

Altogether seven divisions had to be skeletonized, leaving only one man per company and one officer per regiment to care for the records. As a further measure to meet the situation the authorized strength of divisions was reduced in October by 4,000 men, thus lowering the strength of each infantry company to approximately 174 men. The thirty combat divisions in France at that time needed 103,513 infantry and machine-gun replacements, and only 66,490 were available.

Attention of the War Department was invited on Nov. 2 to the fact that a total of 140,000 replacements would be due by the end of November, and the cable closed by saying:

"To send over entire divisions, which must be broken up on their arrival in France so we may obtain replacements that have not been sent as called for is a wasteful method, and one that makes for inefficiency; but as replacements are not otherwise available, there is no other course open to us. New and only partially trained divisions cannot take the place of older divisions that have had battle experience. The latter must be kept up numerically to the point of efficiency. * * *

REMOUNTS

The shortage of animals was a serious problem throughout the war. In July, 1917, the French agreed to furnish our forces with 7,000 animals a month, and accordingly the War Department was requested to discontinue shipments. On Aug. 24, however, the French advised us that it would be impossible to furnish the number of animals

originally stated, and Washington was again asked to supply animals, but none could be sent over until November, and then only a limited number.

Early in 1918, after personal intervention and much delay, the French Government made requisition on the country, and we were able to obtain 50,000 animals. After many difficulties the purchasing board was successful in obtaining permission, in the Summer of 1918, to export animals from Spain, but practically no animals were received until after the armistice.

Every effort was made to reduce animal requirements—by increased motorization of artillery and by requiring mounted officers and men to walk—but in spite of all these efforts the situation as to animals grew steadily worse. The shortage by November exceeded 106,000, or almost one-half of all our needs. To relieve the crisis in this regard, during the Meuse-Argonne battle, Marshal Foch requisitioned 13,000 animals from the French armies and placed them at my disposal.

RECLASSIFICATION

An important development in the Services of Supply was the reclassification system for officers and men. This involved not only the physical reclassification of those partially fit for duty, but also the reclassification of officers according to fitness for special duties. A number of officers were found unsuited to the duties on which employed. An effort was made to reassign these officers to the advantage of themselves and the army. A total of 1,101 officers were reclassified in addition to the disabled, and 270 were sent before efficiency boards for elimination. Nine hundred and sixty-two wounded or otherwise disabled officers were reclassified, their services being utilized to release officers on duty with the Services of Supply who were able to serve with combat units.

CONSTRUCTION

Among the most notable achievements of the American Expeditionary Forces was the large program of construction carried out by our engineer troops in the Services of Supply and elsewhere. The chief projects were port facilities, including docks, railroads, warehouses, hospitals, barracks, and stables. These were planned to provide ultimately for an army of 4,000,000, the construction being carried on coincident with the growth of the American Expeditionary Forces.

The port plans contemplated 160 new berths, including the necessary facilities for discharge of cargo, approximately one-half of which were completed at the time of the armistice. Construction of new standard-gauge railroad track amounted to 1,002 miles, consisting mainly of cut-offs, double tracking at congested points, and yards at ports and depots. Road construction and repair continued until our troops were withdrawn from

the several areas, employing at times upward of 10,000 men, and often using 90,000 tons of stone per week.

Storage requirements necessitated large supply depots at the ports and in the intermediate and advance sections. Over 2,000,000 square feet of covered storage was secured from the French, but it was necessary to construct approximately 20,000,000 square feet additional. The base hospital centres at Mars and Mesves, each with 4,000-bed convalescent camps, are typical of the large scale upon which hospital accommodations were provided. The hospital city at Mars, of 700 buildings, covered a ground space of thirty-three acres and included the usual road, water, sewerage, and lighting facilities of a municipality.

Advantages of economy and increased mobility caused the adoption of the system of billeting troops. Billeting areas were chosen near the base ports, along the line of communications, and in the advanced zone, as strategical requirements dictated. The system was not altogether satisfactory, but with the number of troops to be accommodated no other plan was practicable. Demountable barracks were used for shelter to supplement lack of billets, 16,000 barracks of this type being erected, particularly at base ports where large camps were necessary. Stables at remount stations were built for 43,000 animals. Other construction included refrigerating plants, such as the one at Glevres with a capacity of 6,500 tons of meat and 500 tons of ice per day; and mechanical bakeries like that at Is-sur-Tille with a capacity of 800,000 pounds of bread per day. If the buildings constructed were consolidated, with the width of a standard barrack, they would reach from St. Nazaire across France to the Elbe River in Germany, a distance of 730 miles.

In connection with construction work the Engineer Corps engaged in extensive forestry operations produced 200,000,000 feet of lumber, 4,000,000 railroad ties, 300,000 cords of fuel wood, 35,000 pieces of piling, and large quantities of miscellaneous products.

TRANSPORTATION CORPS

The Transportation Corps as a separate organization was new to our army. Its exact relation to the supply departments was conceived to be that of a system acting as a common carrier operating its own ship and rail terminals. The equipment and operation of port terminals stands out as a most remarkable achievement. The amount of tonnage handled at all French ports grew slowly, reaching about 17,000 tons daily at the end of July, 1918. An emergency then developed as a result of the critical military situation, and the capacity of our terminals was so efficiently increased that by Nov. 11 45,000 tons were being handled daily.

The French railroad, both in management and material, had dangerously deteriorated during the war. As our system was super-

imposed upon that of the French it was necessary to provide them with additional personnel and much material. Experienced American railroad men brought into our organization in various practical capacities the best talent in the country, who, in addition to the management of our own transportation, materially aided the French. The relation of our Transportation Corps to the French railroads and to our own supply departments presented many difficulties, but these were eventually overcome and a high state of efficiency established.

It was early decided as expedient for our purposes to use American rolling stock on the French railroads, and approximately 20,000 cars and 1,500 standard gauge locomotives were brought from the United States and assembled by our railroad troops. We assisted the French by repairing with our own personnel 57,385 French cars and 1,947 French locomotives. The lack of rolling stock for allied use was at all times a serious handicap, so that the number of cars and locomotives built and repaired by us was no small part of our contribution to the allied cause.

QUARTERMASTER CORPS

The Quartermaster Corps was able to provide a larger tonnage of supplies from the United States than any of the great supply departments. The operations of this corps were so large and the activities so numerous that they can best be understood by a study of the report of the commanding General, Services of Supply.

The Quartermaster Corps in France was called upon to meet conditions never before presented, and it was found advisable to give it relief. Transportation problems by sea transport and by rail were handled by separate corps organized for that purpose and already described. Motor transport was also placed under an organization of its own. The usual routine supplies furnished by this department reached enormous proportions. Except for the delay early in 1918 in obtaining clothing and the inferior quality of some that was furnished, and an occasional shortage in forage, no army was ever better provided for. Special services created under the Quartermaster Corps included a remount service, which received, cared for, and supplied animals to troops; a veterinary service, working in conjunction with the remount organization; an effects section and baggage service, and a salvage service for the recovery and preparation for reissue of every possible article of personal equipment. Due to the activities of the salvage service an estimated saving of \$85,000,000 was realized, tonnage and raw material were conserved, and what in former wars represented a distinct liability was turned into a valuable asset.

The graves registration service, also under the Quartermaster Corps, was charged with the acquisition and care of cemeteries, the identification and reburial of our dead, and

the correspondence with relatives of the deceased. Central cemeteries were organized on the American battlefields, the largest being at Romagne-sous-Montfaucon and at Thiaucourt in the Woevre. All territory over which our troops fought was examined by this service, and, generally speaking, the remains of our dead were assembled in American cemeteries, and the graves marked with a cross or six-pointed star and photograph. A few bodies were buried where they fell or in neighboring French or British cemeteries. Wherever the soldier was buried his identification tag, giving his name and army serial number, was fastened to the marker. A careful record was kept of the location of each grave.

SIGNAL CORPS

The Signal Corps supplied, installed, and operated the general service of telephone and telegraph communications throughout the zone of armies, and from there to the rear areas. At the front it handled radio, press, and intercept stations; provided a radio network in the zone of advance, and also managed the meteorological, pigeon, and general photographic services. Our communication system included a cable across the English telephone and telegraph lines on our own telephone and telegraph lines on our own poles, and the successful operation of a system with 115,500 kilometers of lines.

The quantity and importance of gasoline-engine transportation in this war necessitated the creation of a new service known as the Motor Transport Corps. It was responsible for setting up motor vehicles received from America, their distribution, repair, and maintenance. Within the zone of the Services of Supply, the Motor Transport Corps controlled the use of motor vehicles, and it gave technical supervision to their operation in the zone of the armies. It was responsible for the training and instruction of chauffeurs and other technical personnel. Due to the shortage of shipments from America, a large number of trucks, automobiles, and spare parts had to be purchased in France.

RENTING, REQUISITION

A renting, requisition, and claims service was organized in March, 1918, to procure billeting areas, supervise the quartering of troops with an organization of zone and town Majors, and to have charge of the renting, leasing, and requisitioning of all lands and buildings required by the American Expeditionary Forces. Under the provisions of an act of Congress, approved in April, 1918, the Claims Department was charged with the investigation, assessment, and settlement of all claims "of inhabitants of France or any other European country not an enemy or ally of an enemy" for injuries to persons or damages to property occasioned by our forces. The procedure followed was in accordance with the law and practice of the

country in question. The efficient administration of this service had an excellent effect upon the people of the European countries concerned.

The various activities of the Services of Supply which, at its height on Nov. 11, 1918, reached a numerical strength in personnel of 668,312, including 23,772 civilian employees, can best be summed up by quoting the telegram sent by me to Major Gen. James G.

Harbord, the commanding General, Services of Supply, upon my relinquishing personal command of the First Army:

"I want the S. O. S. to know how much the First Army appreciated the prompt response made to every demand for men, equipment, supplies, and transportation necessary to carry out the recent operations. Hearty congratulations. The S. O. S. shares the success with it."

Ordnance and Other Departments

Our entry into the war found us with few of the auxiliaries necessary for its conduct in the modern sense. The task of the Ordnance Department in supplying artillery was especially difficult. In order to meet our requirements as rapidly as possible, we accepted the offer of the French Government to supply us with the artillery equipment of 75's, 155-millimeter howitzers, and 155 G. P. F. guns from their own factories for thirty divisions. The wisdom of this course was fully demonstrated by the fact that, although we soon began the manufacture of these classes of guns at home, there were no guns of American manufacture of the calibres mentioned on our front at the date of the armistice. The only guns of these types produced at home which reached France before the cessation of hostilities were 100 75 millimeter guns. In addition, 24 8-inch howitzers from the United States reached our lines and were in use when the armistice was signed. Eight 14-inch naval guns of American manufacture were set up on railroad mounts, and most of these were successfully employed on the Meuse-Argonne front under the efficient direction of Admiral Plunkett of the navy.

AVIATION

In aviation we were entirely dependent upon our allies, and here again the French Government came to our aid until our own program could be set under way. From time to time we obtained from the French such airplanes for training personnel as they could provide. Without going into a complete discussion of aviation material, it will be sufficient to state that it was with great difficulty that we obtained equipment even for training. As for up-to-date combat airplanes, the development at home was slow, and we had to rely upon the French who provided us with a total of 2,676 pursuit, observation, and bombing machines. The first airplanes received from home arrived in May, and altogether we received 1,379 planes of the De Havilland type. The first American squadron completely equipped by American production, including airplanes, crossed the German lines on Aug. 7, 1918. As to our aviators, many of whom trained with our allies, it can be said that they had no superiors in daring

and in fighting ability. During the battles of St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne our aviators excelled all others. They have left a record of courageous deeds that will ever remain a brilliant page in the annals of our army.

TANKS

In the matter of tanks, we were compelled to rely upon both the French and the English. Here, however, we were less fortunate for the reason that our allies barely had sufficient tanks to meet their own requirements. While our Tank Corps had limited opportunity, its fine personnel responded gallantly on every possible occasion and showed courage of the highest order. We had one battalion of heavy tanks engaged on the English front. On our own front we had only the light tanks, and the number available to participate in the last great assault of Nov. 1 was reduced to sixteen as a result of the previous hard fighting in the Meuse-Argonne.

CHEMICAL WARFARE

The chemical warfare service represented another entirely new departure in this war. It included many specialists from civil life. With personnel at a high order, it developed rapidly into one of our most efficient auxiliary services. While the early employment of gas was in the form of clouds launched from special projectors, its use later on in the war was virtually by means of gas shells fired by the light artillery. One of the most important duties of the chemical warfare service was to insure the equipment of our troops with a safe and comfortable mask and the instruction of the personnel in the use of this protector. Whether or not gas will be employed in future wars is a matter of conjecture, but the effect is so deadly to the unprepared that we can never afford to neglect the question.

ADMINISTRATION

The general health of our armies under conditions strange and adverse in many ways to our American experience and mode of life was marvelously good. The proportionate number of men incapacitated from other causes than battle casualties and injuries

was low. Of all deaths in the American Expeditionary Forces (to Sept. 1, 1919) totaling 81,141, there were killed in action 35,556, died of wounds received in battle, 15,130; other wounds and injuries, 5,669, and died of disease, 24,786. Therefore, but little over two-sevenths the total loss of life in the American Expeditionary Forces was caused by disease.

Our armies suffered from the communicable diseases that usually affect troops. Only two diseases have caused temporarily excessive sick rates, epidemic diarrhoea and influenza, and of these influenza only, due to the fatal complicating pneumonia, caused a serious rise in the death rate. Both prevailed in the armies of our allies and enemies and in the civilian population of Europe.

Venereal disease has been with us always, but the control was successful to a degree never before attained in our armies or in any other army. It has been truly remarkable when the environment in which our men lived is appreciated. The incidence of venereal disease varied between 30 and 60 per 1,000 per annum, averaging under 40. Up to September, 1919, all troops sent home were free from venereal disease. The low percentage was due largely to the fine character of men composing our armies.

Hospitalization represented one of the largest and most difficult of the medical problems in the American Expeditionary Forces. That the needs were always met and that there was always a surplus of several thousand beds, were the results of great effort and the use of all possible expedients to make the utmost of resources available. The maximum number of patients in hospital on any one day was 193,026, on Nov. 12, 1918.

Evacuation of the sick and wounded was another difficult problem, especially during the battle periods. The total number of men evacuated in our armies was 214,467, of whom 11,281 were sent in hospital trains to base ports. The number of sick and wounded sent to the United States up to Nov. 11, 1918, was 14,000. Since the armistice 103,028 patients have been sent to the United States.

The army and the Medical Department was fortunate in obtaining the services of leading physicians, surgeons, and specialists in all branches of medicine from all parts of the United States, who brought the most skillful talent of the world to the relief of our sick and wounded. The Army Nurse Corps deserves more than passing comment. These women, working tirelessly and devotedly, shared the burden of the day to the fullest extent with the men, many of them submitting to all the dangers of the battlefield.

RECORDS, PERSONNEL

New problems confronted the Adjutant General's Department in France. Our great distance from home necessitated records, data, and executive machinery to represent

the War Department as well as our forces in France. Unusually close attention was paid to individual records. Never before have accuracy and completeness of reports been so strictly insisted upon. Expenditures had to be adopted whereby the above requirements could be met without increasing the record and correspondence work of combat units. The organization had to be elastic to meet the demands of any force maintained in Europe.

A statistical division was organized to collect data regarding the special qualifications of all officers and to keep an up-to-date record of the location, duties, health, and status of every officer and soldier, nurse, field clerk, and civilian employe, as well as the location and strength of organizations. The central records office at Bourges received reports from the battlefield, evacuation camps, and base hospitals, convalescent leave areas, reclassification camps, and base ports, and prepared for transmission to the War Department reports of individual casualties. Each of the 299,599 casualties was considered as an individual case. A thorough investigation of the men classed as "missing in action" reduced the number from 14,000 to the signing of the armistice to twenty-two on Aug. 31, 1919.

In addition to printing and distributing all orders from general headquarters, the Adjutant General's Department had charge of the delivery and collection of official mail, and finally of all mail. The motor dispatch service operated twenty courier routes, over 2,300 miles of road, for the quick dispatch and delivery of official communications. After July 1, 1918, the military postal express service was organized to handle all mail, official and personal, and operated 169 fixed and mobile post offices and a railway post office service.

While every effort was exerted to maintain a satisfactory mail service, frequent transfers of individuals, especially during the hurried skeletonizing of certain combat divisions, numerous errors in addresses, hasty handling, and readdressing of mail by regimental and company clerks in the zone of operations, and other conditions incident to the continuous movement of troops in battle, made the distribution of mail an exceedingly difficult problem.

INSPECTION, DISCIPLINE

The Inspector General's Department, acting as an independent agency not responsible for the matters under its observation, made inspections and special investigations for the purpose of keeping commanders informed of local conditions. The inspectors worked unceasingly to determine the manner in which orders were being carried out, in an effort to perfect discipline and team play.

The earnest belief of every member of the expeditionary forces in the justice of our cause was productive of a form of self-imposed discipline among our soldiers, which

must be regarded as an unusual development of this war, a fact which materially aided us to organize and employ in an incredibly short space of time the extraordinary fighting machine developed in France.

Our troops generally were strongly imbued with an offensive spirit essential to success. The veteran divisions had acquired not only this spirit, but the other elements of fine discipline. In highly trained divisions, commanders of all grades operate according to a definite system calculated to concentrate their efforts where the enemy is weakest. Straggling is practically eliminated; the infantry, skillful in fire action and the employment of cover, gains with a minimum of casualties; the battalion, with all of its accompanying weapons, works smoothly as a team in which the parts automatically assist each other; the artillery gives the infantry close and continuous support; and unforeseen situations are met by prompt and energetic action.

This war has only confirmed the lessons of the past. The less experienced divisions, while aggressive, were lacking in the ready skill of habit. They were capable of powerful blows, but their blows were apt to be awkward—teamwork was often not well understood. Flexible and resourceful divisions cannot be created by a few manoeuvres or by a few months' association of their elements. On the other hand, without the keen intelligence, the endurance, the willingness, and enthusiasm displayed in the training area, as well as on the battlefield, the successful results we obtained so quickly would have been utterly impossible.

MILITARY JUSTICE

The commanders of armies, corps, divisions, separate brigades, and certain territorial districts, were empowered to appoint general courts-martial. Each of these commanders had on his staff an officer of the Judge Advocate General's Department, whose duty it was to render legal advice and to assist in the prompt trial and just punishment of those guilty of serious infractions of discipline.

Prior to the signing of the armistice serious breaches of discipline were rare, considering the number of troops. This was due to the high sense of duty of the soldiers and their appreciation of the seriousness of the situation. In the period of relaxation following the cessation of hostilities, infractions of discipline were naturally more numerous, but not even then was the number of trials as great in proportion to the strength of the force as is usual in our service.

It was early realized that many of the peace-time methods of punishment were not the best for existing conditions. In the early part of 1918 it was decided that the award of dishonorable discharge of soldiers convicted of an offense involving moral turpitude would not be contemplated except in

the most serious cases. To remove these soldiers temporarily from their organizations, division commanders were authorized to form provisional temporary detachments to which such soldiers could be attached. These detachments were retained with their battalions so that offenders would not escape the dangers and hardships to which their comrades were subjected. Wherever their battalion was engaged, whether in front-line trenches or in back areas, these men were required to perform hard labor. Only in emergency were they permitted to engage in combat. Soldiers in these disciplinary battalions were made to understand that if they acquitted themselves well they would be restored to full duty with their organizations.

All officers exercising disciplinary powers were imbued with the purpose of these instructions and carried them into effect. So that nearly all men convicted of military offenses in combat divisions remained with their organizations and continued to perform their duty as soldiers. Many redeemed themselves by rendering vallant service in action and were released from the further operation of their sentences.

To have the necessary deterrent effect upon the whole unit, courts-martial for serious offenses usually imposed sentences considerably heavier than would have been awarded in peace times. Except where the offender earned remission at the front, these sentences stood during hostilities. At the signing of the armistice steps were at once taken to reduce outstanding sentences to the standards of peace time.

PROVOST MARSHAL

On July 20, 1917, a Provost Marshal General was appointed with station in Paris, and later the department was organized as an administrative service with the Provost Marshal General functioning under the first section, General Staff. The department was developed into four main sections—the military police corps which served with divisions, corps, and armies, and in the sections of the service of supply; the prisoner of war escort companies, the criminal investigation department, and the circulation department. It was not until 1918 that the last-mentioned department became well trained and efficient. On Oct. 15, 1918, the strength of the corps was increased to 1 per cent. of the strength of the American Expeditionary Forces, and Provost Marshals for armies, corps, and divisions were provided.

The military police of the American Expeditionary Forces developed into one of the most striking bodies of men in Europe. Wherever the American soldier went, there our military police were on duty. They controlled traffic in the battle zone, in all villages occupied by American troops, and in many cities through which our traffic flowed; they maintained order, so far as the American soldiers were concerned, throughout France and in portions of England, Italy,

Belgium, and occupied Germany. Their smart appearance and military bearing and the intelligent manner in which they discharged their duties left an excellent impression of the typical American on all with whom they came in contact.

APPRECIATION

In this brief summary of the achievements of the American Expeditionary Forces it would be impossible to cite in detail the splendid ability, loyalty, and efficiency that characterized the service of both combatant and non-combatant individuals and organizations. The most striking quality of both officers and men was the resourceful energy and common sense employed, under all circumstances, in handling their problems.

The highest praise is due to the commanders of armies, corps, and divisions, and their subordinate leaders, who labored loyally and ably toward the accomplishment of our task, suppressing personal opinions and ambitions in the pursuit of the common aims; and to their staffs, who developed, with battle experience, into splendid teams without superiors in any army.

To my chiefs of staff—Major Gen. James G. Harbord, who was later placed in command of the services of supply, and Major Gen. James W. McAndrew—I am deeply indebted for highly efficient services in a post of great responsibility.

The important work of the staff at general headquarters in organization and administration was characterized by exceptional ability and a fine spirit of co-operation. No chief ever had a more loyal and efficient body of assistants.

The officers and men of the services of supply fully realized the importance of their duties, and the operations of that vast business system were conducted in a manner which won for them the praise of all. They deserve their full share in the victory.

The American civilians in Europe, both in official and private life, were decidedly patriotic and loyal, and invariably lent encouragement and helpfulness to the armies abroad.

The various societies, especially their women, including those of the theatrical profession, and our army nurses, played a most important part in brightening the lives of our troops and in giving aid and comfort to our sick and wounded.

The navy in European waters, under command of Admiral Sims, at all times cordially aided the army. To our sister service we owe the safe arrival of our armies and their supplies. It is most gratifying to record that there has never been such perfect understanding between these two branches of the service.

Our armies were conscious of the support and co-operation of all branches of the Government. Behind them stood the entire American people, whose ardent patriotism and sympathy inspired our troops with a deep sense of obligation, of loyalty, and of devotion to the country's cause never equaled in our history.

Finally the memory of the unflinching fortitude and heroism of the soldiers of the line fills me with greatest admiration. To them I again pay the supreme tribute. Their devotion, their valor, and their sacrifices will live in the hearts of their grateful countrymen.

In closing this report, Mr. Secretary, I desire to record my deep appreciation of the unqualified support accorded me throughout the war by the President and yourself. My task was simplified by your confidence and wise counsel. I am, Mr. Secretary,

Very respectfully,

JOHN J. PERSHING.

General, Commander in Chief, American Expeditionary Forces.

About General Pershing's War Map

By CARSON C. HATHAWAY

THE treasure of the collection of world war relics which is being installed in the National Museum at Washington, D. C., is the official battle map used by General John J. Pershing and his staff during the war with Germany. The room in which the map hung has been reproduced just as it was in Chaumont, France, the headquarters of General Pershing. Platform, matting, chairs, side walls, and the sliding door

were brought from France and installed by members of the staff.

The map itself is a huge affair, covered with hundreds of colored pushpins representing the location of the allied and enemy forces at the time of the signing of the armistice on Nov. 11, 1918. When the map was not being examined a sliding door was drawn across its face, so that no information from it could be obtained by spies.

Interesting data appear on the map,

which gives at a glance the relative strength of the contending armies. The first table gives the status of United States divisions:

Army	In Line			In Reserve			Ttl. Div.
	Fresh	Tired	Total	Fresh	Tired	Total	
First	4	5	9	2	6	8	17
Second	2	2	4	2	2	4	8
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	6	7	13	4	8	12	25
Detached ..	1	2	3	..	2	2	5
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grand total.	7	9	16	4	10	14	30

The second table discloses the status

of the divisions on the western front at the time of the signing of the armistice:

Army	In Line			In Reserve			Ttl. Div.
	Fresh	Tired	Total	Fresh	Tired	Total	
U. S.	7	9	16	4	10	14	30
French	19	17	36	19	53	72	108
English	5	24	29	6	29	35	64
Belgian	3	1	4	2	1	3	7
Italian	1	..	1	..	1	1	2
Portuguese ..	..	..	..	2	..	2	2
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total Allies.	35	51	86	33	94	127	213
Total enemy							
(German).47	97	144		2	39	41	185

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM READERS

CURRENT HISTORY undertakes in this department to publish such open letters as it considers of general interest. No letter will be used without the name and address of the writer. On controversial questions it will be the aim to give all sides an equal chance at representation; CURRENT HISTORY, however, continuing its established policy of recording events without editorial comment or bias, disclaims responsibility for opinions contained in these letters.

SECRET TREATY OF LONDON

To the Editor of Current History.

In my article in the November CURRENT HISTORY on the genesis of the secret treaty of London I considered that I proved three things. The first was that the Italian Government, in the Spring of 1915, was perfectly willing, under certain conditions, to guarantee to the Central Powers her permanent neutrality. The second was that when it failed to reach agreement with Austria-Hungary it accepted the offers made by the Entente Powers to take up arms against Germany and Austria and executed a secret treaty, one of the clauses of which contains a formal renunciation of Fiume as an Italian city. The third was that this treaty was executed by Italy and the Entente Powers after a protest from Serbia voiced by M. Pashitch, the Serbian Premier, in the sitting of the Skupchina, eleven days before the secret treaty was signed. Nothing in the article in reply to mine by Captain Alessandro Sapelli in the same issue of your magazine has done anything to change my viewpoint.

Captain Sapelli begins by saying that "Captain Gordon-Smith does not employ authentic documents." He declares that the note by Baron Sonnino on April 8, 1915, is a "perverted translation." I have done too much translation in my life not to realize how justified is the Italian proverb "traduttore, traditore," but that generally refers to the reproduction of literary style. In the present instance we have to do with facts, not literary style. I therefore beg to ask the categorical question: Did the document

quoted by me correctly represent the conditions on which Italy was willing to guarantee her neutrality to the Central Powers for the duration of the war or did it not? If the version I quote contains any essential error in fact, what is that error?

Captain Sapelli declares that I designated this document as "a German-Italian agreement." This is an evident exaggeration. What I stated was that the "Consulta and the Wilhelmstrasse reached an agreement," and that the terms of this agreement were rehearsed in the note by Baron Sonnino which I quoted.

I never pretended that this note constituted a written agreement between Italy and Germany; if it had, it would have borne the signature of Prince Bülow as well as that of Baron Sonnino. Besides, there could be no formal signed agreement, as Germany had no power to sign any document on behalf of Austria-Hungary. All Prince Bülow did was to act as "the honest broker" between the Ballplatz and the Consulta. I was in Italy at the time these negotiations were being carried on, and it was notorious that the most active part in them was in the hands of Prince Bülow. This is, I think, proved by the dispatch from the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador to his Government quoted by Captain Sapelli, as Baron Macchio simply reports what Baron Sonnino said to Prince Bülow. But all these details are beside the question. The matter at issue is, "Did Baron Sonnino's note of April 8, 1915, state the terms on which Italy was willing to guarantee her permanent neutrality to the Central Powers?" I maintain it did, and

nothing adduced by Captain Sapelli has made me change my mind.

My version of the secret treaty is, it appears, open to the same objection as the note of Baron Sonnino. In what way is this version of the treaty "unauthentic"? Captain Sapelli declares "it is based on a Russian translation from the French original in the Russian imperial archives." If the Russian translation is correct, what more authentic source, in Heaven's name, could we ask than the French original in the Russian imperial archives?

But how can Captain Sapelli judge whether or not this version is exact when he declares that "the authentic text of the Treaty of London should be known only to the Government of its signatories." He regards its secrecy, even in the year of grace 1919, as so sacrosanct that he expresses astonishment that "President Wilson in his 'memorandum concerning the question of Italian claims on the Adriatic' presented to the Italian delegation at Paris on April 4, 1919, should have shown a singular knowledge of the details of the treaty. * * * That mystery must be cleared up some day."

If words mean anything this means that Captain Sapelli is of opinion that President Wilson, head of the American delegation to the Peace Conference, had no right to know the contents of the secret treaty. When one sees such theories advanced one asks one's self if one is dreaming. The secret of the Treaty of London is today the *secret de Polichinelle*. The persistent refusal of the Governments party to it to publish the text is only calculated to create the impression that we do not even yet know the worst, and that it contains some other clauses which, for some reason or other, shun the light of day.

Captain Sapelli again brings forward the old Italian argument that Italy only excluded Fiume from the list of Italian desiderata under pressure from Russia. What her reasons for the exclusion were became a matter of indifference the instant she signed the treaty.

Captain Sapelli, in conclusion, makes the extraordinary assertion that Serbia "dictates arrogantly to Europe today with her self-assumed mandate of Yugoslavia." This statement is in keeping with his assertion that Italy today suffers from the "disloyalty, injustice, and contempt of her allies." Harsh words, *mon Capitaine!*

G. GORDON-SMITH.

Serbian Legation, Washington, D. C.

D'ANNUNZIO'S CLAIMS

To the Editor of Current History.

In your issue of December, 1919, I see that d'Annunzio says it is useless to argue over the claims which Italy is making on Slovenian soil. My national conscience, however, forces me to make a few observations regarding his perfectly absurd statements.

The Peace Conference assigned the City

of Danzig to Poland because Poland needed a seaport; every State needs a seaport for its commerce, just as a human body needs lungs. I cannot understand how the Peace Conference can regard the present arrangement on the Adriatic as part of a just and righteous peace, when it betrays the rights of more than half a million people of pure Yugoslavic blood. Little Yugoslavia at present has no chance for a single good harbor on the Adriatic littoral; the only ones she had were taken from her by force—by Italy. That is what has come of the promise of justice in the Treaty of Versailles.

Now comes the comedian, d'Annunzio, and says: "With Idria in our hands, Gorizia remains protected. If it be taken away from us Gorizia remains exposed to the Yugoslav guns. Italy has no raw materials. If she possessed Idria she would have at least one, mercury, in which the district is rich." If Italy has no raw materials, has she then the right to go and steal the little mercury which Yugoslavia possesses, and which is almost a hundred miles beyond the real Italian border? It is as if I, not having a dollar in my pocket, were to assert the right to go and steal a dollar from my neighbor. D'Annunzio might as justly come to the United States and seize a coal district on the plea that Italy has no coal mines. That is the kind of justice the Italian annexationists have shown in occupying our Yugoslav littoral along the Adriatic.

But I still believe in the two sisters, Justice and Right, and if they do not come along today or tomorrow, they will surely come some day, and then Italy will get what she deserves.

JOHN JERICH.

Belvidere, Ill., Dec. 25, 1919.

THE AUSTRIAN RED BOOK

To the Editor of Current History.

In the December number of your esteemed periodical I find an article entitled "Origin of the World War" (Pages 455-460), being the official minutes of the Austro-Hungarian Council that decided to force war on Serbia. Since I happen to have upon my desk an original copy of the new Austrian Red Book, upon which your article is based, and since you apparently had at your disposal only second-hand information, I take the liberty of writing to you and of calling attention to some errors in your article.

In the first place, the so-called Austrian Red Book was not "written by a publicist named Dr. Roderich Gooss, with the approval of the present Austrian Government." I do not wish to deny that a Dr. Roderich Gooss had something to do with the publication of the volume, but he surely did not write it, since the book contains, besides a "Vorwort" of ten short lines, nothing but original documents found in the archives of the Ballplatz. Furthermore, it was not published "with the approval" of the present Austrian Government, but rather by that Government; it bears the

imprint of the "Republic of Austria, Department for Foreign Affairs," and was printed in the State Printing Office at Vienna. In other words, it is an official publication of the present Government. Moreover, up to now only one-third of the entire work has appeared; Parts II. and III. are to be published later.

You seem, furthermore, to be under the impression that the title of the work is "The Vienna Cabinet and the Origin of the World War." This is incorrect. An exact rendering of the title page of the original volume, which lies before me, reads:

*Republic of Austria,
Department for Foreign Affairs.*

DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS ON THE AN-
TECEDENTS OF THE WAR OF 1914.

*Supplements and Appendices to the Austro-
Hungarian Red Book [1914]*

PART I.

July 23 to July 28, 1914.

Vienna, 1919.

State Printing Office.

Being a philologist and a professional translator, may I add also a few remarks in criticism of your translation? It is a rather poor piece of work. A few examples from a page chosen at random, Page 457, will suffice. In Column 1, paragraph beginning "This main question," we read: "This main question had now become timely *after two months*" (my italics). The original reads (Page 30, Rotbuch): "Diese Hauptfrage sei durch zwei momente gerade jetzt aktuell geworden," which in English means: "This principal question has just now become timely *because of two factors*."

In the next paragraph we read, in the sentence: "Count Tisza certainly ought—," the past tense *ran the risk*, which is, by virtue of the translator's strange practice of throwing the whole report into indirect discourse, or rather past time, quite unintelligible. It should read: will run the risk.

The sentence at the top of Column 2 (Page 157), beginning, "All those things were details," does violence to the King's English, for the pronoun it ("as to whether it was to come to warlike action") has no antecedent whatever, being an unfortunate school-boy translation of the German impersonal "dass es zum Handeln kommen soll" (Page 31, Rotbuch), i. e., "that action should be taken," and the adverb there ("and there the interest") in the same sentence is also rather vague in meaning.

In the next paragraph the bewildering it ("Therefore, today, it should be decided in principle that *it should* and will come to action"—correct to: "That action should and will be taken") is repeated.

Finally, I question your statement that the document which you publish is the "most important" one in the Red Book. There are others in the volume that to my mind possess quite as much interest for the historian as the one in question.

I have written to you at such great length

not in order to be pestilent, but in the interest of accuracy and truth, and I am convinced that you will not take my letter amiss.

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL (PH. D.)

107 Mason Street, Cherrydale, Va., Dec. 27, 1919.

AN APPRECIATION

To the Editor of Current History.

I wish to take a few moments of your time to express to you my appreciation of CURRENT HISTORY. After thirty years of wading through editorial comment and opinion for the events of the day, or, worse still, trying to construct these events from the junk heaps of the digests, it is a genuine pleasure to turn to a magazine like CURRENT HISTORY.

I have taken all American and English periodicals that pretend to cover the current events and found none the equal of your magazine. I approve of the attention you give to the various Cabinet changes in the several nations, both large and small, as the Cabinets give the student an idea of the trend of affairs in foreign lands, just as our own Presidential elections are the keynote to the political movements here. Until the publication of CURRENT HISTORY I could find no account of Cabinet changes in the smaller nations until the British Annual Register was out in the year following. * * * I would also appreciate a short necrological list in your magazine each month.

EUGENE MAUPIN.

Journal of Agriculture Office, Lentner, Mo.,
Dec. 30, 1919.

HAITI DEFENDED

To the Editor of Current History.

I have just read an article on "Haiti and the American Occupation" in the December issue of your esteemed review, and am writing to say that your editorial note at the end of the article contains a great mistake. Major W. W. Buckley of the U. S. M. C. is quoted as saying that "before Admiral Caperton landed marines at Port-au-Prince in July, 1915, it was not safe for white men to go into the interior of Haiti, and even in the coast towns it was well to be in touch with a legation," and as adding "that now white men are seldom attacked even by bandits."

Time and again erroneous statements of that sort have been published about my country; I do not ask for correction when they appear in light magazines whose motto seems to be "More fun than truth." But I think that yours is a serious magazine, written for people who are interested in current history, who want truth more than fiction, and this determines me to write to you that I doubt Major Buckley made the statement quoted above. It is my experience that reporters with preconceived ideas, consciously or not, lend their own notions to the interviewed and make him say what he never meant.

Never, in 112 years of absolute self-gov-

ernment of Haiti by the Haitians, did it happen once that a foreigner, white or colored, male or female, was attacked or molested or robbed, let alone murdered. Not one single case, I repeat; and allow me to say that there are few countries in the whole world, if any, that can show such a record. It seems to me that this should be said to the praise of the Haitian people and placed to its credit.

Highwaymen never existed in Haiti, and foreigners from all lands used to go from end to end of the country, through deserted roads, by day and night, feeling safer than one would in New York, Paris, or London, if in those large cities there were no police. And the wonder is that there was practically no police in Haiti.

The banditry existing now, to which Major Buckley alluded, is political banditry of the Villa type, and is a kind of Bolshevism. It existed before the American occupation, being then dormant, now active. It is true that Haitians were sometimes molested, robbed or murdered by those bandits, but once

more I emphatically declare that never a white man had to suffer at their hands, positively never.

Hundreds of travelers—French, English, and American—have written about Haiti; many found fault with the country and took pleasure in blackening the Black Republic; very few wrote with a charitable and understanding heart, but not a single one ever said that it was not safe to go into the interior of Haiti. All agree, on the contrary, that the Haitians are a most hospitable and inoffensive people, and that in disturbed times, during our civil wars, while the lives and property of Haitians were endangered, the lives and property of foreigners were always sacred to all classes of Haitians.

This is the truth, and I hope that you will be kind enough to place it before your readers. I am sure no one will find that I have exaggerated in the least.

CHARLES MORAVIA,

Minister Plenipotentiary of Haiti.

Légation de la République d'Haiti, Washington, Jan. 8, 1920.

Jutland Casualties

SURGEON REAR ADMIRAL SIR ROBERT HILL, Medical Director General, Royal Navy, in his opening address as President of the newly created War Section of the Royal Society of Medicine, on Nov. 12 gave an interesting retrospective view of naval medical conditions, and authoritatively presented for the first time the casualties of the battle of Jutland. In this famous naval battle were engaged six battleships, six battle cruisers, three cruisers, six light cruisers, two flotilla leaders, and seventeen destroyers. The total personnel of the Grand Fleet was about sixty thousand. The total casualties were 6,014 killed and 674 wounded, or about 11.14 per cent., as compared with 9.51 per cent. at the battle of Trafalgar.

The following description of the way in which the wounded were cared for medically during this battle, as written by the medical officers of the *Lion*, one of the battle cruisers engaged, was read by Sir Robert Hill:

Nearly all the casualties occurred within the first half hour. A few cases found

their way to the foremost station, but the great majority remained on the mess deck. During the first lull the medical officers emerged from their stations to make a tour of inspection. The scenes that greeted us beggar description. Most of the wounded had already been dressed temporarily. Tourniquets had been applied in one or two instances. But we were able to remove these later. Hemorrhage on the whole was less than we anticipated * * * The battle was thrice renewed during the evening, but in the lulls all the wounded were carried to the mess deck. * * * At 7:30 A. M. on June 1 we were informed that it would be safe to bring the wounded up from below. The Vice Admiral's and Captain's cabins were cleaned, dried, and thoroughly ventilated. The Captain's bathroom was rigged as an operating theatre, and by 8:45 we began * * * In all fifty-one cases were dealt with, and a general anaesthetic, chloroform and ether in equal parts, was administered to twenty-eight * * * Only urgent operations were attempted. Our work was severely handicapped by having 44 per cent. of casualties among the medical officers and sick berth staff. The *Lion* had ninety-five killed and fifty-one wounded, representing 11.87 per cent. of complement.

INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

[English Cartoon]

Old Rhyme---New Reason



—From The Passing Show, London

Who killed Cock Robin?
"I," said Senator Lodge;
"It was my little Dodge!
I killed Cock Robin!"

Who saw him die?
"I," said the fly;
"It does make me cry!
I saw him die!"

Who'll toll the bell?
"I," said John Bull;
"I'll give it a pull!
I'll toll the bell!"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The League of Nations

(Picture of the future)



1. SWITZERLAND: "In my little house it is not safe for the coming storm. I will go into that fine new building"



2. CLOAK ROOM: "Hand over your umbrella, &c.!"



3. The lightning comes!



4. "Ah! If only I had kept my umbrella"

—Nebelspatter, Zurich

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Pandora's Box



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich

FATHER TIME: "If I could only close the confounded thing!"

[English Cartoons]

Jilted! and No Wonder!



—From John Bull, London

The Flower



—Star, London

A Disappointed Sculptor



—World, London

PYGMALION WILSON: "Confound it! I don't believe she will ever come to life!"

[American Cartoon]

Delayed!



—Los Angeles Times

[English Cartoon]

United They Stand, Divided—?



—The People, London

FOND MOTHER WILSON: "O! please don't try to separate 'em, Sir. I'm sure the operator will kill 'em both"

[English Cartoon]

A Disappointment



—From The Westminster Gazette

PRESIDENT WILSON: "I thought I could trust you with it!"

[American Cartoon]

The Bargain Counter



—From The Detroit News

"No, thanks, I'm just looking"

[American Cartoon]

The Old Friend of the Family Who Was Just Invited In to
Chaperon the Jackson Birthday Party



—From The New York Tribune

[American Cartoon]

“Look Out, Sonny!”



—From The San Francisco Chronicle

[American Cartoon]

A Safe World---for Some!



—From The New York Times

“ Apparently the world has only been made safe for the striker and the profiteer ”

A political cartoon depicting a group of men in formal attire, including suits and hats, gathered around a table. One man in the foreground wears a top hat and a monocle. A sign on the wall reads "LEAGUE OF NATIONS". The scene is set in a room with a large window and a patterned rug. The cartoon is signed "H. H. H." in the bottom right corner.

JOHN BULL (To Jonathan): "Come and play. Otherwise the other children over there can't"

JONATHAN: "I don't know yet whether I'll play. The stakes are too high."

—De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

[Dutch Cartoon]

Kautsky's
Revelations
as to the
Origin of the
War



WILHELM: "Woe!
Woe! All is re-
vealed!"

(After "Oedipus
Rex")

—De Amsterdam-
mer, Amsterdam

[American Cartoon]

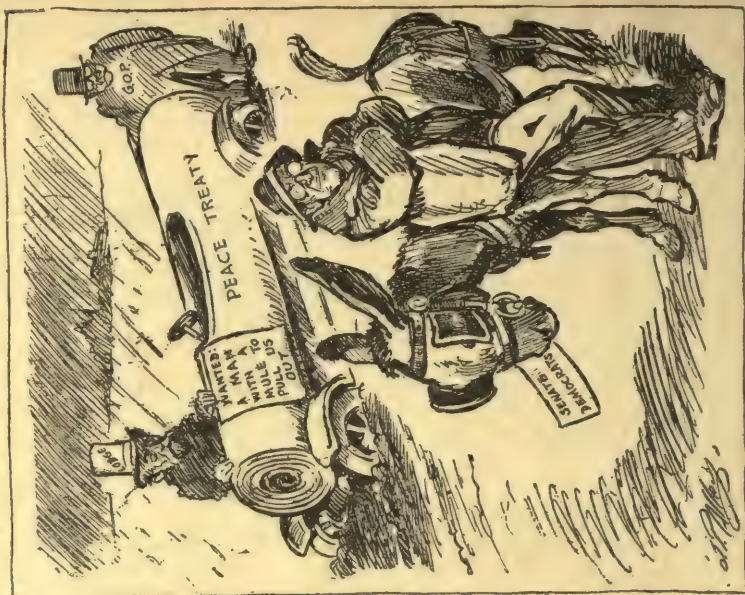
Go Back! You're Dead!



—New York World

[American Cartoon]

Sublimely Indifferent



—Memphis Commercial Appeal

[American Cartoon]
Not His Bird



—San Francisco Chronicle

[American Cartoon]
Sawing Wood

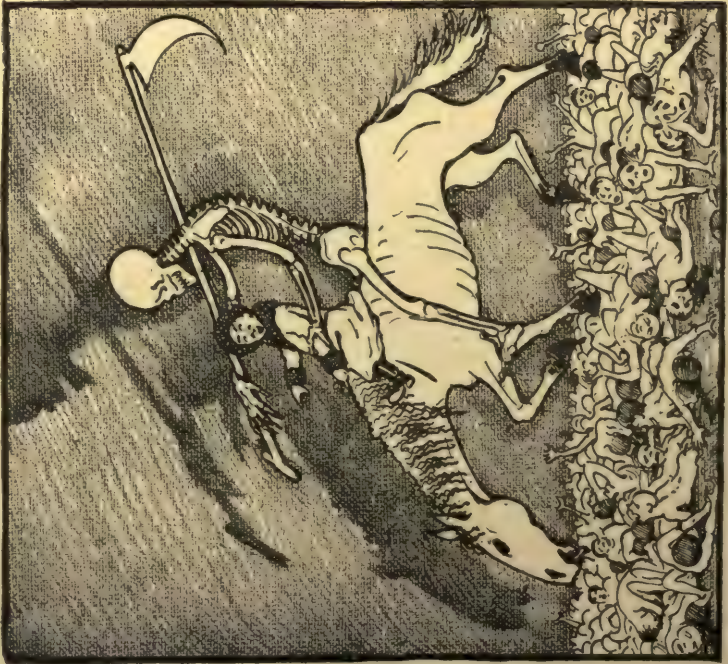


—Providence Journal

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Lenin, the Favorite

[In honor of the anniversary of the Russian revolution]



—Nebelspalter, Zürich

[American Cartoon]

Left to Work Out His Own Salvation



—Central Press Association

[American Cartoon]

Friends in Reduced Circumstances



—New York World

[American Cartoon]

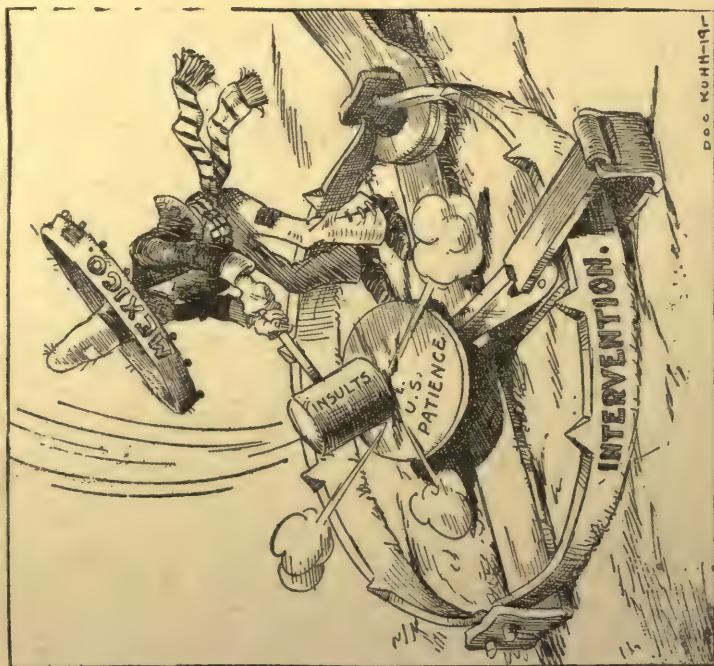
The Doctor's Prescription



—New York World

[American Cartoon]

“Just How Much Will It Stand?”



DOE KUH-19-

—Rocky Mountain News

[American Cartoon]

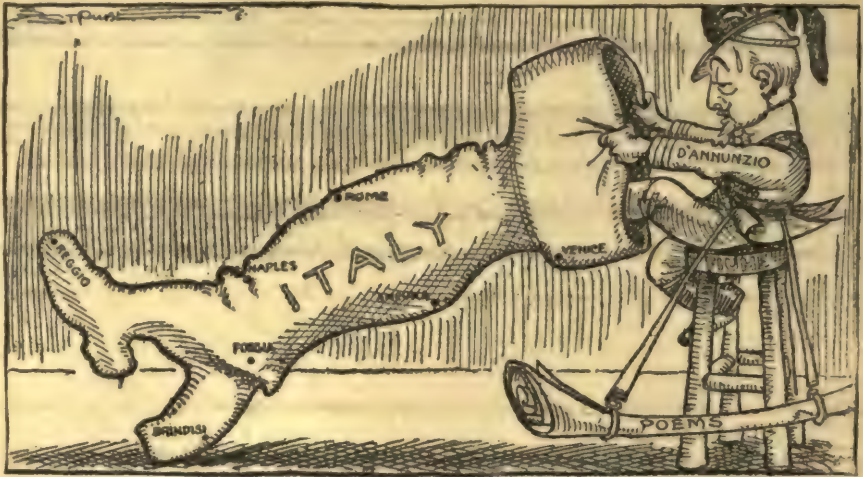
“It Was a Famous Victory”



—Brooklyn Eagle

[English Cartoon]

Trying It On



—From The Daily Express, London

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Caesar II. Before Fiume



—Nebelspalter, Zurich

Not only poems do I make,
For I can my old muse forsake
The history of the world to bend
To make it suit my wanted end.

Caesar appeared in dreams to me—
"They thought me great, my friend," said he,
"But oh, great man, compared with thee
I am a mere nonentity!"

[German Cartoon]

The Fiume Problem



—Simplicissimus, Munich

How easy is it even for the smallest
European to pierce even the biggest Amer-
ican Bubble!

How Can They Coax Him Away if Everybody Keeps Feeding Him?



—New York Tribune

The Modern Humpty Dumpty Doesn't Fall So Easily



—Brooklyn Eagle

To Their "Land of Beautiful Light"



—Dayton News

The Sooner They Go Down the Better



—Central Press Association

[American Cartoons]

Boiling Over



—Pittsburgh Sun

In the Stone Age



—Central Press Association

When old Skinarock, the landlord, calls to raise the rent

The Cheerful Giver



—From The New York Times

Uncle Sam adopted the motto, "Do Your Christmas Shipping Early"

Slipped His Collar



—San Francisco Chronicle

Another "Frog and Ox" Fable



—Central Press Association

"Don't Laugh at That---I Made a Mistake Once!"



—From The New York Times

PUNISHING WAR CRIMINALS

Holland Refuses Extradition of ex-Kaiser—Allies Agree to Trial of 890 Others at Leipsic

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1920]

THE determination of the allied and associated powers to punish those responsible for Germany's inhumane and illegal methods of waging war had been fully formulated as early as April 6, 1919, in the report of the Crimes and Penalties Commission of the Peace Conference. This commission's long and detailed report, submitted after months of painstaking investigation, was the basis of the Allies' extradition demands. A summary of it follows this article.

These demands for the punishment of German war criminals were embodied among the many provisions of the Peace Treaty which were to be fulfilled after the final exchange of ratifications (Jan. 10, 1920). The allied demand on Holland for the extradition of the ex-Kaiser, Holland's note of refusal and the allied counter-reply are treated fully a little later in the present article. Great as was the commotion created by this demand, it was far surpassed when the Allies demanded that Germany should sanction the extradition of 890 war criminals, whose names, with an enumeration of the crimes charged against them, were delivered to Baron Kurt von Lersner, head of the German Peace Delegation in Paris, on Feb. 3. Von Lersner, on examining the list, which made up a large volume, became highly incensed, and returned it to Premier Millerand with a note, which read in part as follows:

I remind your Excellency of my consistently reported declaration that no German functionary would be disposed to be in any way instrumental in the realization of their extradition. I should be instrumental in it if I were to forward to the German Government the note of your Excellency. I therefore send it back forthwith.

Baron von Lersner at once telegraphed his resignation to the German Govern-

ment. It was accepted, and he left for Germany. The Council of Premiers met to discuss von Lersner's refusal to transmit the list and to determine the procedure to be followed in presenting it to the German Government. An unofficial copy of the list reached Berlin on Feb. 4. The names in what the Germans at once began to call "The Book of Hate," it was learned, had been made up from data supplied by Great Britain, Belgium, France, Italy, Poland, Rumania and Jugoslavia. Japan asked no extraditions, nor did the United States. Great Britain's list contained only 97 names, France's 334, Italy's 29, Belgium's 334, Poland's 51, Rumania's 41 and the Jugoslavs' 4.

The names were divided into classes: Those responsible for the policies of the war, with those responsible for the enforcement of these policies, are on one list, and those accused of cruelty to the prisoners of war and of submarine atrocities are on another list. In the original form as handed to von Lersner, both lists, together with the summary and indictments, filled 100 pages of a book about a foot and a half long and a foot wide.

HIGH OFFICIALS DEMANDED

Von Hindenburg and Ludendorff were covered by an indictment from both France and Belgium, charging them with cruelty of administration in Belgium, and the deportations from both Belgium and North France. England asked for Admiral von Tirpitz because of the ruthless submarine warfare waged at his behest, and also for Admiral von Capelle. She also demanded the extradition of von der Lancken for the shooting of Edith Cavell, a demand joined in by Belgium.

France asked for the following: The

German Crown Prince, for cruelty; Prince Eitel Friedrich, for theft and devastation; Prince August of Hohenzollern; Generals von Moltke, von der Marwitz (Commander of the Fourth German Army in the Argonne), von Kluck and Falkenhayn, and Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria.

Rumania asked for Marshal von Mackensen.

Italy asked for 28 Germans, of whom five are Generals. The Italian Government divided its accusations into two lists, one covering atrocities of submarine warfare and the other the mistreatment of prisoners of war. Eleven naval Lieutenants held responsible for ruthless submarine sinkings were listed.

The majority of the accused were army men, though the list also included navy men and civilians. Twelve Admirals, two High Seas Fleet commanders, 30 U-boat Captains, a great number of Army Generals and many active or petty officers were included. The former German Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, was among those listed.

The publication of this list, even in a garbled form, in Berlin, created an unprecedented sensation. All the officials of the Government declared unanimously that the surrender of the 800 men accused was a "physical impossibility," and intimated that no German Government could enforce it and remain in power. An official statement issued on Feb. 5 declared that compliance was impossible.

Meantime the Council of Ambassadors at a meeting held in Paris on Feb. 5 decided to send the list officially to the Berlin Government by courier, with a covering note, in which would be incorporated the a priori principle that the German Government must accept the list of accused Germans, and thus recognize concretely that they offended against the laws of war. That done, the Allies would consider the exigencies of the situation. The proposed note was drafted and cabled to London and Rome for the approval of the British and Italian Premiers. The list and note were finally transmitted on Feb. 7. The same night the official list of the accused was

issued by the French Foreign Office without comment.

GERMANY RECEIVES LIST

The allied list of war criminals and the covering letter were handed to Premier Bauer at 9 o'clock in the evening of Feb. 7 by M. Marcilly, the French Chargé d'Affaires. A letter from the French Premier accompanied the note and list, explaining the method of transmission as due to the resignation of Baron von Lersner. Premier Bauer expressed the German Government's official disapproval of von Lersner's action. The covering note stated that not all Germans guilty of infractions of the laws of warfare were included in the list, but that for practical reasons only those were cited to whom the greatest responsibility attached. Amnesty, however, was not extended to any other culprits subsequently convicted and apprehended. Possession of all German documentary evidence and access to the archives were demanded by the allied Governments to facilitate prosecution. In the supplementary note replying to the German communication of Jan. 25, which explained Germany's reasons for declining to carry out the extradition provision, Premier Millerand said he assumed that Germany would not attempt to evade a treaty obligation to which its signature had been affixed.

The list and covering letters were discussed by the German Cabinet on Feb. 8, and on the following day the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly met to consider the whole situation, while the Pan-German press raged in frenzy. Chancellor Bauer on Feb. 9 issued the following statement:

The Government will stand or fall with the contention that the extradition of those blacklisted for trial by an Entente court is a physical and moral impossibility. Nevertheless, the Government has no intention of disavowing the obligations accepted by the signing of the Peace Treaty, but still hopes that the Entente will judiciously devise some plan making the punishment of the real culprits possible in a manner that will not outrage all feelings of decency and tend only to create sympathy among the people for even those blacklisted persons who really deserve ruthless prosecution.

To that end Germany's diplomatic representative leaves for Paris tonight, hoping that some understanding may be reached, based upon our note of Jan. 25.

It was reported meanwhile from Basle, Switzerland, that Admiral von Capelle, former Minister of the German Navy, had crossed the frontier on Feb. 7. Baron von der Lancken, Civil Governor of Brussels during the German occupation, responsible for the death of Edith Cavell, had arrived from Munich. Former Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria was staying at Davos. Anxiety was growing in Swiss official circles that many others of those accused might enter Switzerland to evade apprehension. No Swiss law prohibiting the entrance of political fugitives existed.

CROWN PRINCE'S OFFER

While the German Government was still engaged in consideration of the question of extradition, Prince Friedrich Wilhelm, the ex-Crown Prince, added a dramatic feature to the international spectacle by transmitting to President Wilson direct, instead of through the ordinary Governmental channels, a cable note in which he offered himself as a substitute for the 890 German war criminals accused. Dated from Wieringen Island on Feb. 9, this note was received the same day by the American President. The text as given out in Washington was as follows:

To the President of the United States of North America, Mr. Wilson, Washington:

Mr. President: The demand for the delivery of Germans of every walk of life has again confronted my country, sorely tried by four years of war and one year of severe internal struggles, with a crisis that is without a precedent in the history of the world as affecting the life of the people. That a Government can be found in Germany which would carry out the demanded surrender is out of the question: the consequences to Europe of an enforcement of the demand by violence are incalculable, hatred and revenge would be made eternal. As the former successor to the throne of my German Fatherland, I am willing at this fateful hour to stand up for my compatriots. If the allied and associated powers want a victim, let them take me instead of the 900 Germans, who have committed no offense

other than that of serving their country during the war.

WILHELM.

Wieringen Island, Feb. 9, 1920.

In an interview published in the Amsterdam Telegraaf, Major von Mülheim, the Adjutant of the former Crown Prince, stated that the latter had acted on the impulse of the moment on hearing of the return of Baron von Lersner from Paris and of the serious situation which had arisen in Berlin in consequence of the allied demands. Dutch newspapers described the Prince's action as a "beautiful gesture."

ACCEPT GERMAN TRIAL

The dilemma in which the German Government was placed by the Entente demand, facing, as it declared, a revolution if it sought to execute the demand for extradition, was resolved by the Entente Premiers themselves, in their reply to the German note of Jan. 25, which had made the counterproposal that the accused Germans should be tried by Germany herself in the National Court at Leipzig. In this reply, made public in London on Feb. 16, it was stated that the Allies had carefully considered the German note of Jan. 25. The note continued:

The Powers observe, in the first place, that Germany declares herself unable to carry out the obligations imposed on her by Articles 228 to 230, which she signed. They reserve to themselves the power to employ in such measure and form as they may judge suitable the rights accorded to them in this event by the treaty.

The Allies' note, however, the German Government's declaration that they are prepared to open before the court at Leipzig penal proceedings without delay—surrounded by the most complete guarantees and not affected by the applications of all judgments, procedure or previous decisions of German civil or military tribunals—before the Supreme Court at Leipzig against all Germans whose extradition the allied and associated Powers have the intention to demand.

The prosecution which the German Government itself proposes immediately to institute in this manner is compatible with Article 228 of the Peace Treaty, and is expressly provided for at the end of its first paragraph.

Faithful to the letter and spirit of the treaty, the Allies will abstain from intervention in any way in the procedure of the prosecution and the verdict in order to leave to the German Government com-

plete and entire responsibility. They reserve to themselves the right to decide by the results as to the good faith of Germany, the recognition by her of the crimes she has committed, and her sincere desire to associate herself with their punishment.

They will see whether the German Government, who have declared themselves unable to arrest the accused named or to deliver them for trial to the Allies, are actually determined to judge them themselves.

At the same time the Allies, in the pursuance of truth and justice, have decided to intrust to a mixed interallied commission the task of collecting, publishing and communicating to Germany details of the charges brought against each of those whose guilt shall have been established by their investigations.

Finally, the Allies would formally emphasize that procedure before a jurisdiction such as is proposed can in no way annul the provisions of Articles 228 to 230 of the treaty.

The Powers reserve to themselves the right to decide whether the proposed procedure by Germany which, according to her, would assure to the accused all guarantees of justice, does not in effect bring about their escape from the just punishment of their crimes. In this event the Allies would exercise their right to its full extent by submitting the cases to their own tribunal.

Germany's reply was still being considered by the Berlin Government when this issue of **CURRENT HISTORY** went to press.

Holland's Refusal to Surrender the ex-Kaiser

The demand of the Allies that Holland should surrender the person of the ex-Kaiser to be tried for high crimes under Article 227 of the Versailles Treaty arrived at The Hague on Jan. 17, 1920. The text of the note, made public in Paris on the 19th, was as follows:

Paris, Jan. 15.

In notifying, by these presents, the Netherlands Government and Queen of the text of Article 227 of the Treaty of Versailles, a certified copy of which is annexed, which came into force on Jan. 10, the powers have the honor to make known, at the same time, that they have decided to put into execution without delay this article. [Article 227 publicly arraigns William II. of Germany for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties, and declares that the allied and associated powers will address a request to the Netherlands Government for his surrender, in order that he may be placed on trial.]

Consequently, the powers address to the Government of the Netherlands an official demand to deliver into their hands William of Hohenzollern, former Emperor of Germany, in order that he may be judged.

Individuals residing in Germany, against whom the allied and associated powers have brought charges, are to be delivered to them under Article 228 of the Peace Treaty, and the former Emperor, if he had remained in Germany, would have been delivered under the same conditions by the German Government.

The Netherlands Government is conversant with the incontrovertible reasons which imperiously exact that premedi-

tated violations of international treaties, as well as systematic disregard of the most sacred rules and rights of nations, should receive as regards every one, including the highest-placed personalities, special punishment provided by the Peace Congress. The powers briefly recall, among so many crimes, the cynical violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, the barbarous and pitiless system of hostages, deportation en masse, the carrying off of young girls from the City of Lille, who were torn from their families and delivered defenseless to the worst promiscuity, the systematic devastation of entire regions without military utility, the submarine war without restriction, including inhuman abandonment of victims on the high seas, and innumerable acts against noncombatants committed by German authority in violation of the laws of war.

Responsibility, at least moral, for all these acts reaches up to the supreme head who ordered them, or made abusive use of his full powers to infringe, or to allow infringement, upon the most sacred regulations of human conscience.

The powers cannot conceive that the Government of the Netherlands can regard with less reprobation than themselves the immense responsibility of the former Emperor.

Holland would not fulfill her international duty if she refused to associate herself with other nations as far as her means allow in undertaking, or at least not hindering, chastisement of the crimes committed.

In addressing this demand to the Dutch Government, the powers believe it their duty to emphasize its special character. It is their duty to insure the execution of

Article 227 without allowing themselves to be stopped by arguments, because it is not a question of a public accusation with juridical character as regards its basis, but an act of high international policy imposed by the universal conscience, in which legal forms have been provided solely to assure to the accused such guarantees as were never before recognized in public law. The powers are convinced that Holland, which has always shown respect for the right, and love of justice, having been one of the first to claim a place in the League of Nations, will not be willing to cover by her moral authority the violation of principles essential to the solidarity of nations, all of which are equally interested in preventing the return of a similar catastrophe.

It is to the highest interest of the Dutch people not to appear to protect the principal author of this catastrophe by allowing him shelter on her territory, and also to facilitate his trial, which is claimed by the voices of millions of victims.

CLEMELECEAU.

This demand stirred the Dutch people deeply, the prevailing opinion being that it should be refused on the ground of the international law of asylum for political refugees, established before the war, and entirely apart from any sympathy for the former German Emperor. This was the attitude adopted by the Government in its reply to the Allies.

HOLLAND'S ANSWER

The reply of the Dutch Government was dispatched from The Hague on Jan. 22. It firmly rejected the Allies' demand. The text follows:

By verbal vote, dated Jan. 15, 1920, given to the envoy of the Queen at Paris, the Powers, referring to Article 227 of the Treaty of Versailles, demand that the Government of Holland give into their hands William of Hohenzollern, former Emperor of Germany, so that he may be tried.

Supporting this demand, they observe that if the former Emperor had remained in Germany the German Government would, under the terms of Article 228 of the Treaty of Peace, have been obliged to deliver him.

In citing as premeditated violations of international treaties, as well as a systematic disregard of the most sacred rules of the rights of man, a number of acts committed during the war by German authority, the Powers place the responsibility, at least morally, upon the former Emperor.

They express the opinion that Holland would not fulfill her international duty if

she refused to associate herself with them, within the limit of her ability, to pursue, or at least not to impede, the punishment of crimes committed.

They emphasize the special character of their demands, which contemplate, not a juridical accusation, but an act of high international policy, and they make an appeal to Holland's respect of law and love of justice not to cover with her moral authority violation by Germany of the essential principles of the solidarity of nations.

The Queen has the honor to observe, first, that obligations which for Germany could have resulted from Article 228 of the treaty of peace cannot serve to determine the duty of Holland, which is not a party to the treaty.

The Government of the Queen, moved by imprescriptible reasons, cannot view the question raised by the demand of the Powers, except from the point of view of its own duty. It was absolutely unconnected with the origin of the war and has maintained, and not without difficulty, its neutrality to the end. It finds itself then face to face with facts of the war in a position different from that of the Powers.

It rejects with energy all suspicion of wishing to cover with its sovereign right and its moral authority violations of the essential principles of the solidarity of nations, but it cannot recognize an international duty to associate itself with this act of high international policy of the Powers.

If in the future there should be instituted by the society of nations an international jurisdiction, competent to judge in case of war deeds, qualified as crimes and submitted to its jurisdiction by statute antedating the acts committed, it would be fit for Holland to associate herself with the new régime.

The Government of the Queen cannot admit in the present case any other duty than that imposed upon it by the laws of the kingdom and national tradition.

Now, neither the constituent laws of the kingdom, which are based upon the principles of law universally recognized, nor the age-long tradition which has made this country always a ground of refuge for the vanquished in international conflicts, permit the Government of Holland to defer to the desire of the Powers by withdrawing from the former Emperor the benefit of its laws and this tradition.

Justice and national honor, which it is our sacred duty to respect, oppose this. The Netherlands people, moved by the sentiments to which in history the world has done justice, could not betray the faith of those who have confided themselves to their free institutions.

The Government of the Queen is pleased to believe that the powers will recognize

the good grounds of these considerations, which rise above any consideration of personalities and which seem to it so peremptory that they could not reasonably give rise to wrong interpretations.

CONFLICTING OPINIONS

In Holland the attitude of the Government was everywhere commented upon with approval. While a further exchange of notes was anticipated, it was held that in refusing to deliver the ex-Kaiser Holland had maintained the dignity of her sovereign rights, and from this position she could not recede however unfortunately it might affect her relations with the Allies. On the other hand a certain degree of annoyance was expressed that the ex-Kaiser should have entangled Holland in the dispute, and some journals intimated that he ought to return to Germany and face his accusers on the soil whence he had set out to vanquish them.

In Germany the press almost unanimously praised Holland's decision. Public opinion in both Italy and Switzerland upheld Holland's course, though, as illustrating general opinion of the Kaiser personally, a Swiss paper said: "The Grand Royal European Poseur who attempted to dominate the world now becomes a simple military deserter. Let him alone with his ignominy." In England opinion took sides along party lines. One side held that Lloyd George was determined that no legal quibble should stand in the way of justice. Another held that advantage should be taken of any opportunity to draw the curtain upon a "solemn farce."

ALLIES PRESS HOLLAND

The Council of Premiers on Feb. 14 forwarded its reply to Holland's note of refusal to surrender the ex-Kaiser. The note was signed by Premier Lloyd George for the Council. Couched in diplomatic but impressive terms, this communication pointed out to Holland the enormity of the ex-Kaiser's crimes, of which the Dutch note had made no mention, and the menace to the peace of Europe of his presence so near the borders of Germany. The text of the Council's note is given herewith:

The immense sacrifices made in the gen-

eral interest by the powers during the war entitle them to ask the Netherlands to reconsider its refusal, based on the weighty, but entirely personal, considerations of a State which held aloof from the war and cannot perhaps appreciate quite accurately all the duties and dangers of the present hour.

The obligations of the powers toward other nations, the gravity of the question concerned, as well as the very grave political effects to which relinquishment of the claims of justice against the ex-Emperor would give rise, all constrain them to uphold and renew their demand.

The powers do not ask the Queen's Government to depart from its traditional policy, but to consider that the nature of their request—which does not in their opinion, depend solely, or even mainly, on Dutch municipal law—has not been adequately appreciated.

No question of prestige is at stake, and the Powers pay as much heed to the conscientious sentiments of a State with limited interest as to the mature decision of great powers, but cannot wait for the creation of a world tribunal competent to examine international crimes before bringing to trial the responsible author of the catastrophe of the great war.

It is precisely this contemplated trial which would prepare the way for such a tribunal and demonstrate the unanimity of feeling animating the conscience of the nations of the world. The Powers wish to point out that the League of Nations has not yet reached a state of development sufficient to allow any application to it, or to a tribunal of any kind created by it, meeting with that prompt satisfaction which is surely essential.

[Section is missing.]

It does not appear to consider that it shares with other civilized nations the duty of securing the punishment of crimes against justice and the principles of humanity—crimes for which William of Hohenzollern undeniably bears a heavy responsibility.

The note of Jan. 15 was sent in the name of the Allies, twenty-five in number, who were signatories to the treaty of peace and the collective mandates of a majority of the civilized nations of the world. It is impossible to disregard the collective force of this request, which is the expression not only of the feeling of indignation of the victims, but of the demand for justice made by the conscience of humanity as a whole.

The Netherlands Government surely has not forgotten that the policy and personal actions of the man required for judgment by the powers have cost the lives of approximately 10,000,000 men, murdered in their prime, and have been responsible for the mutilation or shattered health of three times as many, the laying waste

and the destruction of millions of square miles of territory in countries formerly industrious, peaceable and happy, and the piling up of war debts running into billions, the victims being men who had defended their freedom, and incidentally that of Holland.

The economic and social existence of all these nations has been thrown into confusion, and they are now jeopardized by famine and want—the terrible results of that war of which William II. was the author.

The Allies cannot conceal their surprise at finding in the Dutch reply no single word of disapproval of the crimes committed by the Emperor, crimes which outrage the most elementary sentiments of humanity and civilization, and of which, in particular, so many Dutch nationals themselves have been the innocent victims on the high seas. To help bring to justice the author of such crimes plainly accords with the aims of the League of Nations.

How can any one fail to be impressed by the reactionary manifestations which have followed the refusal of Holland, and the dangerous encouragement to all those who are opposing the just chastisement of the culprits and their exemplary condemnation, whatever their social position.

Holland, whose history tells of long struggles for liberty, who has suffered so grievously through disregard for justice, could not place herself by such a narrow conception of her duties outside of the comity of nations. A duty, which none can avoid for national reasons, however weighty they may be, is to unite in order to mete out exemplary punishment to responsible authors of the disasters and abominations of the war and endeavor to revive conceptions of solidarity and humanity in the German Nation, which is still unconvinced of the falsity of the tenets of its Government, who professed that might was right and success condoned crime.

It was from this point of view, and not exclusively from a national standpoint, that the Powers requested the Government of the Queen to hand over William of Hohenzollern, and from this point of view they now renew that request. The Powers desire to remind the Government of the Netherlands that if it should persist in its attitude of detachment toward the presence of the imperial family on its territory so close to Germany it would assume direct responsibility both for sheltering from the claims of justice and for that propaganda which is so dangerous to Europe and the whole world.

It is indisputable that the permanent presence of the ex-Emperor, under ineffectual supervision, a few kilometers distance from the German frontier, where he continues the centre of active and increasing intrigues, constitutes for the

Powers who have made superhuman sacrifices to destroy this mortal danger a menace which they cannot be called upon to accept. The rights they possess in virtue of the most express principles of the law of nations entitle them and make it their duty to take such measures as are required for their own security.

The Powers cannot conceal the painful impression made upon them by the refusal of the Dutch Government to hand over the ex-Emperor to them without any consideration of the possibility of reconciling the scruples of Holland with some effectual precautionary measures to be taken either on the spot or by holding the ex-Emperor at a distance from the scene of his crimes, making it impossible for him to exert his disastrous influence in Germany in the future.

Although a proposal of this nature would not correspond fully to the request of the Powers, it would at least have afforded proof of those feelings which Holland cannot but possess.

The Powers urge upon the Dutch Government in the most solemn and pressing manner the importance attaching to fresh consideration of the question put before her. They desire that it may be clearly understood how grave the situation might become if the Netherlands Government were not in a position to give those assurances which the safety of Europe so imperatively demands.

This was understood as an intimation that the Allies would consider favorably an offer from Holland to intern the ex-Kaiser and be responsible for his acts. Holland's reply was still awaited when these pages went to press.

PRUSSIAN BILL OF SETTLEMENT WITH THE EX-KAISER

What was termed one of the most amazing documents of the time was revealed on Feb. 4 by the printing of a bill regarding the settlement of claims between William Hohenzollern and the Government of Prussia. The bill was drawn up in due form for presentation in the Prussian National Assembly. It was promptly denounced as "a masterpiece of old Prussian efficiency" on behalf of "the man who ruined Germany."

Under the terms of the bill the ex-Kaiser would receive 100,000,000 marks (normally \$25,000,000) from the nation, free from the proposed capital tax. His civil list of about \$415,000 a month would also be paid for seventeen months from the day he ran away to Holland. In

addition there would be handed over to him 175,000,000 marks' worth of industrial shares, mortgages and other investments. While the ex-Kaiser consented to relinquish all castles and lands belonging to the State, he would retain eight castles, eighty-three villas, and many houses in Berlin, Potsdam, Kiel and elsewhere, together with forests here and there and various other kinds of property sprinkled over Germany. In view, however, of a possible return of the Hohenzollern family to Germany the State generously provided three more residences rent-free on life tenures—the castle and park of Homburg, the Cecilienhof Palace, and the Marmoralais. The clause in the agreement which made this grant read:

It is in keeping with the wish of members of the royal house [not ex-royal, be it noted] that the castles which they prefer in the event of a return to Germany be placed at their disposal for their lifetime. As the fulfillment of this desire is not against any State interests, three

castles [mentioning those above referred to] are placed at their service.

By the provisions of this bill the ex-Kaiser would retain the Prussian royal jewels, and the State would possess the comparatively valueless royal insignia. Wilhelm also agreed to hand over the royal opera houses in Berlin, Hanover, Cassel and Wiesbaden, with their debts, while all his faithful retainers would be taken care of by the Prussian Government. Finally, he kept one mausoleum at Potsdam for himself and family.

The ex-Kaiser had expected the refusal of his extradition by Holland. He continued to occupy his time chiefly in inspecting progress of alterations in the mansion and grounds of what he seemed to regard as a permanent residential estate at Doorn. Somewhat mysterious activity in which he had been recently engaged was disclosed as a plan to erect a small hospital at Amerongen as a memorial of his residence there.

Basis of the Extradition Demand

Report of the Crimes and Penalties Commission Which Laid Down the Principles of Indictment

THE report of the Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on the Enforcement of Penalties was presented to the plenary session of the Peace Conference at Paris on April 28, 1919. The main commission was to inquire into and report upon the following points:

- (1) The responsibility of the authors of the war.
- (2) The facts as to breaches of laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and its allies on land, on sea and in the air.
- (3) The degree of responsibility for those offenses attaching to particular members of the enemy forces, including members of the general staffs and other individuals, however highly placed.
- (4) The constitution and procedure of a tribunal appropriate for the trial of those offenses.
- (5) Any other matters cognate or ancillary to the above which may arise in the course of the inquiry and which the commission

finds it useful and relevant to take into consideration.

The nations represented on this main commission were the United States (Mr. Lansing* and Major Brown Scott), Great Britain (Sir Gordon Hewart or Sir Ernest Pollock and Mr. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand), France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Rumania and Serbia.

The report of the commission gave in succinct form a summary of the proof of the allied contention that the war was the result of a deliberate plot on the part of the Central Empires. In no case were statements made which were not supported by evidence of an official nature, drawn either from the official "rain-

*Secretary of State Lansing did not concur in the decision to demand extradition of the accused, on the ground that it had no sanction in international law.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY.

bow" papers of the allies or of the enemy States themselves. The report showed signs of conflicting tendencies between the American and Japanese delegates on one side, and the rest of the members of the commission on the other. In fact the Americans signed the report only subject to very important reservations, in which they pronounced against the trial of the ex-Kaiser before an international tribunal on moral charges, holding that moral offenses could be visited only with moral penalties, and disagreed with the rest of their colleagues in including in the scope of their inquiry breaches against the "laws of humanity."

SUMMARY OF REPORT

The first chapter of the report dealt with the responsibility of the authors of the war. The commission, having examined a number of official documents relating to the origin of the world war and to the violations of neutrality and of frontier which accompanied its inception, "has determined that the responsibility for it lies wholly upon the powers which declared war in pursuance of a policy of aggression, the concealment of which gives to the origin of this war the character of a dark conspiracy against the peace of Europe. This responsibility rests, first, upon Germany and Austria; secondly, on Turkey and Bulgaria. The responsibility is made all the graver by reason of the violation of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, which Prussia had herself guaranteed. It is increased with regard to both France and Serbia by the violation of their frontiers before the declaration of war."

The commission, having examined the question of moral responsibility for the outbreak of the war and for the violations of neutrality which accompanied it, then discussed in its report the violations of the laws and customs of war by land, sea and air. The commission examined great masses of documentary evidence of unimpeachable character and it declared:

In spite of the explicit regulations of established customs and the clear dictates of humanity Germany and her allies have piled outrage upon outrage. * * * It is impossible to imagine a list of cases so

diverse and so painful. Violations of the rights of combatants, of the rights of civilians, and of the rights of both are multiplied in this list of the most cruel practices which primitive barbarism, aided by all the resources of modern science, could devise for the execution of a system of terrorism carefully planned and carried out to the end. Not even prisoners or wounded, or women or children have been respected by belligerents who deliberately sought to strike terror into every heart for the purpose of repressing all resistance.

THIRTY-TWO CATEGORIES OF CRIME

The commission drew up a list of thirty-two different categories of crime perpetrated by enemy belligerents and it commented thus upon that list:

It constitutes the most striking list of crimes that has ever been drawn up, to the eternal shame of those who committed them. The facts are established. They are numerous and so vouched for that they admit of no doubt and they cry for justice.

The list is as follows:

- (1) Murders and massacres; systematic terrorism.
- (2) Putting hostages to death.
- (3) Torture of civilians.
- (4) Deliberate starvation of civilians.
- (5) Rape.
- (6) Abduction of girls and women for the purpose of enforced prostitution.
- (7) Deportations of civilians.
- (8) Internment of civilians under inhuman conditions.
- (9) Forced labor of civilians in connection with the military operations of the enemy.
- (10) Usurpation of sovereignty during military occupation.
- (11) Compulsory enlistment of soldiers among the inhabitants of occupied territory.
- (12) Attempts to denationalize the inhabitants of occupied territory.
- (13) Pillage.
- (14) Confiscation of property.
- (15) Exaction of illegitimate or of exorbitant contributions and requisitions.
- (16) Debasement of the currency and issue of spurious currency.
- (17) Imposition of collective penalties.
- (18) Wanton devastation and destruction of property.
- (19) Deliberate bombardment of undefended places.
- (20) Wanton destruction of religious, charitable, educational and historic buildings and monuments.
- (21) Destruction of merchant ships and passenger vessels without warning and without provision for the safety of passengers or crew.

(22) Destruction of fishing boats and of relief ships.

(23) Deliberate bombardment of hospitals.

(24) Attack on and destruction of hospital ships.

(25) Breach of other rules relating to the Red Cross.

(26) Use of deleterious and asphyxiating gases.

(27) Use of explosive or expanding bullets and other inhuman appliances.

(28) Directions to give no quarter.

(29) Ill-treatment of wounded and prisoners of war.

(30) Employment of prisoners of war on unauthorized works.

(31) Misuse of flags of truce.

(32) Poisoning of wells.

The conclusions of the commission on the criminal acts of the enemy were:

(1) The war was carried on by the Central Empires, together with their allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, by barbarous or illegitimate methods in violation of the established laws and customs of war and the elementary laws of humanity.

(2) A commission should be created for the purpose of collecting and classifying systematically all the information already had or to be obtained, in order to prepare as complete a list of facts as possible concerning the violations of the laws and customs of war committed by the forces of the German Empire and its allies on land, on sea, and in the air in the course of the present war.

PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY

The third point submitted to the commission was to define the degree of responsibility for offenses attaching to particular members of the enemy forces. The conclusion of the commission, which was not reached without a great deal of discussion was that—

All persons belonging to enemy countries, without distinction of rank, including chiefs of States, who have been guilty of offenses against the laws and customs of war or the laws of humanity, are liable to criminal prosecution.

The weightiest points of international law were balanced against the arguments of common sense and justice in the course of the discussion which led to the adoption of the above conclusion. It was urged by some members of the commission that the heads of States ought to enjoy immunity by reason of their position. The commission, however, "desires to state expressly that in the hierarchy of persons in authority there is no reason

why rank, however exalted, should in any circumstances protect the holder of it from responsibility when that responsibility has been established before a properly constituted tribunal. This extends even to the case of heads of States." The commission rejected the plea of immunity raised on the ground that this privilege is one of practical expedience in municipal law and is not fundamental.

"However," continued the report, "even if, in some countries, a sovereign is exempt from being prosecuted in a national court of his own country, the position from an international point of view is quite different." The extension of the privilege of immunity beyond the national limits would, the report points out, lay down the principle that the grossest outrages against international law and custom and against the laws of humanity could be committed without fear of punishment. The report added:

Such a conclusion would shock the conscience of civilized mankind. In view of the grave charges which may be preferred against—to take one case—the ex-Kaiser, the vindication of the principles of the laws and customs of war and the laws of humanity which have been violated would be incomplete if he were not brought to trial and if other offenders less highly placed were punished.

Moreover, the trial of the offenders might be seriously prejudiced if they attempted and were able to plead the superior orders of a sovereign against whom no steps had been taken or were being taken. There is little doubt that the ex-Kaiser and others in high authority were cognizant of, and could at least have mitigated, the barbarities committed during the course of the war. A word from them would have brought about a different method in the action of their subordinates on land, at sea, and in the air. We desire to say that civil and military authorities cannot be relieved from responsibility by the mere fact that a higher authority might have been convicted of the same offense. It will be for the court to decide whether a plea of superior orders is sufficient to acquit the person charged from responsibility.

THE TRIBUNAL

The report, having thus established the case against the enemy, then proceeded to deal with the constitution and procedure of a tribunal for their trial. It quoted effectively a declaration made by

the German delegate to The Hague Conference in 1907, when, speaking of the use of submarine mines, he said:

Military operations are not governed solely by the stipulations of international law. There are other factors. Conscience, good sense, and the sense of duty imposed by the principles of humanity will be the surest guides for the conduct of sailors, and will constitute the most effective guarantee against abuses. The officers of the German Navy, I loudly proclaim it, will always fulfill in the strictest fashion the duties which emanate from the unwritten law of humanity and civilization.

The report then declared that the public conscience insists upon a punishment which will make it clear that it is not permitted cynically to profess a disdain for the most sacred laws and the most formal undertakings "which, in spite of the lip service of von Bieberstein to humanity, is what is charged against the enemy."

In the consideration of the first class of offenses, which includes the violation of Belgian neutrality, legal views would appear to have carried the day, and the report did not recommend any prosecution of the authors of the war and contented itself with the suggestion that the conference should confine its action in this respect to uttering a formal condemnation of those responsible for actions which were described in the report itself.

The commission recognized the right, according to international law, of the belligerents to try individuals who are alleged to be guilty of such crimes as are enumerated in the list of thirty-two categories of offenses set out in the report, if those persons have been taken prisoners or have "otherwise fallen into" their power. Each belligerent can set up an appropriate tribunal before which to bring them to justice, but the commission urged that all such cases should be brought before a single tribunal.

A "HIGH TRIBUNAL"

Quite apart from misdeeds of this nature, however, there remained a number of charges which the report urged should be tried by a high tribunal to be established.

Those charges were:

(a) Against persons belonging to enemy countries who have committed outrages against a number of civilians and soldiers of the several allied nations, such as outrages committed in prison camps where prisoners of war of several nations were congregated, or the crime of forced labor in mines where prisoners of more than one nationality were forced to work.

(b) Against persons of authority belonging to enemy countries whose orders were executed, not only in one area or on one battle front, but whose orders affected the conduct of operations against several of the allied armies.

(c) Against all authorities, civil or military, belonging to enemy countries, however high their position may have been, without distinction of rank, including the heads of States, who ordered or, with knowledge thereof and with power to intervene, abstained from preventing or taking measures to prevent or putting an end to or repressing violations of the laws or customs of war (it being understood that no such abstention should constitute a defense for the actual perpetrators).

(d) Against such other persons belonging to enemy countries as, having regard to the character of the offense or the law of any belligerent country, it may be considered advisable not to proceed before a court other than the high tribunal which it is proposed to set up.

It was suggested in the report that offenses falling under these four classifications should be tried by a high tribunal composed of three representatives appointed by each of the five great powers and of one representative appointed by each of the following Governments: Belgium, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia and Czechoslovakia.

The law to be applied by this tribunal should be the "principles of the law of nations as they result from the usages established among civilized peoples, from the laws of humanity, and from the dictates of public conscience."

The court would be empowered to sentence any accused person found guilty to such penalty as may be provided for by legislation of any country represented on the tribunal or in accordance with the national legislation of the accused person. The court should determine its own procedure, and should have power to sit in divisions of not less than five members, and to request any national court to assume jurisdiction for the purpose of inquiry, trial, or judgment.

An international prosecutor would be created (if the commission's plan be adopted) by the creation of an International Prosecuting Commission of five members, of whom one each should be nominated by the Governments of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, and for the assistance of which any other Government may delegate a representative. National courts would not be enabled to proceed with the prosecution of any individual who had been selected for trial before this tribunal, and no trial or sentence by a national court should bar trial or sentence before this international court.

The conclusions of the report on this point recommended that in the Peace Treaty the enemy be called upon to recognize the jurisdiction of the national

and the high tribunals, and that any measures of amnesty which they (the enemy countries) may pass shall not apply to individuals guilty of offenses against the customs of war or the laws of humanity. They also urged that the enemy countries should be called upon in the treaty to agree to surrender any person "wanted" by the Allies for trial, and to furnish the allied Governments with all the information they may require on points dealing with criminal offenses.

They also proposed that the five States represented on the prosecuting commission should jointly approach neutral Governments with a view to obtaining the surrender for trial of persons within their territories who are charged by such States with crimes of war.

End of the Peace Conference

Its Functions Transferred to a Council of Ambassadors and a Council of Premiers

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1920]

THE Peace Conference closed its long and historic sessions in the month under review. Before its last meeting a warm and sincere tribute was paid by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Hugh C. Wallace, the American Ambassador, to the retiring President of the Conference, M. Clemenceau. After discussion of the best method of continuing the interallied diplomatic activities of the dissolving congress, it was decided to divide the work still remaining to be done between a Council of Ambassadors and a Council of Premiers, the former to deal with all routine matters concerning peace and to be empowered to control the execution of the Peace Treaty; the latter to deal with all large issues of international policy and to formulate the principles governing matters of immediate concern.

This change did not occur until Jan. 21. During the last week in January and the first two weeks in February, the machinery of these two new councils was put into running order, and little was accomplished in the way of definite de-

cisions. The most dramatic developments of the month—the raising of the blockade of Soviet Russia with a view to reopening trade (Jan. 16), the demand on Holland for the extradition of the Kaiser for trial, and the presentation of a list of 890 Germans accused of war crimes to the Ebert Government, accompanied by a similar demand for extradition, under specific provisions of the Peace Treaty—were all either decided or carried out by the Supreme Council before its dissolution.

Five important documents affecting the work of the interallied commissions of Silesia and the evacuation of Upper Silesia, Danzig and other German Polish territories were signed by the Allies and Germany on Jan. 9 in Paris. Three other documents affecting German-Polish arrangements were signed at the same time by the representatives of Germany and Poland.

The Supreme Council of the Peace Conference ended its long and arduous labors on Jan. 21. Before the council was final-



MAP SHOWING FREE CITY OF DANZIG, WITH INTERNATIONALIZED AREA, AND EAST AND WEST PRUSSIA, WHOSE ALLEGIANCE TO POLAND OR TO GERMANY WAS TO BE DECIDED BY A PLEBISCITE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY

ly adjourned, Lloyd George asked that the following statement be entered upon the minutes:

Conscious of the inestimable services which M. Georges Clemenceau, President during more than a year of the Peace Conference, has rendered the cause of peace, and grateful to him, as we are, for the dignity, impartiality and wisdom with which he has conducted our deliberations, we, his colleagues, desire to express to him our unalterable esteem, as well as our hope that in the calm of his retirement he may live long enough to see his incomparable work bear fruit for the glory of France and the renewal of the prosperity of the world.

The American Ambassador, who followed Mr. Lloyd George, expressed similar good wishes. M. Clemenceau, in thanking the council for its expressions of esteem, spoke as follows:

If Great Britain, the United States, Italy and Japan remain united, there is a guarantee of peace which exceeds all those guarantees which can be put on paper. If one day these nations are separated I dare not think of the misfortunes which may result.

We arrived here somewhat disconcerted by the gravity of the problems set and the difficulty of settling them.

When fighting the enemy all necessarily were in agreement, each joyfully giving his life for his country. But it is not necessarily the same when one meets to calculate and realize the fruits of victory and to settle each one's share.

We have, however, tried to accomplish that difficult task, and it may truly be said that I have never presided over your meetings. They were not presided over. We exchanged thoughts, strictly speaking. We never experienced difficulties in our discussions, and the President never had to exercise his powers. We have been friends charged with a great duty—to make peace, to prolong the state of peace, first of all between ourselves, while increasing the chances of peace for humanity.

We have all defended what we believed to be the interest of our countries, but never has the necessity of a common understanding been lost sight of. I further believe that we all are agreed today to say that the special interests of each nationality must be considered and respected. There cannot be a tranquil Europe if the rights of each one is not recognized.

I have been sometimes reproached for making too many concessions. The same reproach has been made against other heads of Governments, but I am calm in the knowledge, as I am sure you all are, of never having been guided in the ex-

pression of my opinions or in the conclusions we have reached except by the single idea that the nations which shed so much blood had the right, first of all, to have their national claims satisfied, and then to have those claims reconciled each to the other and embodied in one great peace inspired by common interest.

I shall not lose sight of the peace we are completing and shall continue to follow its progress until my last breath. I shall try by all good wishes, at least, to do all in my power for the solidarity of that peace. For, indeed, if by misfortune the elements of discord should arise among you, how terrible the thought that the best blood of the civilized world, the blood of our soldiers, should be shed in vain for hopes that would not be realized.

I will not believe that such an eventuality is possible. I know the sentiments of my friend, M. Millerand. I know that he, as I, is convinced that an alliance for a lasting understanding must be maintained between all the peoples represented here.

After shaking hands warmly with all present, M. Clemenceau, very much moved, left forever the Foreign Minister's private office where daily for more than a year he had toiled for the greatness of his country and the peace of the world. He left soon afterward for Egypt, despite warnings telegraphed him by certain Egyptian nationalists, incensed by his attitude toward Egyptian independence, that his life would not be safe in that country. Before departure he turned over the Ministry of War to André Lefèvre, the new War Minister, and also transferred his powers as President of the Council of Ministers to M. Millerand, his successor as Premier.

TREATY BECOMES OPERATIVE

By Germany's ratification of the protocol and treaty the provisions of this historic agreement were made effective, either immediately or at the expiration of a prescribed interval of time. The time table of those provisions to be carried out was as follows:

Jan. 10 (the date of signing).—The following appointments were due to be made: The appointment of the Governing Commission of the Saar Valley; the commission to superintend the evacuation of Upper Silesia by German troops; the allied commissions of control for carrying out the naval, military, and air clauses; the Repatriation of Prisoners Commission; the Reparations Commission;

the Danube and Rhine Commissions; the International Labor Office.

The handing over to France of all coal deposits in the Saar district; the delivery to the Allied Commission of Control of all naval and military air material, and the first deliveries of coal to Belgium and France.

Jan. 20.—Slesvig Plebiscite Commission appointed; Germans to evacuate the plebiscite area.

Jan. 25.—Frontier commissions begin work on the new frontiers of Belgium, the Sarre Basin, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Danzig. Germans must evacuate the district of East Prussia; commissions take over this district and the districts of Stuhm, Rosenberg, and Marienburg, which the Germans have also to evacuate on this date.

Jan. 31.—The Central Rhine Commission to appoint a manager for the Ports of Kehl and Strasbourg.

Feb. 10.—Germany must surrender all war criminals and hand over all submarines, submarine docks, and salvage vessels. Germany must transfer to such authority as the powers may designate gold deposited in the Reichsbank relating to the issue of Turkish Government currency notes and the service of the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian loans. Germany must hand over all specie, securities, &c., received under the Treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk.

March 10.—Reparations Commission's lists to be handed to Germany. Germany must reduce her armaments, fortifications, and armies to the stipulated numbers. Germany must reduce her fleet to 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, and 12 torpedo boats, and her naval personnel to 15,000 men; hand over to the Allies 8 named battleships, 8 named cruisers, 42 modern destroyers, and 50 modern torpedo boats; hand over all air material; deliver to the Allies all merchant ships over 1,600 ton, one-half of all ships between 1,000 and 1,600 tons, and one-quarter of her steam trawlers and fishing boats.

April 10.—Clearing house for the collection of enemy debts to be established. Insurance settlement commissions to be set up. Wireless stations to be regulated by the Allies. Deliveries on account of cattle, &c., due to France and Belgium to be completed. Gas and explosive manufacture secrets to be disclosed to the Allies. Assessment to be made of Germany's ability to pay, and arrangements to be made for spreading over a period of years the sum of £5,000,000,000.

July 10.—Labor Commission of Inquiry to be nominated.

Other provisions were the following:

The German Government is to hand over archives, registers, plans, &c., of the



SKETCH MAP OF GERMANY, SHOWING LEIPZIG, WHERE WAR CRIMINALS ARE TO BE TRIED, AND LOCATION OF SILESIA AND TESCHEN, WHERE PLEBISCITES ARE TO BE HELD

territory ceded to Belgium, and will restore the documents removed.

The construction of fortifications and the maintenance or assembly of armed forces, either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank for a distance of fifty kilometers (about thirty miles) east of the river is forbidden.

Archives, registers, plans, &c., concerning Alsace-Lorraine are to be handed over.

Alsace-Lorrainers are to be placed in possession of all property, rights, and interests in German territory which belonged to them on Nov. 11, 1918.

The arrangements of 1902 regarding the new Chinese customs tariff and of 1905 regarding Whang-Poo are to be put in force.

The number and calibres of the guns constituting the armament of the fortified works, military and naval, which Germany is to retain are to be notified.

Mine-sweeping vessels are to be kept equipped until the work of sweeping is completed. Surface warships outside the German ports are to be handed over.

Auxiliary ships are to be disarmed.

Mine-sweeping is to be carried out in certain areas of the North Sea.

Information is to be given regarding armament of fortified works, fortresses,

and naval fortresses situated within a zone of fifty kilometers from the German coast.

Germany is to restore all objects, bonds, and documents, the property of allied subjects, retained by the German authorities.

The high contracting parties will communicate to one another reciprocally all information regarding the dead.

Germany is to issue special bonds for the benefit of Belgium.

Germany is to issue 100,000,000,000 marks' worth of bonds for purposes of reparation.

The treaties and conventions enumerated in Article 282 to 287 will be put in force.

The allied and associated powers will benefit by the advantages accorded by treaties to third powers since August, 1914.

Germany will cancel or suspend war measures affecting goods, rights, and interests.

All the contracting parties will re-establish rights in industrial, literary, and artistic property.

The European Danube Commission will resume its activities (Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania being represented).

The Mannheim Convention of 1868 (relating to the Rhine) will again be put into force.

The Berne Convention on the transport of goods by railway will be removed.

REPARATIONS COMMISSION

Endowed with tremendous responsibilities and large powers, the Reparations Commission, under its new President, M. Jonnart, appointed by Premier Millerand

tion, sat three or four times a week to consider questions put before it by the commission, covering a range of subjects almost as wide as the scope of the treaty itself. All questions were examined with the greatest care. The deliberations were divided between questions of interpretation of the treaty and questions of international law. The official proceedings were held in French.

A request by the Reparations Commission for permission to appoint an American as the expert head of the commission's accountancy division was denied by the Treasury Department of the United States on Jan. 24, on the ground that the Peace Treaty had not been ratified by the American Senate.

RUSSIAN-BALTIC PROBLEMS

The announcement by the Supreme Council of its intention to permit a partial raising of the blockade of Soviet Russia and the resumption of trade through the Russian Co-operative Societies, with its effect on the Bolshevik authorities, has been treated of elsewhere in this issue. (See Page 452.) This announcement was issued immediately after the publication of a communiqué by the British War Department, reflecting the views of Winston

Churchill, the British Secretary for War, which were known to be opposed to those of the Premier, warning the country of the menace of the spread of Bolshevism to Western Europe.

The Prime Ministers took up the question of Poland on Jan. 15. The Poles during the previous weeks had occupied considerable territory beyond the Polish boundaries belonging properly to Russia. The council notified M. Patek, the Polish Minister at Paris, that it could not support a policy of expansion, and requested him to warn the Polish Government to evacuate all Russian territory and thus avoid giving cause for attack by the



MAP OF UPPER SILESIA, WHOSE PEOPLE MUST DECIDE BY VOTE WHETHER THEY WILL BELONG TO GERMANY OR POLAND. THE ADJOINING REGION OF TESCHEN MUST CHOOSE BETWEEN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

BOTH REGIONS CONTAIN RICH COAL MINES

on Jan. 22, organized in February a legal committee to aid it with advice in interpretation of the Treaty of Versailles. The countries represented officially were: France, by M. Fromageot; Great Britain, by William Finlay; Italy, by Senator Bensa, and Belgium, by M. Marx. The United States was represented unofficially by Hugh A. Dayne, who was Judge Advocate with General Pershing, and later Counsel to the War Prisoners' Commission in Switzerland; Colonel James A. Logan, Jr., successor of Herbert Hoover, and Albert Rathbone, Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury. This committee, after its crea-

Bolshevist Government. This M. Patek refused to do, voicing Poland's insistence on the regaining of her historical boundaries, as opposed to those fixed by the Supreme Council. One of the problems which the new councils still have to resolve is the policy to be adopted in case

the Red Army pursued the Poles into Poland.

It was in the desire to avert a disaster of this kind that the council gave its sanction to the peace negotiations proposed to the Poles by the Bolshevik Government.

New Crisis in Adriatic Problem

How Compromise Between Italy and Yugoslavia Was Reached by Premiers and Rejected by President Wilson

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 16, 1920]

SHORTLY before the end of 1919 M. Clemenceau, still French Premier, said of the situation in the Adriatic: "Only when this problem is solved can we begin to breathe freely." Negotiations earnestly continued through the following three weeks were finally productive of a compromise agreement, which embodied, as admitted by the Italian Premier on Jan. 15, the complete Italianization of Istria as far as Fiume, Italian renouncement of sovereignty over Fiume, and its establishment as a free city of Italian character, with its port and railway internationalized under the League of Nations. This agreement was taken by the Prince Regent to Belgrade for Yugoslav consideration, with a covering note which made acceptance alternative only with the execution of the Treaty of London, by the terms of which Italy would annex in Istria, Dalmatia and the isles all the territories promised her by the London pact of 1915.

Pending receipt of the Yugoslav reply the Fiume question was emphasized in Paris on Jan. 17 by the passing of an airplane from Fiume which scattered over the city a cloud of small green papers in which Gabriele d'Annunzio sent a greeting "to the Latin brothers of the Italians" at a moment when "the outworn politicians are trying to raise against young France a headstrong old chief (Clemenceau), who does not appreciate and wounds the freshest forces of the new life." The message continued: "If the injustice against Italian Fiume

and the Italian towns of Dalmatia is consummated, a combat is inevitable, and blood must be shed."

Meanwhile this compromise agreement, which, it was learned later, had been agreed upon by Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau on Jan. 5 and accepted by Premier Nitti on Jan. 7, was sent to President Wilson at Washington for his consideration and approval. On the eve of his departure from Paris at this date, the Italian Premier expressed the utmost optimism regarding settlement. Italy, he said, had shown great moderation in giving up the islands and the whole of Dalmatia except Zara, and in agreeing to the internationalization of the port and railway of Fiume, thus protecting the Yugoslavs' interests in a sea outlet. No Italian Government, he declared, could do more and live, and if the Yugoslavs rejected the Italian proposals they would be taking a serious responsibility.

The Yugoslav reply reached Paris on Jan. 20. The Belgrade Government accepted six of the allied propositions, but by insistence on a seventh, which refused to change the frontier line outlined by President Wilson, brought new uncertainty and tenseness into the situation. The Yugoslav proposals were as follows:

- (1) The Yugoslavs renounce all claim to sovereignty over Fiume, and accept the internationalization of the town, the town to be under the sovereignty of the League of Nations, which will appoint the diplomatic representatives.

- (2) The Yugoslavs also agree that the town of Zara in Dalmatia shall become

have to be dropped; in short, the United States would withdraw from all participation in European affairs.

In the semi-official analysis of the note published by the *Paris Temps*, Mr. Wilson was said to have declared that he could not approve the terms of the compromise agreement of Jan. 20, and that he objected particularly to giving the Jugoslavs the choice between this plan and the execution of the Treaty of London; he also pointed out the considerable divergence between this scheme and that framed in London in December by Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau with the collaboration of the American representative. The President's note was received with a storm of criticism in the French, and partly also in the British, press. The reply of the British, French and Italian Premiers had not been sent up to the time when these pages went to press.

It was reported from Trieste on Feb. 5 that armed bands of Slavs were waging guerrilla warfare on the Italians of Intria. Italian carabineer outposts had been attacked, and armed clashes had occurred. The Italian commander in Istria had taken the necessary precautions.

In Fiume Gabriele d'Annunzio still reigned supreme. A Government mer-

chant ship bearing stores and 2,000,000 lire for the Italian army of occupation in Albania had put into Fiume, and d'Annunzio had sequestered both money and supplies. Two torpedo boats bound from Ancona to Pola with munitions and food-stuffs for the Italian naval forces, as well as an Italian destroyer, also bound for Pola, were similarly seized. Guns and bombs had been stolen and sent to Fiume. An Italian officer, General Nigra, stationed in Istria, who had criticised d'Annunzio severely, was kidnapped by a number of d'Annunzio's officers on Jan. 28 and brought to Fiume; several of the kidnappers were arrested by the Government on Feb. 2. In a dramatic scene on Feb. 9 General Nigra was released by d'Annunzio to the flourish of trumpets, following grandiloquent speechmaking and cordial handshakings.

Stringent laws had been passed by d'Annunzio's Government against falsification of the city's money, of which more than 40,000,000 lire had been counterfeited. The publication of all newspapers without the consent of the insurgent leader and his staff had been forbidden. Preparations were going on for the conscription of five classes of Fiume citizens for "defense of the city."

From Flanders Fields

[TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE]

By FRANCIS JAMES MACBEATH, in *The New York World*

In Flanders Fields we restless lie.
It seemed a little thing to die
If death could make life safe for you,
And give the freedom that we knew
To all who 'neath oppression sigh.

But dreams, like life, may go awry.
The little men fate tosses high
To us and honor seem untrue
In Flanders Fields.

For selfish policies they vie,
Content a world to crucify
If they can but our work undo—
Afraid to see the Crusade through.
Better than that, peace 'neath the sky
In Flanders Fields!

Financing Hungry Europe

Important Letter by Secretary Glass Calls a Halt on Further Government Loans for That Purpose

FINANCIAL and industrial leaders in America, Great Britain, France, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway issued a call on Jan. 15, 1920, for an international commercial and financial conference to endeavor to find a remedy for the "chaos in the world." The appeal was addressed to the respective Governments. That to the American Government was also addressed to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The proposal indicated that delegates from Germany, Austria, Japan, Italy, all the neutrals of Europe and the chief exporting countries of South America would also be invited to send delegates.

The purpose of the conference is to recommend a feasible plan of co-operative assistance. The call was issued simultaneously in Europe and America; it was identical in all respects, except that the European call included one clause that was omitted from the American text—a clause which hinted at a move for the cancellation of war debts between nations, or an invitation to the United States to cancel its \$10,000,000,-000 in loans to European Governments.

Secretary of the Treasury Glass on Jan. 29 addressed a letter to the President of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States setting forth the attitude of the Treasury as to extending further Government aid to Europe. He made it clear that the Treasury was opposed to granting further governmental aid beyond the previously announced suggestion with respect to the extension of interest payments on existing loans and to the supplying of relief for certain portions of Europe.

MAIN POINTS OF LETTER

The Secretary's letter disclosed the fact that since the armistice, Nov. 11, 1918, the financial assistance extended

to foreign Governments aggregated \$4,226,584,688.41. The Secretary added:

The Governments of the world must now get out of banking and trade. Loans of Government to Government not only involve additional taxes or borrowings by the lending Government, with the inflation attendant thereon, but also a continuance by the borrowing Government of control over private activities, which only postpones sound solutions of the problems.

The Treasury is opposed to governmental control over foreign trade and finance and even more opposed to private control. It is convinced that the credits required for the economic restoration and revival of trade must be supplied through private channels; that as a necessary contribution to that end the Governments of the world must assist in the restoration of confidence, stability and freedom of commerce by the adoption of sound fiscal policies, and that the Reparations Commission must adopt promptly a just and constructive policy. * * *

The existing worldwide inflation of currency, credit and prices is a consequence of the fact that for a period of four or five years the peoples of this earth have been consuming and destroying more than they have produced and saved, and against the wealth so destroyed the warring nations have been issuing currency and evidence of indebtedness. The consequence of the world's greatest war is profound and inescapable. It has affected all the nations of the civilized world, those who participated actively in the war and those who did not. The inflation exists in the neutral countries of Europe and in the Orient. It exists where there was no war debt, where the war debt was badly handled, and to some degree where the war debt was well handled.

CALLING HALT ON LOANS

Secretary Glass called attention to the steps taken in this country to remove governmental control and to restore individual initiative and free competition in business. He continued:

Rightly or wrongly, a different policy has been pursued in Europe. European Governments have maintained, since the cessation of hostilities, embargoes upon

the export of gold. The rectification of the exchanges now adverse to Europe lies primarily in the hands of European Governments. The normal method of meeting an adverse international balance is to ship gold. The refusal to ship gold prevents the rectification of an adverse exchange. The need of gold embargoes lies in the expended currency and credit structure of Europe. Relief would be found in disarmament, resumption of industrial life and activity, the imposition of adequate taxes and the issue of adequate domestic loans.

The American people should not, in my opinion, be called upon to finance, and would not, in my opinion, respond to a demand that they finance the requirements of Europe in so far as they result from the failure to take these necessary steps for the rehabilitation of credit.

Such things as international bond issues, international guarantees, and international measures for the stabilization of exchange are utterly impracticable so long as there exist inequalities of taxation and domestic financial policies in the various countries involved; and when these inequalities no longer exist such devices will be unnecessary.

It is unthinkable that the people of a country which has been called upon to submit to so drastic a program of taxation as that adopted by the United States, which called for financing from current taxes a full one-third of the war expenditures, including loans to the Allies, should undertake to remedy the inequalities of exchange resulting from a less drastic policy of domestic taxation adopted by the other Governments of the world. The remedy for the situation is to be found not in the manufacture of bank credit in the United States for the movement of exports, a process which has already proceeded too far, but in the movement of goods, of investment securities, and in default of goods or securities then of gold, into this country from Europe; and in order that such securities may be absorbed by investors our people must consume less and save.

ASSUMING EARTH'S BURDENS

The United States could not, if it would, assume the burdens of all the earth. It cannot undertake to finance the requirements of Europe, because it cannot shape the fiscal policies of the Governments of Europe. The Government of the United States cannot tax the American people to meet the deficiencies arising from the failure of the Governments of Europe to balance their budgets, nor can the Government of the United States tax the American people to subsidize the business of our exporters. It cannot do so by direct measures of taxation, nor can it look with composure upon the manufacture of

bank credit to finance our exports when the requirements of Europe are for working capital rather than for bank credits.

Lamentable as would be the effects upon our industrial life and upon Europe itself of the continued maintenance of an exchange barrier against the importation into Europe of commodities from the United States, this country cannot continue to extend credits on a sufficient scale to cover our present swollen trade balance against Europe, while paying cash (gold and silver) to the countries of Central and South America and the Far East, with which it has an adverse balance on its own and international account.

The consequence of the maintenance by Europe of this barrier will be to force the United States to do business with those countries with which it is able to do business on a cash basis. * * * If the peoples and Governments of Europe live within their incomes, increase their production as much as possible and limit their imports to actual necessities, foreign credits to cover adverse balances would most probably be supplied by private investors and the demand to resort to such impracticable methods as Government loans and bank credits would cease. * * *

If the Chamber of Commerce of the United States considers it advisable and desirable to designate representatives to attend an unofficial conference, the Treasury does not desire to offer any objection, provided the scope and character and limitations of such a conference as well as the impossibility of United States Government action are clearly understood.

FALL IN EXCHANGE RATES

The first effect of this important announcement was an unprecedented decline in foreign exchange. On Feb. 4 it reached its minimum: Pounds sterling fell in New York to \$3.19, a discount of over 30 per cent. on the normal rate; francs were quoted as low as 15.15 to the dollar, and lire 18.82 to the dollar. The security markets were seriously affected, and wide declines occurred in all stocks, as well as in commodities and cotton. The latter was affected by the impression that England would put an embargo on imports to stabilize exchange. This rumor proved unfounded.

A few days after Secretary Glass's announcement a statement was made by R. C. Lindsay, the British Chargé d'Affaires in Washington, in which he declared:

In view of repeated allegations in the press that the British Government desires

to borrow large sums in the United States, his Majesty's Government states that, as has been explained more than once in the British Parliament, it is entirely contrary to the policy of the British Treasury to incur a fresh indebtedness in the United States. Since June, 1919, the whole expenditure of the British Government in the United States was financed without fresh borrowing, and the first steps have been taken to reduce outstanding indebtedness. The loan issued in the market on Nov. 1, 1919, by the British Government was issued for the purpose solely of meeting maturing indebtedness.

Some confusion seems to have arisen out of the fact announced in the press both in Great Britain and the United States that the British Government has invited the co-operation of the Governments of other countries, and in particular of the United States, with them in joint action for further measures of relief and reconstruction in the suffering parts of Europe. Any such measures if finally agreed upon must obviously involve no further borrowings by the people of the United Kingdom from the United States, but further advances by the United Kingdom as well as by the United States and such other countries as take part in the joint action contemplated to countries requiring assistance.

The exchange situation improved during February, with substantial recoveries in sterling, lire and francs, but they were still at a considerable discount late in the month, and no approach to normal rates was expected for some time.

The British, French, and other European Governments took steps to arrange for the international conference, and it was announced that delegates from the United States Chamber of Commerce would attend, but not as representatives of the Government. It was expected that the conference would meet in March.

The Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives on Jan. 31 reported unanimously a bill authorizing

the United States Grain Corporation to expend \$50,000,000 for food supplies for the suffering in Europe. This action was taken over the protests of the Republican Steering Committee, which opposed any relief, and after unsuccessful attempts by several Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee to report a bill authorizing \$125,000,000, the full amount requested by Secretary Glass. Amendments limiting the amount to \$100,000,000 and \$75,000,000 were defeated by overwhelming votes. Republican leaders stated on Feb. 16 that their investigations had found public opinion in the United States little favorable to the passage of this bill, and that early action in Congress in its favor was improbable.

The British Chancellor of the Exchequer announced on Feb. 12 that, despite the difficulties of the financial situation of the United Kingdom with regard to foreign exchange, the British Government had informed the United States Government that over and above the £12,500,000 voted this year they were prepared to contribute a further sum for European relief, not exceeding half the sum to be contributed by the United States, and not exceeding £10,000,000 in all.

The Canadian Government had also intimated its desire to make a contribution, and the British Government was confident that other Governments, both allied and neutral, would also co-operate in dealing with what might be truly called the desperate needs of certain parts of Europe.

Official figures given out Jan. 30 show that the national debt of Great Britain on April 1, 1919, totaled \$39,405,000,000.



PAUL DESCHANEL



Elected President of France on Jan. 17, 1920, after being for eight

ALEXANDRE MILLERAND



New Premier of France, succeeding Clemenceau both in that office
and as leader of peace negotiations

LEON BOURGEOIS



Elected President of French Chamber of Deputies and first presiding
officer of the League of Nations

DAVID FRANKLIN HOUSTON



New Secretary of the United States Treasury, succeeding Carter Glass

EDWIN T MEREDITH



Newly appointed Secretary of Agriculture, succeeding D. F. Houston

(© Harris & Ewing)

HEADS OF DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEES



Homer S. Cummings, Chairman of Democratic National Committee. The Democratic Convention will be held in San Francisco, June 28, 1920



Will H. Hays, Chairman of Republican National Committee. The Republican Convention will be held in Chicago, June 8, 1920

(Photos © Harris & Ewing)

LEADING FIGURES IN THE SUPPORT OF BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT



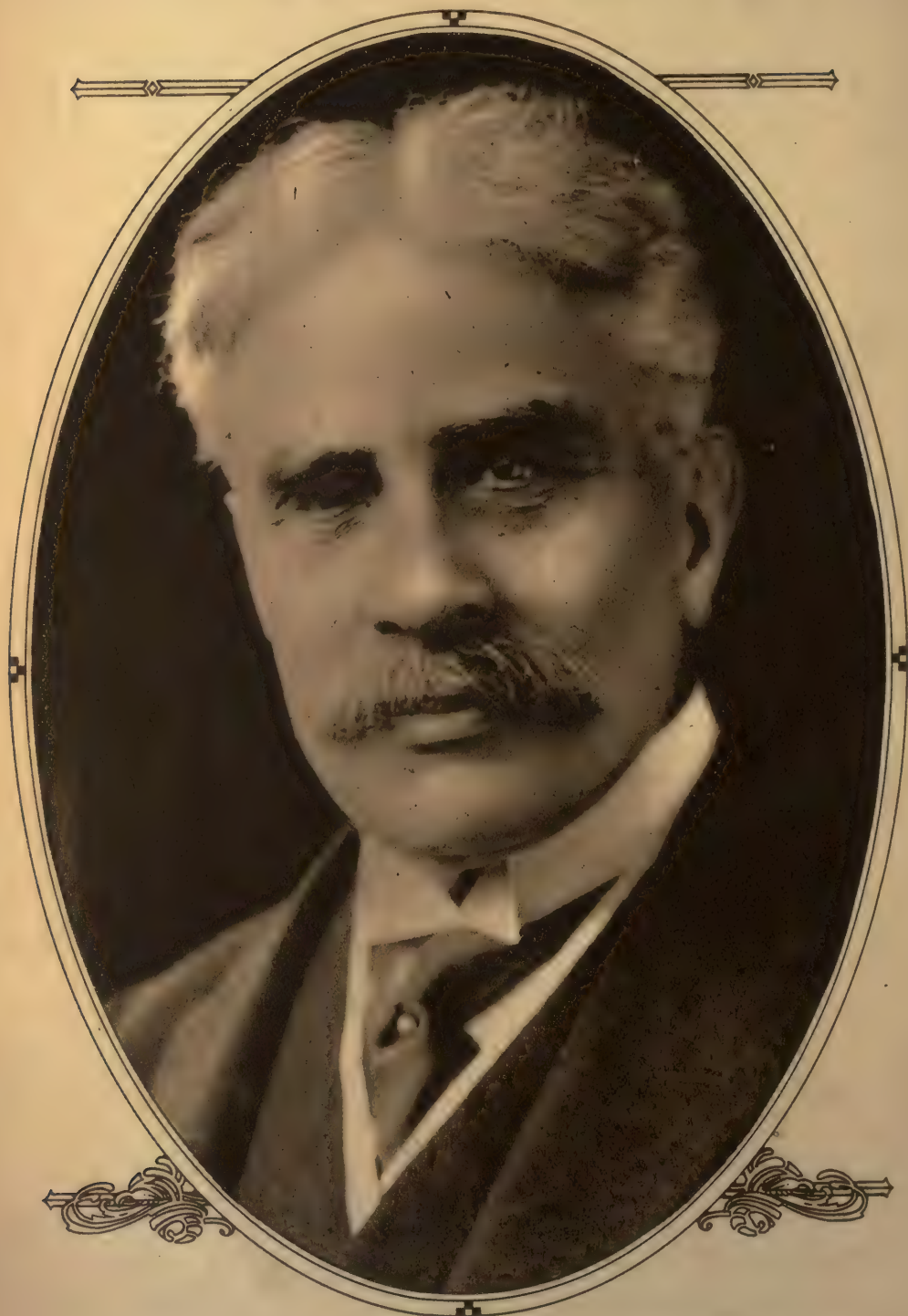
Achmed Fuad Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, native ruler under British suzerainty

(C) International



Viscount Alfred Milner, President of British Commission to restore order in Egypt

SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN



Premier of Canada, notable for his energy and efficiency during the

MATTHIAS ERZBERGER



German Minister of Finance, who was seriously wounded by an

PROMINENT FIGURES IN THE IRISH PROBLEM



Lord French, Lord Lieutenant and
Governor General of Ireland



Eamonn de Valera, President of the Irish Republic



Eamonn de Valera, "President of Irish Republic," (centre,) being
received by Mayor Hylan of New York at the City Hall

TYPES OF DEPORTED RADICALS



Characteristic group of "Reds" arrested in New York and ordered deported by the Department of Justice



Handcuffed and chained together. Revolutionists from New England held at Deer Island, near Boston

(C) Underwood & Underwood

FORMAL END OF THE WAR: SIGNING THE PROCES-VERBAL AT PARIS



Baron Kurt von Lersner, head of German delegation, signing the document which put the Treaty of Versailles into effect,
Jan 10, 1920

(Times Wire World Photos)

FIRST MEETING OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN PARIS



The League of Nations was formally ushered into existence in the Hall of the Clock, French Foreign Ministry, Jan. 16, 1920. (1) Premier Venizelos of Greece, (2) Dr. Cunha of Brazil, (3) M. Matsui of Japan, (4) Lord Curzon of Great Britain, (5) Leon Bourgeois of France, who presided; (6) Signor Ferraris of Italy, (7) Paul Hymans of Belgium and (8) Quinones de Leon of Spain



(C) Underwood & Underwood

VIEWS OF FIUME THE BEAUTIFUL



Governor's palace, occupied by Captain Gabriele d'Annunzio as residence and headquarters. Insert shows latest photo of d'Annunzio



Waterfront of Fiume as seen from one of d'Annunzio's ships guarding the harbor

(Photos © International)

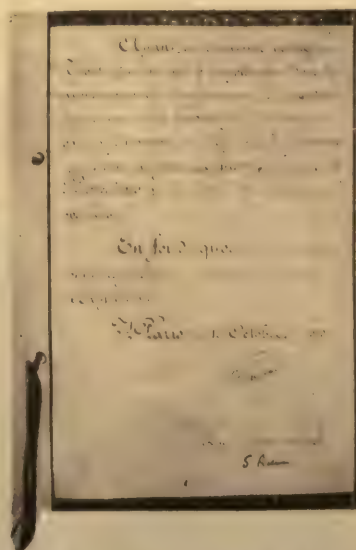
THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES



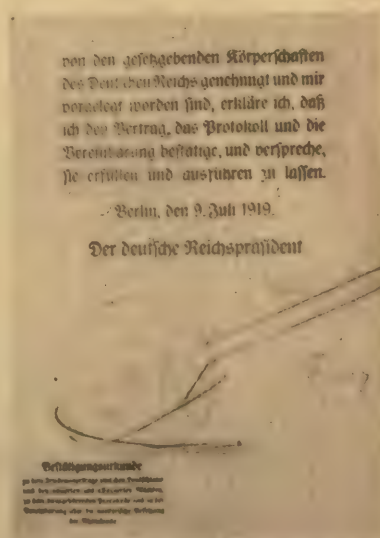
Elaborately tooled binding of Italy's copy



England's copy, decorated with the royal coat of arms



Facsimile of page bearing signatures of Poincaré and Pichon



Last page of the German copy, signed by Ebert and Bauer

Above are shown specimens of signatures and bindings of the official copies of the Treaty of Versailles prepared for the individual Governments. Each copy is in the language of its respective nation, and all are masterpieces of decorative book binding, with the exception of the German copy, which is bound in plain black leather

(Photos © Underwood & Underwood)

FRANCE'S TRIBUTE TO AMERICAN DEAD



Symbolic document to be presented by President Poincaré of France to the family or relative of each deceased American soldier. The inscription reads: "To the memory of — of the U. S. of America, who died for liberty during the great war. The homage

The Senate and the Peace Treaty

New Aspect of the Long Deadlock on Ratification Is Produced
by Lord Grey's Open Letter

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1920]

THE United States Senate had not ratified the treaty of peace with Germany when these pages went to press, but the month had brought about developments which had somewhat altered the situation. Late in January a series of bipartisan conferences was held by seven leading Senators—four Democrats and three Republicans—representing the views of opposing groups respecting the treaty, and some progress was made on minor reservations; no agreement, however, could be reached on Article X., which guarantees the territorial integrity of all members of the League of Nations against foreign aggression. A compromise was reached on a modified preamble, whereby the reservations as adopted would not require specific acceptance by the powers, their silent acquiescence being deemed sufficient.

The Lodge reservation on mandates had been accepted by the Democrats, as had that on domestic questions, with merely phraseological changes; a change had been proposed and was being considered on the Monroe Doctrine, softening the tone of that reservation; a mild substitute for the reservation on the appointment of American representatives to the League had been tentatively adopted; the Lodge reservation on the Reparations Commission had been accepted, as had that on League expenses, with a slight change in wording; a substitute had been agreed on as to disarmament; the Lodge provisions on the treatment of nationals of covenant-breaking States, under Article XVI., and of Americans under certain treaty provisions, had been accepted, and a substitute had been discussed for the fourteenth reservation—that on voting power. On Shantung a slight modification was made, while on

the labor reservation no change was indicated.

FAILURE OF CONFERENCES

It was announced on Jan. 30 that the bipartisan conferences had ended in failure. Senator Lodge then made the following announcement:

Speaking for myself alone, I have only this to say, that I was unable to agree to any change in reservations Nos. 2 and 5 dealing with Article X. and the Monroe Doctrine. In my opinion reservation No. 2, which provides that we shall assume no obligation of any kind under Article X. except the one mentioned in the treaty, that we should ourselves respect the boundaries of other nations, cannot possibly permit of change.

The change proposed in reservation No. 5 in regard to the Monroe Doctrine was an absolutely vital one because it was asserted as an official interpretation by the representatives of Great Britain that the Monroe Doctrine under the treaty was to be interpreted by the League. To this I for one could never assent, and in view of the statement made in Paris by the British delegation, to which I have referred, I regard the line which it was proposed to strike out as absolutely necessary.

The United States has always interpreted the Monroe Doctrine alone. It is our policy. No one else has ever attempted to interpret it, and it is something which in my judgment ought never to be permitted even by the most remote implication.

If we should strike out that phrase now after it has been accepted by the Senate it would lead to a direct inference that we left that question open. The right to interpret the Monroe Doctrine pertaining to the United States alone must never be open to question.

TREATY AGAIN CONSIDERED

Notice was given in the Senate Chamber on Jan. 31 that on Tuesday, Feb. 10, Senator Hitchcock would move to bring up the treaty in the Senate for consideration. This move on the part of the Democrats was countered by the Re-

publicans when Senator Lodge served notice that he would ask unanimous consent to bring the treaty again before the Senate for consideration. In accordance with this notice the Senate on Feb. 9, acting on motion of Senator Lodge, suspended the rules and permitted reconsideration of the treaty by a vote of 63 to 9. The nine negative votes were cast by the so-called irreconcilables, who are opposed to the treaty in any form, viz.: Senators Borah, Brandegee, France, Gronna, Knox, McCormick, Norris, Poin-dexter, and Sherman. Senators Johnson



VISCOUNT GREY

of California, La Follette and Fall, Republicans, and Senators Reed and Gore, Democrats, all of whom are irreconcilables, were absent.

VISCOUNT GREY UPHOLDS THE RESERVATIONS

Meanwhile the treaty situation was profoundly affected by a letter written for publication in *The London Times* of Jan. 31 and republished simultaneously in *The New York Times*, by Viscount Grey of Fallodon, Special Ambassador of Great Britain to the United States. Lord Grey had spent four months in the United States, returning to England in January. During his stay here he had

been unable personally to meet the President, on account of the latter's illness, but it was known that he was in close conference with Senators representing all shades of opinion on the treaty question, and was engaged in sounding the best public sentiment in the country on treaty issues. His letter was regarded as a unique departure from diplomatic procedure. Though in his letter Lord Grey dissociated himself from his official rôle, it was clear, and subsequently virtually acknowledged, that his views had previously been laid before the British Cabinet, and that their publication had had Governmental sanction as representing the guiding lines along which British policy would be formulated when the question came before it.

EFFECT AT WHITE HOUSE

While no specific statement regarding the letter emanated from the White House, the declarations of the secretary to the President indicated that Mr. Wilson was not at all pleased by the action of Viscount Grey, and there was a broad hint that the views of the British Ambassador should first have been communicated to him in writing, instead of being first made public through the press. Lord Grey's mission to this country was to confer with President Wilson on the treaty situation and on the relations of Great Britain and the United States growing out of the world war. While he never had an opportunity to present his credentials to President Wilson, he was received by the Secretary of State. He is now regarded by the State Department as on leave of absence, no notification having been given to this Government that he would not return. After publication of the letter, the impression prevailed at Washington that, owing to the President's displeasure, Lord Grey, if he wished to return, would not be acceptable during the present Administration.

In the Senate the effect of Lord Grey's letter was to stimulate action on the treaty, and it was believed at the middle of February that definite and final disposition of the question would be made before March 1.

Lord Grey's letter was as follows:

Nothing, it seems to me, is more desirable in international politics than a good understanding between the democracy of the United States, on the one hand, and the democracies of Great Britain and the self-governing dominions, and, I hope, we may add Ireland, on the other. Nothing would be more disastrous than a misunderstanding and estrangement.

There are some aspects of the position in the United States with regard to the League of Nations which are not wholly understood in Great Britain. In the hope that as a result of my recent stay in Washington I may be able to make that position better understood, I venture to offer the following observations. They represent only my own personal opinion and nothing more, and they are given simply as those of a private individual.

In Great Britain and the allied countries there is naturally impatience and disappointment at the delay of the United States in ratifying the Peace Treaty and the covenant of the League of Nations. It is perhaps not so generally recognized here [in England] that there is also great impatience and disappointment in the United States. Nowhere is the impasse caused by the deadlock between the President and the Senate more keenly regretted than in the United States, where there is a strong and even urgent desire in the public opinion to see a way out of that impasse found which will be both honorable to the United States and helpful to the world. It would be well to understand the real difficulties with which the people of the United States have been confronted. In the clear light of right understanding what seemed the disagreeable features of the situation will assume a more favorable and intelligent aspect.

"NO CHARGE OF BAD FAITH"

Let us first get rid of one possible misunderstanding. No charge of bad faith or repudiating signatures can be brought against the action of the United States Senate. By the American Constitution it is an independent body, an independent element in the treaty-making power. Its refusal to ratify the treaty cannot expose either itself or the country to a charge of bad faith or repudiation.

Nor is it fair to represent the United States as holding up the treaty solely from motives of party politics and thereby sacrificing the interests of the other nations for this petty consideration.

It is true that there are party politics and personal animosities in the United States. An American who saw much of England between 1880 and 1890 said that the present conditions of politics in the United States reminded him of what he had observed in London when Gladstone first advocated home rule for Ireland.

Nor is it true to say that the United States is moved solely by self-interest to the disregard of higher ideals. In the Party politics and personal animosities arising out of them operate in every democratic country. They are factors varying from time to time in degree, but always more or less active, and they operate upon every public question which is at all controversial. They are, however, not the sole or even the prime cause of the difficulty in the United States about the League of Nations.

United States, as in other countries, there are cross-currents and backwaters in the national life and motives. When the nation was roused by the war these cross-currents and backwaters were swept into the main stream of action and obliterated, as they were in other countries. With the reaction to peace and more normal conditions they are again apparent, as they are in other countries. But an American might fairly reply that, whereas the self-interest of other countries which have conquered in the war is now apparent in the desire to secure special territorial advantages, the self-interest of the United States takes the less aggressive form of desiring to keep itself free from undesirable entanglements, and that it does not lie with other countries to reproach the United States.

It would be well, therefore, for the reasons both of truth and expediency, to concentrate our attention on the real underlying causes of the Senate's insistence upon reservations in ratifying the covenant of the League of Nations.

FORCE OF AMERICAN TRADITION

1. There is in the United States a real conservative feeling for the traditional policy, and one of those traditions consecrated by the advice of Washington is to abstain from foreign and particularly from European entanglements. Even for nations which have been used to European alliances the League of Nations is felt to be something of a new departure.

This is still more true for the United States, which has hitherto held aloof from all outside alliances. For the League of Nations is not merely a plunge into the unknown, but a plunge into something of which historical advice and traditions have hitherto positively disapproved. It does not say that it will not make this new departure. It recognizes that world conditions have changed, but it desires time to consider, to feel its way and to act with caution. Hence this desire for some qualification and reservation.

2. The American Constitution not only makes possible, but under certain conditions renders inevitable, a conflict between Executive and Legislatures. It would be possible, as the covenant of the League of Nations stands, for a Presi-

dent in some future years to commit the United States through the American representative on the Council of the League of Nations to a policy of which the Legislature at that time might disapprove.

The contingency is one which cannot arise in Great Britain, where the Government is daily responsible to the representative authority of the House of Commons and where in case of a conflict between the House of Commons and the Government the latter must either immediately give way or public opinion must decide between them and assert itself by immediate general elections.

This contingency is therefore not present to our minds, and in ratifying the League of Nations we have no need to make any reservations to provide for a contingency which cannot arise in Great Britain.

But in the United States it is otherwise. The contingency is within the region of practical politics. They have reason, and, if they so desire, the right to provide against it. Reservations with this object are therefore an illustration not only of party politics, but of a great constitutional question which constantly arises between the President and the Senate, and it would be no more fair to label this with the name of party politics than it would be to apply that name to some of the great constitutional struggles which arose between the House of Commons and the executive authority in Great Britain in the days before the question had finally been settled in favor of the House of Commons.

CALLS OUR HELP ESSENTIAL

What, then, may we fairly expect from the United States in this great crisis of world policy—for a crisis, indeed, it is? If the participation of the United States was enormously helpful in securing the victory in the critical months of 1918, its help will be even more essential to secure stability in peace. Without the United States the present League of Nations may become little better than a league of the Allies for armed self-defense against a revival of Prussian militarism or against a sinister sequel to Bolshevism in Russia. Bolshevism is despotism, and despotisms have a tendency to become militaristic, as the great French Revolution proved. The great object of the League of Nations is to prevent future wars and to discourage from the beginning the growth of aggressive armaments which would lead to war.

For this purpose it should operate at once and begin here and now, in the first years of peace, to establish a reputation for justice, moderation and strength. Without the United States it will have neither the overwhelming physical nor moral force behind it that it should have, or, if it has the physical force, it will not

have the same degree of moral force, for it will be predominately European, and not a world organization, and it will be tainted with all the interracial jealousies of Europe. With the United States in the League of Nations war may be prevented and armaments discouraged, and it will not be in the power of the fretful nations of the world to disturb genuine peace. Without the League of Nations the old order of things will revive, the old consequences will recur, there will again be some great catastrophe of war, in which the United States will again find itself compelled to intervene, for the same reason and at no less or even greater cost than in 1917.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the American people are prepared or wish to withdraw their influence in world affairs. Americans differ among themselves as to whether they could or ought to have entered the war sooner than they did. It is neither necessary nor profitable for foreigners to discuss this point now. What is common to all Americans and to all foreigners who know the facts is the unselfish, wholehearted spirit in which the American Nation acted when it came into the war. The immediate adoption of compulsory military service and, even more, the rationing of food and fuel in those millions and millions of households over such a vast area, not by compulsion but by purely voluntary action in response to an appeal which had no compulsion behind it, is a remarkable and even astonishing example of national spirit and idealism.

That spirit is still there. It is as much a part of the nature and possibilities of the American people as any other characteristic. It is not possible for such a spirit to play such a part as it did in the war and then to relapse and be extinguished altogether. It would be a great mistake to suppose that because the citizens of the United States wish to limit their obligations they therefore propose to themselves to play a small part in the League of Nations. If they enter the League as willing partner with limited obligations, it may well be that American opinion and American action inside the League will be much more fruitful than if they entered as a reluctant partner who felt that her hand had been forced. It is in this spirit, in this hope, and in this expectation that I think we should approach, and are justified in approaching, consideration of American reservations.

FOR "MATERIAL QUALIFICATIONS"

I do not deny that some of them are material qualifications of the League of Nations as drawn up at Paris or that they must be disappointing to those who are with that covenant as it stands and are even proud of it, but those who have

had the longest experience of political affairs and especially of treaties know best how often it happens that difficulties which seem most formidable in anticipation and on paper never arise in practice. I think this is likely to be particularly true in the working of the League of Nations. The difficulties and dangers which the Americans foresee in it will probably never arise or be felt by them when they are once in the League. And in the same way the weakening and injury to the League which some of its best friends apprehend from the American reservations would not be felt in practice.

If the outcome of the long controversy in the Senate has been to offer co-operation in the League of Nations it would be the greatest mistake to refuse that co-operation because conditions are attached to it, and when that co-operation is accepted let it not be accepted in a spirit of pessimism.

The most vital considerations are that representatives should be appointed to the Council of the League of Nations by all the nations that are members of the Council, that these representatives should be men who are inspired by the ideals for which we entered the war, and that these representatives should be instructed and supported in that same spirit of equity and freedom by the Governments and public opinion of the countries who are now partners in peace. If that be the spirit in which the Council of the League of Nations deals with the business that comes before it there need be no fear that the representative of the United States on that Council will not take part in realizing the hopes with which the League has been founded.

DOMINIONS' RIGHT TO VOTES

There is one particular reservation which must give rise to some difficulty in Great Britain and self-governing dominions. It is that which has reference to the six British votes in the Assembly of the League of Nations. The self-governing dominions are full members of the League. They will admit, and Great Britain can admit, no qualification whatever of that right. Whatever the self-governing dominions may be in the theory and the letter of the Constitution, they have in effect ceased to be colonies in the old sense of the word. They are free communities, independent as regards all their own affairs, and partners in those which concern the empire at large.

It is a special status, and there can be no derogation from it. To any provision which makes it clear that none of the British votes can be used in a dispute likely to lead to rupture in which any part of the British Empire is involved, no

exception can be taken. That is only a reasonable interpretation of the covenant as it now stands. If any part of the British Empire is involved in a dispute with the United States, the United States will be unable to vote and all parts of the British Empire, precisely because they are partners, will be parties to that dispute and equally unable to vote. But as regards this right to vote where they are not parties to the dispute there can be no qualification, and there is very general admission that the votes of the self-governing dominions would in most cases be found on the same side as that of the United States.

It must not be supposed that in the United States there is any tendency to grudge the fact that Canada and the other self-governing dominions of the British Empire have votes, but any person with the smallest understanding of public audiences must realize the feeling created by the statement that the United States with several million more English-speaking citizens than there are in the whole of the British Empire has only one to six votes. I am not concerned to discuss here how this problem of equality of voting may be adjusted in practice. It will not be important. In sentiment and political feeling it is a very powerful factor. We can neither give way about the votes for the self-governing dominions nor can we ignore the real political difficulty in the United States.

It may be sufficient to observe that the reservation of the United States, as far as known at the time of writing, does not in any way challenge the right of the self-governing dominions to exercise their votes, nor does it state that the United States will necessarily reject the decision to which these votes have been cast. It is therefore possible, I think it is even more than probable, that in practice no dispute will ever arise. Our object is to maintain the status of the self-governing dominions, not to secure a greater British than American vote, and we have no objection in principle to increase of the America vote.

Your obedient servant,
GREY OF FALLODON.

The letter was indorsed by the British and French press with practical unanimity. It was regarded as greatly strengthening the position of the Senators who were supporting strong reservations.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ATTITUDE

President Wilson had expressed himself to Senator Hitchcock regarding reservations in a letter written Jan. 26, five days before the Grey letter was published. In this communication the Presi-

dent had definitely asserted that certain reservations would be acceptable to him. In referring to the proposed modification in the reservation on Article X. he wrote:

To the substance of it I, of course, adhere. I am bound to, like yourself. I am solemnly sworn to obey and maintain the Constitution of the United States. But I think the form of it very unfortunate. Any reservation or resolution stating that "the United States assumes no obligation under such and such an article, unless or except," would, I am sure, chill our relationship with the nations with which we expect to be associated in the great enterprise of maintaining the world's peace.

That association must in any case, my dear Senator, involve very serious and far-reaching implications of honor and duty which I am sure we shall never in fact be desirous of ignoring. It is the more important not to create the impression that we are trying to escape obligations.

But I realize that negative criticism is not all that is called for in so serious a matter. I am happy to be able to add, therefore, that I have once more gone over the reservations proposed by yourself, the copy of which I return herewith, and am glad to say that I can accept them as they stand.

I have never seen the slightest reason to doubt the good faith of our associates in the war, nor ever had the slightest reason to fear that any nation would seek to enlarge our obligations under the covenant of the League of Nations, or seek to commit us to lines of action which under our Constitution only the Congress of the United States can in the last analysis decide.

May I suggest that with regard to the possible withdrawal of the United States it would be wise to give to the President the right to act upon a resolution of Congress in the matter of withdrawal? In other words, it would seem to be permissible and advisable that any resolution giving notice of withdrawal should be a joint rather than a concurrent resolution.

I doubt whether the President can be deprived of his veto power under the Constitution, even with his own consent. The use of a joint resolution would permit the President, who is, of course, charged

by the Constitution with the conduct of foreign policy, to merely exercise a voice in saying whether so important a step as withdrawal from the League of Nations should be accomplished by a majority or by a two-thirds vote.

The Constitution itself providing that the legislative body was to be consulted in treaty-making and having prescribed a two-thirds vote in such cases, it seems to me that there should be no unnecessary departure from the method there indicated.

I see no objection to a frank statement that the United States can accept a mandate with regard to any territory under Article XIII., Part 1, or any other provision of the treaty of peace, only by the direct authority and action of the Congress of the United States.

The chief issue over the ratification of the treaty when its consideration was resumed was on the words "by any other means," inserted in the Lodge reservation. The original reservation provided that the United States assumed no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity and political independence of nations by the employment "of its military or naval forces, or the economic boycott," unless Congress should first so provide. The new Lodge reservation adds after the word "boycott" the words "or by any other means," which would exclude moral pressure or financial assistance. The Administration Democrats argue that the inclusion of these words would practically prevent the enforcement of any decree of the League of Nations, as it would involve possible long delays awaiting any Congressional action on any steps that might be necessary to prevent war. The Republicans maintain that they are opposed to any action whatsoever involving this country in the affairs of other nations, either by moral, financial or military measures, unless Congress first so provides. It was on this point that the fate of the treaty rested when the present pages went to press.

League of Nations Council in Session

First Business Meeting

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 16, 1920]

THE French Government devoted Jan. 30 to the holding of solemn assemblies in honor of the birth of the League of Nations. Meetings of this kind were held in various college halls at Paris and in the public schools throughout France. Speakers at each meeting explained the need and possibilities of such a society of peoples. At the Sorbonne, in the presence of President Poincaré and his destined successor, Paul Deschanel, leading men in politics, religion, science and sociology spoke eloquently in favor of the League. The main address was delivered by Léon Bourgeois, Chairman of the Executive Council of the League and French member of the commission that drafted the covenant. In tracing the development of the League idea M. Bourgeois said:

President Wilson, by his messages and his personal efforts, offered the means of realizing this idea in a great international convention. Whatever defects there may be in it, the compact of April 28, 1919, has sealed between the free peoples a solemn agreement for the union of all, for the safety and independence of all.

Commenting on the absence of American representatives at the first meeting of the League, M. Bourgeois declared that the member-nations were all waiting and hoping for the entry of the United States in the near future. The immediate task, he pointed out, was to prevent the conquered powers, who had not recognized the rightfulness of victory nor the equity of the sentence imposed in its name, from disturbing the new-gained peace. Not with a spirit of hatred and persecution, but with strict, stern justice, Germany must be made to feel that she is powerless to revolt, must be made to understand that the force of right has become, and will remain, supreme.

In an address delivered by Paul Appell, Honorary Dean of the Society of Science, the assembly was warned that only two ways lay open to humanity—establish-

ment of the new conception of right which finds expression in the League, or self-destruction in war. A new war between great nations, he said, would mean the annihilation of a hundred million men with new weapons that could destroy in a few hours the most powerful cities, blot out life in entire countries, leaving behind only peoples destitute of moral ideals, believing only in force and returning to organized barbarism.

LEAGUE MEETS IN LONDON

The council of the League of Nations assembled in the Picture Gallery of St. James's Palace, London, on Feb. 11, and began its first business session. Members of the press and diplomats of all nations were present as spectators of a great event.

The council table was placed at one end of a long room hung with portraits of Kings and Queens of England. Just above the delegates hung the portrait of Henry VIII., and at the other end of the room was an early portrait of Queen Victoria. Otherwise the gallery was severely plain. On the big hearth blazed a cheerful fire, and the centre was occupied by chairs for the invited guests.

Half an hour before noon the secretaries and diplomats arrived, one by one. After a short but animated discussion as to who should preside, M. Bourgeois took the chair at the red morocco table at the end of the hall, before which the members of the council sat in gilded chairs, with Mr. Balfour, who had shortly before been appointed the British representative on the League Executive Council, and Baron Matsui of Japan on his right, and Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General, and Signor Ferraris of Italy on his left. Next to Signor Ferraris around the corner of the table sat Paul Hymans of Belgium and Count Quinones de Leon of Spain; facing these at the other end of the table sat Casteo da Cunha of Brazil and Kaki Amanos of Greece.

Mr. Balfour rose and made a brief speech of welcome, in the course of which he voiced regret at the absence of America. After the translation of his words into French, M. Bourgeois, as President of the session, made reply. He outlined the Agenda, which included the hearing of certain representations of Switzerland concerning the conditions of her entry into the League, and the appointment of the Sarre Basin Commission and of the High Commissioner for Danzig. He then asked the council to vote Mr. Balfour into the chair.

The council intrusted to M. Bourgeois the framing of a plan for the permanent court of international justice under Article XIV. of the League covenant, as well as consideration of the proposed list of international jurists to be invited to form a committee to prepare plans for the constitution of the court. It also charged Count Quinones de Leon, Spanish Ambassador to France, with consideration of the duties of the League relating to transit, ports, waterways and railways; Dr. Da Cunha, the Brazilian Ambassador, with the constitution of an international body for dealing with health problems, and Baron Matsui, the Japanese Ambassador, with the framing of the League's guarantee of the Polish Minorities Treaty.

Mr. Balfour announced that the actual deliberations of the council would take place in private, but would be announced at a later meeting. The meeting was then adjourned *sine die*.

The third meeting of the League occurred on Jan. 13. A resolution admitting Switzerland under certain conditions was passed, and it was announced that the League would call an international conference to study the financial crisis and seek means of mitigating its dangerous consequences. Twelve international jurists were nominated as a commission to consider the establishment of an international court. One of those nominated was Elihu Root. Of his inclusion Mr. Balfour said in a brief speech that Mr. Root, for one reason or another might find himself unable to accept the invitation, but that he desired to put on formal record the fact that Mr. Root would always be welcome in whatever

stage of the deliberations he felt he might participate. The Polish Minorities Treaty was placed under the guarantee of the League, and a Sarre Basin Commission was appointed, consisting of M. Rault, member of the French Council of State, Chairman; Alfred von Boch, Landrath of Saarlouis for Saar, Count de Moltke Hvidtfeldt for Denmark, and Major Lambert for Belgium. The appointment of a fifth member was deferred. Each member was to receive 100,000 francs yearly, and the Chairman was to receive an extra 50,000 francs for entertaining.

The fourth meeting of the League was fixed for March 15 at Rome.

NEUTRALS TO JOIN LEAGUE

At a conference held in Copenhagen on Feb. 4 the Scandinavian Premiers and Foreign Ministers decided to accept the invitation to join the League of Nations. The decision was arrived at, it was stated, in the conviction that small countries were unable to maintain an independent attitude on foreign policy outside the League. The Norwegian Cabinet on Feb. 14 decided to ask the consent of Parliament for Norway's participation in the League of Nations. None of the national assemblies of the Scandinavian nations, however, had actually voted acceptance up to the time this issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press.

The report from a committee appointed by the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament to examine the League covenant and to draft a bill providing for Holland's adhesion was published at The Hague on Feb. 3. This report favored Holland's entering the League. The report stated that, though Holland, by joining, would lose part of her ancient liberty, this would be more than counterbalanced by the fact that if she refused to join she might be isolated and excluded from the social life of other countries. A small minority of the committee opposed the entry of Holland, holding that the League was formed by "imperialistic powers," excluded a large part of Europe and Asia, and "contained the germs of future wars."

The application of Switzerland for membership in the League, under guar-

antees recognizing her peculiar international situation, was granted by the Council at its third session, held in London privately on Feb. 13. For more than a century Switzerland has had her neutrality recognized in Europe on the understanding that she would prevent any other country from invading her borders. Despite this special status, which prevented her from fulfilling all the usual obligations under the League, and the fact that her Constitution made it impossible for her to give her adhesion within the time limit required by the covenant, the League Council passed a resolution of admission which, though it recognized the unique situation referred to, required Switzerland to co-operate in commercial and financial measures against covenant-breaking States, and to defend her own territory under every circumstance. In return she was absolved from taking part in any military action and from the necessity of allowing foreign troops to pass through her borders.

Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and Holland were represented at the conference which opened at The Hague on Feb. 16 to discuss the formation of an international court of justice. The conference aimed, by the examination and comparison of plans already drawn by commissions of experts from other countries, to establish a uniform plan for a permanent tribunal such as was provided for by Article XIV. of the covenant of the League of Nations.

An official memorandum, sent by the South American Republic of Salvador to

the United States Government and made public by the Washington State Department on Feb. 7, asked for a new definition of the Monroe Doctrine in the light of Article XXI. of the League covenant. After laudation of the aims of the covenant and of the advantages hitherto accruing to Pan-America from the Monroe Doctrine itself, the memorandum continued:

Since, however, the covenant of the League of Nations does not set forth nor determine the purposes nor fix a definite criterion of international relationship in America, and since, on the other hand, the doctrine will be forthwith transformed—in view of the full sanction of the nations of the world—into a principle of universal public law, *juris et de jure*, I request that your Excellency will be good enough to give the authentic interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine as it is understood in the present historical movement and in its future application by the Government of the United States, which must realize that my Government is keenly desirous of securing a statement which shall put an end to the divergence of views now prevailing on the subject, which it is recognized by all is not the most propitious in stimulating the ideals of true Pan-Americanism.

It was officially stated at Washington on Feb. 9 that no new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine was considered necessary, and that the request of Salvador would have to be answered in the negative. Pending the receipt of the answer of the United States, Salvador, and other South American nations as well, had postponed action regarding their adhesion to the League.

Repatriating German War Prisoners

End of Their Long Ordeal

THE fate of the hundreds of thousands of war prisoners who were held by various former belligerents, and whose repatriation was eagerly awaited by their friends, continued to be a serious problem fifteen months after the fighting had ceased. There were still 400,000 German prisoners in France at the time of the final exchange of ratifications on Jan. 10, 1920, 360,000 being

in the liberated regions and 30,000 in the interior, of whom 5,300 were officers. The German Government had sent these unfortunates the following Christmas greeting on Dec. 25:

On the day when the folks at home miss most sorely their sons detained as prisoners of war, the National Government, in the name of the entire German people, sends the greetings of the Fatherland to the prisoners of war. The Christmas

holiday unites every German family. Therefore it has been in the most intimate circles a day to remember all those who are sorely missed and whose arrival is awaited impatiently and longingly.

This year has been worse than all those that have gone before in repeatedly disappointed hopes for the prisoners, as well as for the Fatherland longing for their return. The numerous and constantly repeated efforts of the National Government to bring about the return of the prisoners before the ratification of the Peace Treaty have, unfortunately, produced only partial successes. In the meantime, the beginning of the final completion of the Peace Treaty has come so near that the day of deliverance will soon dawn for those still being held back.

The National Government declares again at this time that it will not give up its unceasing efforts to have all the German prisoners of war and civilian prisoners still held in Europe and overseas returned to their homes as quickly as possible until the last man is back home again. It asks all the prisoners to have faith in this, and, after all the long sufferings and hardships they have so bravely endured, also to endure in patience the short space of time that still separates them from the day of their homecoming.

The National Government:

BAUER, SCHIFFER, DR. BELL, DR.
DAVID ERZBERGER, DR. GESS-
LER, GIESBERTS, KOCH, DR.
MAYER, NOSKE, SCHLICKE,
SCHMIDT.

Immediately after the exchange of ratifications France set to work to repatriate all German prisoners in accordance with plans previously drawn up. The War Prison Committee met the German delegate in Paris on Jan. 10 and 11, the French Director General of Transport, representatives of the War Ministry and of the Northern and Eastern Railways being present the second day, with all the German experts. It was stated that liberation of the prisoners would begin as soon as Germany supplied the rolling stock. It was agreed that seven trains, with a carrying capacity of 1,000 men, would be sent daily, and that they would bring the prisoners back by way of Cologne, Coblenz, Mayence and Kehl. Inhabitants of the Rhine would be liberated first. Those in the interior would be repatriated via Switzerland. Island prisoners would be taken off by German ships. The period of repatriation was estimated to cover about forty-five days. Austrian prisoners would be concentrated

at Lyons before final departure. The 1,000 Turkish and 3,000 Bulgarian prisoners were to be embarked from Marseilles. The first trainload of German prisoners arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle on Jan. 21. Other trains from various cities were leaving daily. German boats were arriving at Havre, Rouen and St. Nazaire to take their quota.

Admiral von Reuter, the commander of the German fleet at Scapa Flow, who gave the order for scuttling the ships in June, was set free by the British authorities on Jan. 28. He arrived at Wilhelmshaven on Jan. 31 and was greeted by thousands assembled along the waterfront, which was brilliantly decorated.

The fate of the 130 British prisoners in Russia was decided by an agreement signed at Copenhagen on Feb. 12 by James O'Grady, representing Great Britain, and Maxim Litvinov, representing the Russian Soviet Government. By this agreement British war prisoners in Russia and Russian war prisoners in England were to be released at once. Great Britain was to furnish the necessary transportation. It was also arranged that the Archangel Government should exchange Bolshevik prisoners for "White" prisoners held by the Bolsheviks.

The International Red Cross on Dec. 25 sent out an appeal in behalf of the prisoners of war in Siberia, declaring that 200,000 prisoners were living without shelter and virtually without clothing and proper food. Typhus was raging among them. It was stated in Geneva at International Red Cross headquarters on Jan. 27 that nearly 375,000 of the 500,000 Austro-Hungarian prisoners in Siberia had perished from typhus and smallpox. The rest had been kept alive only by the efficient work of Japanese, American and English doctors assigned to different towns along the Trans-Siberian Railway. It was stated at Rome on Jan. 1 that the Pope, after the receipt of a special appeal from Gustave Ador, former Swiss President and now President of the Red Cross, had appealed to the Japanese Government on behalf of the prisoners of all nationalities in Siberia.

American War Casualties

Total Deaths in the American Army 77,118—The Naval Controversy—New Air Policy

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1920]

THE Adjutant General of the United States Army on Feb. 7 gave out the final revised figures of American losses in the war. They showed that the total casualties were 302,612, with deaths numbering 77,118. Prior figures, based on weekly summaries issued by the War Department, had given the total as 293,061, with 77,635 deaths. The revised figures were as follows:

Killed in action	34,248
Died of disease.....	23,430
Died of wounds.....	13,700
Died of accident.....	2,019
Drowned	300
Suicide	272
Murder or homicide.....	154
Executed by sentence of General Court-Martial	10
Other known causes.....	489
Causes undetermined	1,839
Presumed dead	650
Total dead	77,118
Prisoners unaccounted for.....	15
Prisoners died	147
Prisoners repatriated.....	4,270
Total prisoners	4,432
Wounded slightly	91,189
Wounded severely	83,390
Wounded, degree undetermined.....	46,480
Total wounded	221,050
Missing in action.....	3

Grand total.....302,612

New York led the list of casualties with a total of 40,222. In detail these were:

	Officers.	Men.	Total.
Killed in action.....	254	4,528	4,782
Died of disease.....	70	1,888	1,958
Died of wounds.....	84	1,755	1,839
Died of accident.....	44	162	206
Drowned	0	42	42
Suicide	10	37	47
Murder or homicide.....	1	16	17
Other known causes.....	3	40	43
Cause undetermined	5	188	193
Presumed dead	5	64	69
Total.....	476	8,720	9,196

PRISONERS

Unaccounted for	0	7	7
Died	5	26	31
Repatriated	37	802	839
Total.....	42	835	877

WOUNDED

Slightly	487	11,989	12,476
Severely	472	10,561	11,033
Degree undetermined....	244	6,396	6,640
Total.....	1,203	28,946	30,149

HONORS TO PRIVATES

Statistics made public by the War Department on Feb. 10 showed that enlisted men received 63 per cent. of the medals awarded for service in the world war. To enlisted men went fifty-seven out of the total of seventy-eight Congressional Medals of Honor awarded, while 3,593 out of the 5,109 Distinguished Service Crosses conferred were given to enlisted men. All of the 641 Distinguished Service Medals awarded for meritorious service and not for acts of valor were conferred on officers. The 30th Division, which, with the 27th Division, broke the Hindenburg line, received twelve Medals of Honor, or 15 per cent. of all that were awarded.

UNIVERSAL TRAINING

It was reported from Washington on Feb. 3 that Republican leaders in the House had decided that universal training should be eliminated from the military bill. They held that the country, in the present state of finances, was opposed to expending \$700,000,000 a year for compulsory training, or about \$1,125,000,000 to maintain an army with compulsory training in operation. Representative F. W. Mondell, Republican floor leader, headed the opposition to compulsory training, and indications were that it would be defeated in the

House. Mr. Mondell stated the case in these words:

The Secretary of War has recommended an army of 570,000 men, to cost nearly \$1,000,000,000. Nobody outside of the General Staff and the Administration is considering any such establishment. The committee of the House and Senate is likely to provide for a regular establishment somewhere between 225,000 and 275,000 officers and men, line and staff. At the present cost this would involve appropriations of from \$425,000,000 to \$475,000,000. This force could not be reduced by any system of military training. The tendency would be to increase it.

A system of universal compulsory military training, such as has been proposed, would cost at least \$700,000,000 per year, after the first year. This total is much more than our entire average annual Federal expenditures for all purposes prior to our entry into the European war. At a time when, on the basis of present estimates, we are facing a deficit of nearly \$3,000,000,000, such expenditures are, of course, unthinkable.

Rejecting President Wilson's advice, House Democrats in caucus Feb. 9 adopted by a vote of 106 to 17 resolutions opposing the passage by this Congress of legislation for universal compulsory military training. The President's views were presented in a letter he wrote to Secretary Baker, which was read to the caucus by Representative Charles P. Caldwell of New York, a member of the Military Committee. In this letter Mr. Wilson urged that it was inadvisable that any party action be taken at this time on universal training, when the National Convention was so near. He spoke in favor of the principle of universal training. The caucus was apparently determined from the outset to have its way despite the President's counsel.

NEW AIR POLICY

On Jan. 22 Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, put into effect, as far as the army was concerned, the new army-navy policy relating to aircraft, which had been approved by the Joint Army and Navy Board on Aeronautics, as well as by Secretaries Baker and Daniels. Under this policy aircraft to be used in wartime operations are to be designated army aircraft, navy aircraft and marine aircraft. Army aircraft will be provided by

the War Department and manned only by army personnel. Navy aircraft will be provided by the Navy Department and manned by navy personnel. Marine aircraft will be provided by the Navy Department and manned by the marine air personnel, which is a branch of the Naval Air Service.

Specific functions have been mapped out for each of these branches of the Air Service. Army aircraft will carry out operations from bases on shore as an arm of the mobile army, or against enemy aircraft in defense of all shore establishments and also alone or in co-operation with other arms of the army, or with the navy, against enemy vessels engaged in attacks on the coast.

The function of navy aircraft will be to conduct operations from mobile floating bases or from naval air stations on shore, as an arm of the fleet, or for overseas scouting, as well as to protect coastal communications or operations against enemy establishments on shore when such operations are conducted in co-operation with other types of naval forces, or alone when their mission is primarily naval. The functions normally assigned to army aircraft will be performed by the marine aircraft when the operations are in connection with an advance base in which operations of the army are not represented.

OUR DEAD ABROAD

More than two-thirds of the nearest relatives of the American soldier dead abroad who have been asked by the War Department to indicate whether they wish to have the bodies brought home from Europe have asked for the return of the bodies to the United States. The Adjutant General of the army has sent out cards to the next of kin of soldiers requesting to know their desires as to the disposal of bodies. There were 74,770 cards sent out, and so far 63,708 answers have been received. The classification of the requests made by the next of kin in these answers is:

	Num-ber.	P.C. of Total.
Requests for return to U. S.....	43,900	68.9
Requests for retention in Europe.....	10,400	30.6
Requests for reburials in other countries than U. S.....	300	0.5

Under a new ruling issued by R. G. Cholmeley-Jones, Director of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, war risk term insurance, regardless of how long it may have lapsed, may be reinstated any time before July 1, 1920. The only conditions are:

1. Two monthly premiums on the amount of insurance to be reinstated must accompany the application.

2. The applicant must be in as good health as at the date of discharge or at the expiration of the grace period, whichever is the later date, and so state in the application.

The new ruling is the most important liberalization of war risk insurance since the passage of the Sweet bill, and is designed for the special benefit of service men who failed to reinstate their insurance prior to the new law and who have been discharged more than eighteen months. Men who have been discharged less than eighteen months may still reinstate their lapsed term insurance at any time within eighteen months following the month of discharge by complying with the same conditions.

NAVAL AWARDS INQUIRY

Admiral W. S. Sims, President of the Naval War College at Newport and formerly in command of the American naval forces in European waters, startled the country on Jan. 17 by a series of statements regarding the policy and conduct of the Navy Department during the war. He charged that, on leaving Washington for London just prior to the actual declaration of war, he was told by a person in authority at the Navy Department: "Don't let the British pull the wool over your eyes. It is none of our business pulling the chestnuts out of the fire. We would as soon fight the British as the Germans." Coupled with this assertion was the charge that inefficiency and delay in the Navy Department at Washington actually prolonged the war.

Some of the statements of Admiral Sims were made by him in oral testimony before a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, conducting an inquiry into the awards of medals and other decorations to United States naval officers and enlisted men

for their services in the war. Other statements were contained in a long memorandum prepared by Admiral Sims and presented to Secretary Daniels, which Admiral Sims read to the sub-committee. This memorial teemed with criticism of the conduct of the war by the naval administration.

REJOINDER BY MR. DANIELS

The testimony of Admiral Sims drew from Secretary of the Navy Daniels on Jan. 18 the following letter to Senator Page of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs:

I observe that Rear Admiral Sims on Saturday read to a sub-committee of the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate a copy of a paper recently sent to the department, which he entitled "Certain Naval Lessons of the Great War." The original of this has been referred to the General Board of the Navy for action.

At the proper time and in the proper way any fair-minded investigator will be convinced that the allegations reflecting upon the vigorous, effective and successful prosecution of the war, so far as the Navy Department and the entire navy are concerned, are based upon opinions which are without justification.

It is not my purpose at this time to comment on the letter as a whole, but one passage is of such a nature, having a bearing as it does upon international relations, that I wish to say that never to Rear Admiral Sims did I say: "Don't let the British pull the wool over your eyes. It is none of our business pulling their chestnuts out of the fire. We would as soon fight the British as the Germans."

In the latter part of March, 1917, after relations had been broken off with Germany and the American Navy had begun to arm merchant ships, Rear Admiral Sims was summoned to Washington. He was informed by me that he had been selected to go to London as special and confidential representative of the Navy Department. He was given explicit verbal instructions to visit the American Ambassador at London, to get in touch with the British Admiralty, to investigate the sinkings by submarines and the situation generally and inform the Navy Department fully. Of course, his mission was confidential, as the United States was then a neutral.

At that time Congress had not declared war. Rear Admiral Sims was cautioned to perform no act and to make no public statement that could commit this country to any course pending declaration of the country's policy by the President and the Congress. In this connection I reminded

him of the statement in his Guildhall speech in England, when he was a younger man, for which he was reprimanded by President Taft: "If the time ever comes when the British Empire is seriously menaced by an external enemy, it is my opinion that you can count upon every man, every dollar, every drop of blood of your kindred across the sea." I told him he was selected not because of this speech, but in spite of it, believing he would exercise the discretion and diplomacy which the confidential nature of his mission necessitated and that his wide acquaintance with naval leaders abroad would facilitate his obtaining for the department at first hand the information desired by this Government.

It is, I am sure, superfluous to add that I did not use the words which I have quoted above, relating to other Governments, or any words that could convey like meaning.

ADMIRAL KNIGHT'S VIEWS

Rear Admiral Austin M. Knight, on Jan. 23, before the Senate sub-committee investigating decoration awards, suggested legislation that should differentiate between decorations awarded for "valor" and for "meritorious and distinguished service." Admiral Knight suggested that Congress revise the entire medal legislation and create a decoration to be given only for valor in cases where the act of heroism was not remarkable enough to warrant awarding a Medal of Honor. At present, he said, the navy cross was awarded for heroism when the act was not sufficient to earn a Medal of Honor and for distinguished service when the service was not important enough to warrant a Distinguished Service Medal.

"Thus," he added, "when you see a naval officer wearing a navy cross you do not know whether he got it for valor or distinguished service, and in fact the only medal we have that stands only for valor is the Medal of Honor."

The Admiral suggested as a temporary expedient that the Navy Department authorize the wearing of a clasp marked "for valor" on all navy crosses awarded for heroism.

Chairman Hale of the sub-committee said the Admiral's suggestions would be given careful consideration and would be included in the committee's report

with a view to framing legislation along the lines suggested.

Discussing Secretary Daniels's order that the board reconsider all awards and submit a new report, Admiral Knight said: "The board will modify its former report as it deems necessary and make changes if they are found desirable. We hope to render a new report within a few weeks."

Admiral Knight took issue with Secretary Daniels's contention that commanding officers of ships sunk or seriously damaged by the enemy should receive the Distinguished Service Medal whenever their conduct was meritorious. "Officers who lose their ships," the Admiral told the sub-committee, "should never be so rewarded unless they take offensive action against the enemy or succeed in saving their ship through unusual ability." He said that in the case of Commander D. W. Bagley, Secretary Daniels's brother-in-law, no decoration was recommended in connection with the sinking of the destroyer Jacob Jones, because Commander Bagley did not engage the enemy. A navy cross was recommended for the officer, he said, for good seamanship displayed in taking off the crew and passengers of the torpedoed British steamer Orama.

DANIELS ON STAND

On Feb. 3 Secretary Daniels, before the Senate Naval sub-committee, made formal answer to criticism by Rear Admiral Sims and others of the policy followed in awarding war decorations. The Secretary's testimony for the most part was confined to a prepared statement, in which he took up, point by point, statements before the sub-committee by Admiral Sims, and dwelt at considerable length on the two major disagreements voiced by the Admiral, namely, the awarding of decorations to officers who lost their ships through submarine attacks or by mines and the relative importance of shore and sea duty.

On the controverted point of importance of sea service as compared to service ashore Mr. Daniels said he had not and would never "approve a disparity between awards given men who served

on shore as compared with the men who went to sea." Admiral Sims, he asserted, probably advocated high awards for many officers who served on staff duty ashore and few awards for officers who went to sea, because "most of Admiral Sims's duty in the navy has been on shore."

Turning to the second fundamental difference between his views and those of Admiral Sims, Secretary Daniels read at length from accounts of naval actions during all the wars the United States had been engaged in to support his contention that the policy of decorating brave officers, even though they lost their ships, was established early in American naval history and always had been followed.

Concluding his testimony with a denial of Admiral Sims's charge that "navy morale has been shot to pieces through the method followed in awarding honors," Secretary Daniels declared that there was nothing the matter with the morale of the navy except a shortage of enlisted men in many ratings and insufficient pay for the officers and men left, making a plea for immediate legislation that would increase navy pay to a status "at least comparable with the pay given men holding positions of similar responsibility in civilian life." The Secretary said that if such action were taken the country would "soon learn that there is nothing the matter with the navy."

NAVAL PEACE STRENGTH

Rear Admiral Taylor, chief of the Bureau of Construction and Repairs, told the House Naval Committee on Jan. 31 that approximately 940 warships would be the peace-time strength of the American Navy after July 1, 1920. This will

be three times the number in commission when the United States declared war on Germany, but the comparative tonnage will be only about one and one-half times as great.

A number of improvements based on the lessons learned in the war are to be made on the dreadnoughts and other craft. The first-line ships, Admiral Taylor said, are to be equipped with airplane platforms built over the forward turrets and extending over the bows of the vessels, so that aircraft may rise from all of them when at sea. Small land airplanes will be used, and in returning after a flight they will alight on the water, being kept afloat by collapsible air bags until they can be transferred to the platform. Other changes to be made in the dreadnoughts will include improved fire and searchlight controls, details of which were withheld for military reasons. These alterations, together with the repairs necessary to the 940 vessels, will cost about \$27,900,000.

HIGHER NAVY PAY

By a vote of 311 to 10 a bill was passed by the House on Jan. 23 increasing the pay of all enlisted men in the navy by approximately one-third. The increase, retroactive to Jan. 1 last, would continue until July 1, 1921. No increase for officers was allowed by the bill, though this may be provided for later. The measure was intended simply to hurry pay relief for enlisted men, who are leaving the navy at an alarming rate. The increase for men was estimated at \$10,000,000. The navy is short forty to forty-five thousand men on its normal strength. A majority of the ships are tied up for lack of personnel, particularly all of the Pacific Fleet being held at Mare Island and Bremerton.



Returning the Railroads

Essential Features of the New Law Under Which the Roads Will Operate—New Labor Demands

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1920]

THE imminent return of the railroads to private ownership and management, the date for which had been fixed by Presidential proclamation as March 1, brought the question prominently before Congress and hastened the preparation of the Railroad bill, which is a combination of the Esch and Cummins measures framed respectively in the House and the Senate. (See February CURRENT HISTORY.) The clause prohibiting strikes of railway employees under legal penalty was eliminated from the bill in deference to the determined opposition of the labor element. A guaranteed return to the stockholders of 5½ per cent. annually was tentatively agreed upon.

Final agreement on reorganization legislation was reached by the House and Senate conferees on Feb. 16. Aside from textual changes, the general features of the compromise bill followed the lines agreed upon, with the exception of the labor provision, which was modified so as to provide for a Federal Appeal Board appointed by the President, to consist of nine members equally divided between the employees, the employers and the public. Submission of all disputes of combined labor and employer boards must be made to the Federal Board before a cessation of work occurs. This new provision was presented by Director General Hines and was accepted by the conference. The labor delegates sought to oppose legislation making the calling of strikes unlawful, and put themselves on record as having never indorsed or approved of either the Esch or the Cummins bill, except that part of the Esch bill known as the Anderson amendment.

Railway employees pressed vigorously their demand for a further increase in pay before the roads were returned to their owners. The railway shopmen and

maintenance of way employees were especially insistent, and in furtherance of their demands called a strike for Feb. 17. After prolonged conferences Director General Hines declined to yield and referred the entire matter to President Wilson.

LOSS OF FEDERAL CARRIERS

According to official calculations made public Jan. 31, operation of the railroads, Pullman lines, express companies and waterways, unified under Federal control, had cost the nation approximately \$700,000,000. Figures of the Railroad Administration revealed a net loss of \$594,200,000 from railroad operation alone in the two-year period. Statistics, gathered from official sources as to operating costs of the Pullman lines and waterways and express companies while operated by the Government, showed the addition of \$100,000,000 to the transportation loss.

Heavy losses in November and December were charged to the coal strike in a statement by the Railroad Administration. A deficit of \$111,500,000 was shown for those two months after the two months' proportion of the annual rental was paid. December revenues were said to be about \$12,700,000 above actual operating expenses, while the revenues for November, according to Interstate Commerce Commission figures, exceeded actual operating expenses by approximately \$19,000,000. The monthly share of the annual rental has been computed generally at \$75,000,000.

The statement showed that of a loss of \$349,200,000 for the twelve months of 1919 \$228,700,000 came during the first six months, when there was "a prolonged slump in freight business following the signing of the armistice." It added that

"if the rate increase which went into effect in June, 1918, had become effective the previous January, the loss for the two years would probably not have exceeded \$104,000,000."

RAILROAD PAYMENTS FIXED

E. Marvin Underwood, general counsel of the Railroad Administration, stated in his annual report to Director General Hines on Jan. 27 that compensation contracts between the Railroad Administration and 232 railroads under Government control had been signed Jan. 1. These involved \$717,153,182, or 71 per cent. of the total annual rental of \$917,000,000 paid by the Government to the companies.

Claims for special compensation in addition to the standard return had been filed by 124 roads, the agreements being \$92,318,789. Thirty-five of these had been allowed in part, the total being \$7,493,618, while sixty-seven, totaling \$45,686,276, had been denied and eight, totaling \$553,754, had been withdrawn, leaving still pending fourteen, totaling \$9,224,288.

Mr. Underwood said that negotiations with the railroad corporations as to many additional compensation contracts for the standard return were being actively pushed. He said also that in addition to the standard contracts there had been 133 co-operative contracts executed between the Railroad Administration and smaller railroads, mostly short lines.

Describing the work of the claims and property protection section, Mr. Underwood declared gratifying progress had been made in avoiding loss and damage claims presented. He asserted that for all railroads under Federal control the number of unsettled claims on hand had decreased from 806,707 on April 1, 1919, to 465,722 on Nov. 1, 1919. During the same period 2,439,692 claims were presented and 2,780,677 were disposed of.

5½ PER CENT. DIVIDENDS

Under an agreement reached by the House and Senate conferees on the Railroad bill, Feb. 7, a return of 5½ per cent. would be guaranteed to stockholders by the Government for a period of

two years. In announcing the agreement Chairman Cummins of the Senate managers said the rewritten section provided that after the two-year period the percentage of return would be fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission, which would be authorized to fix rates so as to yield that return.

With the agreement on this section the conferees completed their work on the bill, and Senator Cummins said their report would probably be ready for Congress by Feb. 16. Leaders hoped to complete final enactment of the bill before the railroads were returned to private control on March 1.

The aggregate value of the properties used in transportation would be determined by the Interstate Commerce Commission according to the bill, the determination being by traffic districts. These districts would be used as groups for rate making and in territories where the roads earned an equivalent of the guaranteed return, no increase in rates would be necessary. Similarly the rates would be raised to make up a deficit in districts where the roads failed to earn the 5½ per cent. Figures on the probable aggregate value of the roads are not available yet. The outstanding capitalization and bonded indebtedness of all the roads amount to approximately \$19,000,000,000, on which a 5½ per cent. return would be \$1,045,000,000.

The guaranteed return to the roads under Government control has been about \$900,000,000 annually, based on the three-year period just prior to the time the Government took charge, individual roads receiving varying returns.

Distribution of earnings in excess of the guaranteed return is also provided in the bill. One-half of 1 per cent. would be available for unproductive improvements. Fifty per cent. of the excess over 6 per cent. would go to the roads earning such excess, while the remaining half would be put into a contingent fund administered by the commission and used to purchase equipment for rental to the weaker roads, which could also obtain loans from the fund.

President Wilson, on Feb. 13, conferred at the White House with a committee

representing the railroad workers in their plea for increased wages. A strike of the railway shopmen and maintenance of way employes had been called for Feb. 17. The meeting of the President and the committee, consisting of Timothy Shea, Acting President of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen; B. M. Jewell, President of the Railway Employes' Department of the American Federation of Labor, and E. J. Manion, President of the Order of Railway Telegraphers, took place under the south portico of the White House, the President being in his wheel chair. They chatted for a few moments and then the committee received a typewritten copy of the President's statement. There followed a discussion of the labor situation for about ten minutes.

The President outlined what he believed to be the proper procedure, and asserted that his decision was unalterable. He said, first, that he should endeavor to obtain justice for the men through an adjustment tribunal which would probably be set up in pending legislation. In the event of Congress failing to provide for a tribunal, the President would name a commission of his own to deal with the specific matter in hand.

Further than this, the President promised to appoint at once a committee of experts to consider facts at hand and make recommendations. This committee was to be named whether Congress established a permanent adjustment tribunal or not.

To this proposition the employes did not give their unqualified approval. They sought to brush aside the possibility of the final decision as to wages and working conditions being made by a permanent tribunal to be created by Congress, and asked that the President name a separate tribunal, representative of the corporations, employes and Government, possibly along the lines of the present coal commission of three, whose decisions should be binding. They said, however, that they would submit the President's proposal to the meeting of committees of their organizations, to be held on Feb. 23.

The committee stated that the reduction in living costs which labor had hoped for had not materialized, and that, so far as they could see, Congress had passed little legislation which would serve to aid in the fight against the high level of prices. They affirmed the opinion that Congress had failed to pursue a course which would in any way militate against what they termed the "capitalistic interests." The committee contended that any lasting change for betterment in the general situation could not be attained under present conditions; that fundamental reforms were necessary and higher wages imperative unless there was definite action to end existing evils.

In the main the President supported the Director General of Railroads, Mr. Hines, in his decision that heavy advances in wages at this time were impracticable; but he promised to try to bring about a betterment of conditions.

Following closely upon this conference with the President, plans for the formulation of a definite program to combat high living costs were revealed by union officials on Feb. 15. It was stated that the feeling was strong among the railroad union members that Government action to reduce high prices had not been effectual, and that though the wage demands of the 2,000,000 railroad workers, at the request of the workers, would be held in abeyance, immediate action would be taken to secure relief before the general conference of union committees to meet in Washington on Feb. 23. It was intimated that the new program would consist of recommendations to Congress, which all organized labor would support, and the hope was expressed that by its adoption the more radical union elements which demanded immediate action with regard to wages, before the President's proposal of a wage commission had materialized, could be more effectually held in control.

The railroad executives were asked by Director General Hines on Feb. 16 to send a committee to Washington for conference concerning President Wilson's proposal to create a joint commission to hear the wage demands of the union railroad workers.

Secretary Lansing's Resignation

Other Cabinet Changes

ROBERT LANSING, Secretary of State, retired from office Feb. 13, 1920, under sensational circumstances. The correspondence preceding his resignation revealed the fact that this latest Cabinet change was tantamount to an abrupt dismissal of his chief Cabinet officer by the President, on the ground that he was seeking to usurp the President's authority during the latter's illness. The first letter to Mr. Lansing, written by the President on Feb. 7, inquired whether it was true that during his illness the Secretary of State "had frequently called the heads of the Executive Departments of the Government into conference," intimating that he regarded such proceeding as a violation of the Constitution. The Secretary replied on Feb. 9 acknowledging that he had requested the Cabinet to meet for informal conference. This step, he said, had been taken after several members of the Cabinet had agreed that conferences were necessary on account of the President's illness; the object had been only to hold informal assemblages to confer on the "difficult and vexatious questions that had arisen," and that required attention; he added that if this action had forfeited the confidence of his chief, his resignation would be placed in the hands of the President.

President Wilson replied on Feb. 11 with a severe letter in which he rebuked the Secretary for "assumption of Presidential authority." He reminded the Secretary that "no action could be taken without me by the Cabinet," and that the Cabinet should have awaited his presence before holding any meetings. He referred to the fact that his judgments at Paris had been adopted by the Secretary with "increasing reluctance," and added: "Since my return to Washington I have been struck by the number of matters in which you have apparently tried to forestall my judgment by formulating action, and merely asking my approval when it was impossible to form an independent judgment." He closed by

stating that he would accept the resignation. This, he added, will "afford me an opportunity to select some one whose mind would more willingly go along with mine."

Secretary Lansing on Feb. 12 replied tendering his resignation. In this letter he stated that since January, 1919, he had been conscious that the President was no longer disposed to welcome his advice in matters pertaining to foreign relations. He added that he would have resigned then, but did not desire to take a step that might be misinterpreted abroad and at home; he stated that on his return in July, 1919, he would have resigned, but again deferred action on account of the treaty fight in the Senate, and subsequently withheld it on account of the President's illness; he challenged the imputation that he had attempted to usurp the President's authority in calling the Cabinet together during his illness, and reaffirmed his belief that this step was for the best interests of the Administration. He disagreed with the statement that he had "tried to forestall" the President's judgment, stating that he conceived it to be the function of the Secretary of State to advise with the President and express opinions on any matters. "I have been surprised and disappointed at the frequent disapproval of my suggestion," he said, "but I have never failed to follow your decisions, however difficult it made the conduct of foreign affairs."

The President replied on Feb. 13, accepting the resignation, "to take effect at once."

Under Secretary of State Frank L. Polk assumed the duties of the office temporarily. Under the law the President has thirty days in which to fill the vacancy.

The incident produced universal surprise, followed by almost unanimous condemnation of the President's method of procedure. This feeling was expressed as freely by newspapers and publicists of the President's party as by members of

the opposing parties. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, who was going out of office on March 1, stated that the meetings of the Cabinet had been suggested by several Secretaries as necessary. Former Secretary Redfield, who had recently resigned, strongly supported Secretary Lansing in his action, and other members of the Cabinet were understood to feel that the rebuke administered to Secretary Lansing should be equally shared by them, as they were all of one mind over the propriety of his action. The resignation created a similar amount of comment in Europe, nearly all of a like tenor.

The facts came out after the resignation that Secretary Lansing had not been in accord with the President in many of his positions at Paris; that he had favored separating the League of Nations covenant from the treaty; that he had not been consulted by the President at Paris except at intervals, and that he had not been invited to important conferences; also that Colonel House was shown preference in receiving the confidence of the President.

Mr. Lansing was the American member and Chairman of the commission appointed by the Peace Conference to determine what disposition should be made of those accused of violating the laws of war and of committing other crimes. Mr. Lansing was opposed to requiring Germany to assent that the ex-Kaiser should be tried for crimes against the laws of war unless evidence should be obtained that he had committed these crimes personally or had personally given directions for committing them. He maintained that to take any other course would be to establish a new principle of international law.

In this position Mr. Lansing was opposed by a majority of the other members of the commission, who asked the Peace Conference to take a more radical course toward the ex-Kaiser and the German officials.

The Peace Conference followed the lead of the majority of the commission, but gave partial assent to Mr. Lansing's minority views in conceding, as it did in the Peace Treaty, that the provision

for bringing the Kaiser and other Germans to trial was a departure from international practice.

The Cabinet sessions called by Secretary Lansing during President Wilson's illness, concerning which the latter protested in forcing the resignation of his Secretary of State, were instituted on Oct. 14, about two weeks after the President was stricken following his return from the Western speaking tour on the Peace Treaty issue.

At the time Secretary Lansing called the first meeting there was genuine alarm about the President's condition, and it was deemed by Mr. Lansing and other Cabinet advisers that, in the interest of the Government, the condition of the President should be known to his department heads. Just at that time there was agitation over the probable necessity of calling upon the Vice President to assume the Presidency. Cabinet members had been besieged upon that point, particularly from members of Congress who were uneasy over the situation.

When Secretary Lansing called the Cabinet to meet on Oct. 14 it was understood to have been with the approval of the President. Certainly it was not done without the knowledge of Mr. Tumulty, Secretary to the President, who was in constant touch with Mr. Lansing and who was regarded at least as being in touch with the President through Dr. Grayson.

Members of the Cabinet supposed that the President was kept fully informed regarding the meetings held, as they were attended not only by Mr. Tumulty on numerous occasions but also by Dr. Grayson. Besides the President's illness, when the first meeting was called the coal strike had been ordered, and it was considered incumbent upon the Government to act in the matter. "During the coal strike crisis the Attorney General attended the Cabinet conferences and then conferred directly with the President; the Attorney General stated that he had outlined to the President what the Cabinet had done, and added that the President approved. During the Mexican crisis Secretary Lansing favored def-

inite action, but the President did not approve, and he declined to receive the Secretary of State at any time during his illness.

OTHER CABINET CHANGES

David F. Houston of Missouri was nominated by President Wilson on Jan. 27 to be Secretary of the Treasury, to succeed Carter Glass of Virginia, appointed Senator from that State. At the same time Edwin T. Meredith of Iowa was nominated to succeed Mr. Houston as Secretary of Agriculture. Still another Cabinet change came on Feb. 7 when the President accepted the resignation of Franklin K. Lane, for nearly seven years Secretary of the Interior.

Mr. Houston had been Secretary of Agriculture since the beginning of President Wilson's first term. He was born in North Carolina in 1866, was educated at South Carolina College and at Harvard, taught ancient languages at the former college, was Superintendent of Schools at Spartanburg, S. C., was Professor of Political Science at Harvard, and Dean of the Faculty, became President of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas and President of the University of Texas, and was Chancellor of Washington University at St. Louis when appointed to the Cabinet. He was one of the members of the committee that organized the Federal Reserve Banking system. He was also active in the organization of the Federal Farm Loan Bureau. During the controversy in the Cabinet over the Lusitania case he was credited with standing with Secretary Garrison and Secretary Lane in combating the efforts of William Jennings Bryan to prevent the use of drastic measures against Germany.

Mr. Meredith is the youngest man appointed to the Cabinet by President Wilson. He is 43 years of age. He is the editor of *Successful Farming*, which he founded in 1902, and lives at Des Moines. He ran for Senator on the Democratic ticket in 1914, but was defeated, and was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor in 1916. During the war he was a member of the Treasury Board of Advisors. He telegraphed his

acceptance of the President's appointment from Miami, Fla., on Jan. 26, and at once started for Washington. He is considered a specialist in agriculture; Mr. Houston, on the other hand, has won for himself celebrity in the field of economics.

Mr. Lane's letter of resignation stated that, having served the public for twenty-one years, he now felt an imperative call to other duties. His expressions of warm friendship for the President called forth the following reply on Feb. 7:

My dear Mr. Secretary: I need not tell you with what regret I accept your resignation as Secretary of the Interior, for our association has been very delightful. I have admired the spirit in which you devoted yourself to the duties of your department, as I am sure that all attentive observers have, but the reasons you give for your retirement leave me no choice but to acquiesce, and I, of course, accept your suggestion that the resignation take effect on the 1st of March, since that will serve your convenience.

May I not add how sincerely I hope that your future career will be as full of honorable success as your past? My best wishes will follow you throughout all the years that apparently must now separate us, and I beg to subscribe myself,

Cordially and sincerely your friend,

WOODROW WILSON.

Nine resignations from the Cabinet have taken place during the Administrations of President Wilson. They are as follows:

Attorney General McReynolds—Appointed to the Supreme Court.

Secretary of War Garrison—Disagreement with the President.

Secretary of State Bryan—Disagreement with the President.

Secretary of Treasury McAdoo—To increase his income.

Attorney General Gregory—To increase his income.

Secretary of Treasury Glass—Appointed Senator.

Secretary of Interior Lane—To accept a business call.

Secretary of Commerce Redfield—To accept a business call.

Secretary of State Lansing—Disagreement with the President.

President Wilson, however, does not set the record for Cabinet changes. The following number took place in other Administrations: Grant 18, Roosevelt 18, Jackson 14, Madison 12, Washington 10.

CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 18, 1920]

WHY WORKERS ARE RESTLESS

DETERMINED to learn at first hand the causes of the present industrial unrest in the United States, Whiting Williams, Director of Personnel of the Hydraulic Pressed Steel Company of Cleveland, Ohio, left his desk and for seven months worked as a laborer in the steel mills, coal mines, and on ore dumps. On Jan. 23 Mr. Williams, in a public address, defined three primary causes of the discontent, saying:

Three things on the worker's mind are: the pre-eminent importance of holding a job; the terrible danger of being forced into joblessness; the unholy alliance between tiredness and temper, between fatigue of body and mind, which gives opportunity for agitators to work upon the feelings and sensibilities of the worker, and the almost complete ignorance of the average worker as to the plans, purposes, ideals, and character of his employer.

The worker is told little or nothing of these things. As a result, he uses his head and makes deductions. He sees prodigal waste of materials about the shop, perhaps, and decides: "This company cares for nothing but big money. What do my small wages matter?" And he proceeds to "soldier" on the job. The longer I worked in the mills the less I did, because of the "underground" instructions, a tap on the shoulder with such behests as, "Lots of time," "Take it easy," "Don't kill yourself," "Twelve hours," &c. The ignorance of the worker regarding the company's principles and purposes, the result of lack of interest by the company in its workers, causes lack of interest on the part of the workers, which costs the company money in inefficient work.

It is a mistake to conclude that all workers are radicals. The latter are a small minority, but they have a lead on the employer group, chiefly because they have been industriously engaged in putting salt on the raw spots among the workers, thus taking advantage of idleness, fatigue, and soreness.

* * *

CAUSE OF THE PRESIDENT'S ILLNESS

DR. HUGH H. YOUNG of Johns Hopkins Hospital at Baltimore, one of the physicians in attendance on President Wilson, on Feb. 10 gave the first expla-

nation of the President's illness. He declared that in October last the President's case was diagnosed as cerebral thrombosis (clot in a blood vessel), which caused a slight paralysis of the left arm and leg, "but that at no time was his brain power or the extreme vigor and lucidity of his mental processes in the slightest degree abated." He added that the clot was being absorbed and that the President was obtaining the full use of the parts affected. On Feb. 18 it was announced by the physicians in charge that the President had practically recovered and would be able to assume his full duties without any danger of a recurrence of the attack.

* * *

TRIALS OF WAR CRIMINALS IN FRANCE

IN the last week of 1919 a sentence of ten years' imprisonment, fifteen years' exclusion from residence in France, and a fine of \$2,000,000 was passed by a court-martial sitting at Amiens on a German officer named Robert Roechling. An officer during the war, Roechling was manager of the great works at Karlshuette, in Germany, and, with his brother Hermann, was one of the great German steel magnates. Hermann Roechling, who did not appear before the court, was sentenced to the same punishment. Together the two brothers during the war carried out the systematic destruction of the great ironworks of Briey, Rehon, La Chiers, Micheville, and Longwy, in the East of France, in order to do away with their competition. Of the material which was destroyed, 8,000,000 tons was removed in the course of two years to Karlshuette, where, however, it was subsequently blown up by Roechling's orders just before the arrival of the French in December, 1918.

Of six French officers tried by court-martial at Mayence for having diverted into Germany material intended for the invaded provinces, five were condemned to prison for periods ranging from five months to two years. The sixth was

acquitted. The Germans implicated were sentenced to similar terms of imprisonment, with a fine in addition.

Georges Gaston Quien, who was sentenced by a French court last September to die for the betrayal of Edith Cavell to the Germans, and whose case had been appealed, was sentenced on Jan. 30 to twenty years' imprisonment for communicating with the enemy. The charge of betrayal of Miss Cavell was abandoned at the second trial. Lieutenant Funck, an Austrian, who was employed during the war in a Paris bank, but who acted as a spy and reported to the Germans points at which shells of the enemy's long-range guns fell, was executed on Feb. 2. Another spy, Louis Guaspere, made revelations to the authorities just before the time set for his execution, and received a provisional reprieve.

* * *

THE WAR ON OPIUM

IN a letter published in The London Times on Jan. 3, Mrs. Washburn Wright, leader of the crusade against opium and kindred drugs so successfully conducted by her late husband, Dr. Hamilton Wright, calls attention to the urgent necessity of carrying into effect the provisions of the Opium Convention of 1912 and the special protocol drawn up at the third International Opium Conference held at The Hague in June, 1914. There is an article in the Peace Treaty with Germany which makes provision for dealing with the opium problem, and all the signatories have agreed to bring the 1912 convention into force and to pass the necessary legislation "without delay," and in any case within a year of the treaty's ratification, supervision of these international agreements to be placed in the hands of the League of Nations. Mrs. Wright points out, however, that if legislation is to be passed within the period prescribed, it must be begun at once. The United States has already set the example by passing a law in pursuance of the 1912 convention, but this action, says Mrs. Wright, is of very limited value until the rest of the powers pass similar legislation.

The present position, according to Mrs.

Wright, is that immense and increasing quantities of noxious drugs are being smuggled into China, more particularly morphine and heroin. Some of this traffic, she declares, originates in England and some in the United States. Japan is charged with dealing extensively in illicit drugs, and with deriving a large profit from this traffic. The Japanese Government has denied any official responsibility, but Japan herself, it is alleged, is the chief distributing centre for the drugs smuggled into Chinese ports. The Koreans have charged Japan with deliberately distributing drugs in Korea for the purpose of degrading the population and thus weakening their resistance to Japanese penetration.

Mrs. Wright's praise of the Chinese Government for prohibiting opium and burning all existing supplies is seriously qualified by an editorial writer of The London Times, who says:

The Chinese authorities have had dramatic bonfires of opium and opium utensils in order to impress the Western nations, but have winked at the renewal of poppy cultivation on an extensive scale in their own provinces. It is now clear that opium is being widely manufactured and consumed in many provinces. Many provincial Governors are now a law unto themselves. The Governors need money, and are not too nice about how it is obtained. The consequence is that the consumption of home-grown opium has increased enormously in all parts of China, in addition to the traffic in imported drugs. The British and American Governments presented at Peking in April last a remonstrance regarding the renewal of opium cultivation. The Chinese Government replied at the end of October with a categorical denial which is in conflict with the independent evidence now available. Be that as it may, the clear duty of other powers is to do their utmost to prevent the exportation of noxious drugs to China, and we trust that in all countries the requisite legislation will be passed "without delay," as the Peace Treaty prescribes.

* * *

FIRST JAPANESE AVIATRIX

MUCH attention and interest has been excited in Japan, says the Japanese Chronicle, by the appearance of the first feminine Japanese aviator, Miss Seiko Hyoto, aged 20 years, who has just entered the Ito Aviation School with the object of pioneering in this new field for

the sake of Japanese women. The intention of Miss Hyoto to become an aviatrix was formed ten years ago, when she found an airplane design among her father's papers. Despite the opposition of her family, she went to Tokio to study flying, but money difficulties compelled her return. She subscribed, however, for the transcripts of lectures published by the Japan Aviation School, and studied aviation with all her energies. She finally went to Osaka and tried her fortune again. Moved by her unshakable resolution, her family sent her money and she entered the school in December. The Japanese press has given her much attention.

* * *

BOLSHEVISM THROUGH DOSTOIEVSKY

IN the December issue of the *Mercure* de France is a remarkable article by M. J. Kessel, in which, after studying the chief characteristics of the abnormal heroes of Dostoevsky, the author seeks to establish a psychological and racial bond between this company of half insane epileptics and amoral megalomaniacs and—the Bolsheviks! *Se non è vero, the anti-Bolsheviks might say, è ben trovato.* To the student of Russian psychology the comparison and equation is far more illuminating than it could be to the casual reader. In opening his study M. Kessel says:

Bolshevism, a barbarous word, literal transcription itself of a Russian barbarism, has been passionately discussed. * * * In Russia it has taken on a special, morbid character. It has suddenly revealed cruelties, aberrations of which the great Russian people, traditionally known for its mildness, seemed incapable. It has instilled terror with its mad and bloody rush of dense human masses behind hollowly flapping flags, with its organized destruction. It has surprised the world above all by its chaotic longevity and by the small resistance that it encountered from the beginning.

This character of collective malady must be clarified by the study of the Russian nature, its deep instincts and its habits of thought. Acid which, thrown on lime, produces an immediate reaction, would have no effect on granite. The acid we know; it is the Bolshevik system, as expounded by its theorists. The foundation on which it acts has hitherto remained practically unknown. In the given case, it is clear that for frenzied illusions to have had the power of the Biblical burn-

ing bush and within a few weeks to have shaken a whole people and a whole faith, they must have found an appropriate mentality, something troubled, passionate, bruised, ready to accept everything and pay it back tenfold, that is, the Russian psychosis, as it developed throughout the nineteenth century.

The psychosis of Dostoevsky. Now that Russian Bolshevism makes us think of a dance of madmen, now that all Russia is a free field for adventures and folk obsessed, Dostoevsky the epileptic, the Sadist, the lover of criminals and neurotics, is perhaps more realistic, and certainly more real than the great Tolstoy, the serene psychologist of "Anna Karénina" and "War and Peace."

M. Kessel then takes up, one by one, the best-known characters of Dostoevsky—Baskolnikov, Ivan Karamazov, and his brother Mitka, Svidrigailov, Peter Verkhovensky, and others less well-known, and from all he deduces the psychological elements seen today in the half insane logic of the Bolshevik leaders, and in the frenzied red furies of the Bolshevik multitude, evacuated of the idea of the Russian God, and given free rein to the maddest and cruelest instincts of the Slavic character. Of this insane multitude Dostoevsky said almost prophetically:

Where will it stop, this mad, inexorable gallop? Until now other nations have stepped aside from its path, either in terror or disgust. *But the day will come when they will cease to stand aside, and they will build a strong barrier before the mad course of our unchained fury to save themselves, their culture and their civilization.*

* * *

WAR ZONE PILGRIMAGES

FRANCE is already preparing to receive the enormous throngs of tourists whose influx she expects in 1921, and who will visit her historic battlefields and demolished towns. M. Clavelle, Minister of Public Works, on Dec. 31 introduced in the French Chamber a bill to authorize the Office National de Tourisme to borrow 30,000,000 francs (about \$6,000,000 at the pre-war rate of exchange) for the purpose of organizing the broad stretch of country over which the conflict raged, including the erection of camps, hotels and restaurants, and the creation of motor-car services throughout the battle zone. The National Tour-

ing Office will farm out to companies or private individuals these camps, hotels, &c., and will be authorized to pay out of its receipts its working expenses and annuities on loans. Out of the residue, 25 per cent. will be allotted to the devastated communes. Hotel and transport tariffs will be fixed by agreement with the Minister of Public Works.

Another scheme—of American origin—is the erection of a chain of hotels in the American-British battle zones, each hotel to have at least two-thirds of its available rooms set aside for American and British tourists. The undertaking has been financed at \$10,000,000 by wealthy business men from the United States. The two largest hotels of this chain will be near Château-Thierry and Ypres. Guides to the battlefields will be supplied.

The women relatives of American soldiers who died in France are to be specially provided for under the direction of the Y. W. C. A. of Paris. Rooms have already been engaged by this organization at the Hotel Petrograd in the French capital, and plans have been made for providing the mothers and sisters, who come to visit the graves of their dead, with comfortable quarters, helping them with baggage and passports, and facilitating the finding of the graves they seek. Arrangements have also been made to have these relatives shown special attention when visiting cemeteries. At some of the larger burying places, where hotel accommodations are still lacking, rest houses have been erected. At Romagne, barracks were given by the American Army and furnished by the Y. W. C. A.

* * *

THE FRENCH BIRTH RATE

THE problem of the ever-diminishing birth rate of France has become more acute with the great losses due to the war. The question has seemed so vital to the Government that steps have been taken to study the situation and to find a remedy, or remedies, to overcome the danger to the country's future existence. President Poincaré on Jan. 27 issued a decree creating a natality division of the Ministry of Health, this bureau being

empowered to deal solely with France's need for more children. M. Brenton, Chief of the Ministry of Health, on the same day presented a report, which read in part as follows:

The lowness of the French birth rate, which becomes worse each year, endangers the existence of the nation. For a long time before the war France lacked men. French soil is one of the most fertile in the world, but is one of the least productive because of lack of labor. Because of the lack of men industry in France is obliged to depend more on immigration than any other European country. The war in depriving France of 2,000,000 young men has increased still more the danger which threatens the nation.

We have often studied this situation, which is unique with France; we have recognized that it is not due to one cause, but to a multiplicity of causes. Therefore, to combat it we must not resort to one remedy, but to many remedies, some of a moral nature, others of a national and economic nature.

We must not intrust this grave question, the gravest of all that confront us, to a temporary commission, irregularly convoked, but to a permanent organization meeting at fixed periods and equipped with sufficient means of inquiry and publicity.

The decree issued by the French President provides that this council shall consist of thirty members, and shall meet monthly. One of its duties will be "to examine all measures which may combat depopulation, increase the birth rate, develop puericulture, and protect and honor large families."

* * *

FIRST JEWISH SHIP

THE first Jewish ship in the Mediterranean, owned by Jews, manned by Jews, and flying the Jewish flag, was launched at Jaffa late in January. As the blue-white flag of Zion flew up the mast, two Italian warships in the harbor gave official recognition to the Jewish colors by saluting them. The vessel, a former German craft, was purchased to ply along the Palestine coast, making the ports of Beirut, Tyre, Haifa, Jaffa, Gaza, and several ports in Egypt. It was renamed Hecholutz, the Pioneer. Permission had been gained from the British Government to fly the Jewish colors. The wife of the English commandant at Jaffa raised the flag and

launched the boat, expressing the hope that next year the Jewish Zionists might possess a large merchant marine on the Mediterranean. The establishment of such a fleet was being worked out in conjunction with harbor improvements at Haifa by Zionist engineers, who planned, through the \$10,000,000 now being raised by the Palestine Restoration Fund campaign, to convert Haifa into the leading harbor and most important city of the entire Near East, whose commercial and maritime prosperity will be carried on through Jewish merchantmen.

* * *

STATE SOCIALISM IN QUEENSLAND

THE extensive experiment in State Socialism undertaken by Queensland, one of the largest of the Australian States, has proved, according to a writer in *The New York World*, to be a complete failure. The State established its own butcheries, liquor saloons and fisheries, operated the railroads, coal and carbide mines, but met in every direction with financial loss. Taxation, which had been \$5.79 per capita, jumped the first year (1916) to \$8.68, in 1917 to \$9.46, in 1918 to \$10.54, and in 1919 to \$16.20. Meanwhile Queensland has had a greater percentage of strikes than any other Australian State, many of them in the State's own enterprises. Official figures, according to this writer, show that the cost of living in Queensland is higher than in any other State of the Australian Union.

* * *

NEW ZEALAND NON-PROHIBITION

THE results of the New Zealand referendum poll on prohibition, taken collaterally with the Parliamentary elections in December, were stated officially on Jan. 9 to be as follows:

For continuance of present liquor laws..	240,998
For State purchase and control.....	32,148
For prohibition	270,178

The votes cast for prohibition were thus 2,968 short of the absolute majority required to carry any of the three points at issue. The present licensing system was therefore continued. The prohibitionists announced that they would continue the fight, and if necessary would ask the new Parliament to amend the electoral

law in such wise that a definite majority verdict one way or another could be obtained.

* * *

TRAINING DISABLED MEN

IT was stated in the British Parliament on Dec. 23, 1919, that in England, Wales and Scotland there were 20,000 disabled soldiers and sailors on the waiting list for industrial training. About 13,000 were being trained in private workshops and factories; 20,000 had already been trained, and a large additional number of applications were expected and provided for. The spirit of employers was generally good, and a royal proclamation had been of material assistance in helping to find permanent places for the soldiers trained.

* * *

LARGEST NAVAL SHIP

CROWDS of spectators lined the bank of the Clyde River at many points on Jan. 10 to witness the launching of the new British battle cruiser *Hood*, the largest naval vessel of the world. The new dreadnought is 860 feet long, with a displacement of 41,200 tons, and a designed speed of 31 knots. Its main armament consists of eight 15-inch guns. The *Hood*, according to an Admiralty statement, cost £6,500,000; three others of the same type, which had been partly constructed, were scrapped after the signing of the armistice.

* * *

NEW AMBASSADOR TO ROME

ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON of New York, editor of the *Century Magazine* from 1909 to 1913, an author and poet, originator of the memorial to Keats and Shelley in Rome, was appointed on Feb. 11 as Ambassador to Rome to succeed Thomas Nelson Page of Virginia, who resigned several months ago.

* * *

GALLIPOLI GRAVES DAMAGED

CERTAIN British cemeteries in Gallipoli, where so many British soldiers were sacrificed in vain, have been seriously damaged by vandals, and the British High Commissioner at Constantinople

has called the attention of the Ottoman Minister of War to this desecration. The commissioner stated that he had caused disciplinary action to be taken in cases in which Turkish soldiers were the offenders. To prevent further acts of

desecration, and to facilitate the work of the Graves Registration Units, the Commander in Chief of the Army of the Black Sea had begun the sending of Serbian guards into the area to protect the graves.

Ireland in Revolt

A Tense Situation

THE serious situation in Ireland was frankly acknowledged, both by the King and by the Premier, in their respective addresses at the opening of Parliament, on Feb. 10, 1920. All the developments during late January and February indicated that the home-rule proposal outlined by Lloyd George, which was printed in full in the February CURRENT HISTORY, was unsatisfactory to all groups of the Irish people, and would require complete revision. The Premier announced that the bill was undergoing changes, and would be introduced during the week of Feb. 16-23.

Declarations made by spokesmen for an English labor delegation, on completion of a ten-day tour of Ireland, were to the effect that the desire for an independent republic was widespread, and frankly expressed, but the Labor Party, while believing that the fullest measure of home rule should be granted, going much further than the proposals in the pending Government bill, indicated that it would oppose complete separation from the empire; it asserted that it would favor a measure according home rule in all domestic and excise questions, but held that foreign relations should be kept under control of the British Government.

Eamonn de Valera, who was elected by the Sinn Fein organizations as the "President of the Irish Republic," made a public statement at New York on Feb. 7 which was regarded as opening the way for an adjustment of the question. He declared that England might grant Ireland her independence, and, under a policy similar to that of the American Government regarding the independence of Cuba, make it impossible for any

nation to obtain a military foothold on the politically independent island.

All the traditional enmity, the statement said, would be wiped out by the granting of independence to Ireland, because there would be no longer cause for Irishmen to hate England. It added that "an independent Ireland would see its own independence in jeopardy the moment it saw the independence of Britain seriously threatened," and that "mutual self-interest would make the peoples of these two islands, if both independent, the closest possible allies in a moment of real national danger to either."

The statement charged that England's real motive in preserving the present relation with Ireland is not the preservation of the security of England, but "the perpetuation of her present commercial monopoly" and the "perpetuation of her domination of the seas by control of the great Irish harbors."

This declaration was not indorsed by the extreme wing of the Clan-na-Gael in the United States, and was mildly criticised by the editor of The Gaelic American, the spokesman for the extremists, who affirmed that anything short of complete independence would be unacceptable to the Irish people and would alienate American support.

The situation in Ireland was extremely tense during February, the entire country being practically in a state of sullen insurrection and virtually under martial law. The result of the Sinn Fein victories at the local elections was manifested when the local boards met to organize on Jan. 30. At Dublin, in order to express open defiance of British control, the flag of the Irish Republic was unfurled from the tower of the Munic-

ipal Buildings, next door to Dublin Castle, the seat of British authority, and it fluttered the entire day in full view.

Without a single dissentient vote Alderman Tom Kelly was elected Lord Mayor. Kelly had been for nearly two months in Wormwood Scrubs Prison. He was secretly arrested at night and taken to England on a ship of war. By 58 votes to 14 the Corporation refused to send any names forward to the Lord Lieutenant for the office of High Sheriff. Sinn Fein Chairmen were elected at Cork, Waterford, Tipperary, Sligo, Drogheda and Limerick. In Derry a Roman Catholic Mayor was elected for the first time in 300 years. When Alderman O'Doherty took his seat, Nationalists sang "God Save Ireland," and American and green flags were waved. Mayor O'Doherty in his address declared that flags, if they were of an insulting character, would not be permitted to fly from the Derry Guildhall in future. He added that a long and painful chapter in the history of the country had been closed.

In Cork Alderman Thomas McCurtain, who was Captain of the local Sinn Fein Volunteers, was appointed Lord Mayor. The Sinn Fein "Soldiers' Song" was sung in the Council Chamber and a resolution was carried declaring the Corpora-

tion's allegiance to Dail Eirann. The Council declined to appoint a Sheriff, as that would necessitate an oath swearing allegiance to the King. Limerick also declined to nominate a Sheriff, and when the Sinn Fein Mayor took his seat the "Soldiers' Song" was sung. At Drogheda the new Mayor himself refused to take the oath.

The British Government was quick to act. At 4 o'clock in the morning of Jan. 31 troops were turned out and raided and arrested every Sinn Fein official in Dublin, Limerick, Thurles and elsewhere who had committed any act or uttered words of sedition and rebellion. The prisoners were gathered in Dublin for transportation to England on British warships. The arrest of all the leaders throughout the country forestalled a crisis that seemed impending from the action of the local boards, and prevented any organized open outbreak prior to the disposition of the new home-rule proposal. Meanwhile the whole island was seething with excitement, and there were numerous clashes between the people and the police, with a number of fatalities, but up to Feb. 18 the firm execution of martial law supported by the presence of an immense body of troops prevented any general uprising.

Norway Acquires Spitzbergen

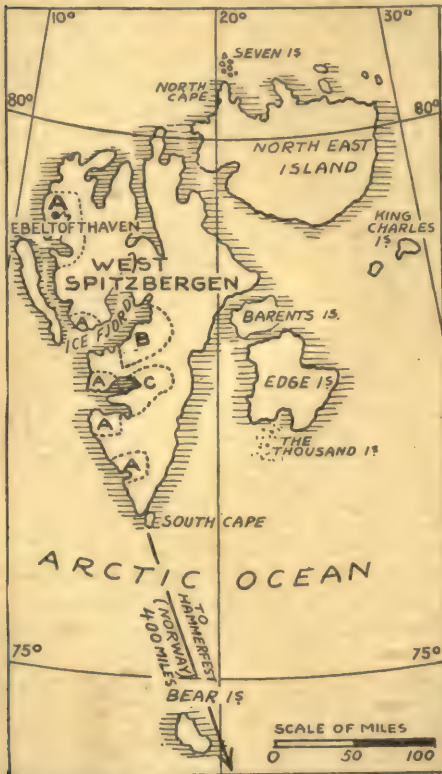
Most Northerly Coal Field in the World Awarded to Norwegian Government by Supreme Council

THE Spitzbergen Archipelago, 400 miles north of Hammerfest, in the Arctic Ocean, was placed under the sovereignty of Norway by the Peace Conference on Feb. 9, 1920, when an international treaty to that effect was signed in the Clock Hall of the Foreign Ministry at Paris. Hugh C. Wallace, the American Ambassador to France, signed for the United States; H. A. Bernhoft, Danish Minister to France, for Denmark; Alexandre Millerand, the French Premier, for France; Carlo Ferraris, Italian representative in the League of Nations, for Italy; Baron

Matsui, Japanese Ambassador to France, for Japan; Baron Wedel Jarisberg, Norwegian Minister to France, for Norway; Jonkheer J. Loudon for the Netherlands and Count Ehrensvaard, Swedish Minister to France, for Sweden. The Earl of Derby, British Ambassador to France, temporarily absent, affixed his signature the next day.

Spitzbergen for hundreds of years has been a country without political organization or connection with any of the world's nations. For a century it had been a favorite landing station for arctic expeditions and whaling fleets. A land

of vast glaciers, snow-clad mountains, and rich coal fields, it was a camping place for half a dozen enterprising nationalities that went there to conduct mining operations on their local claims, or to hunt the fur-bearing animals that



SPITZBERGEN ARCHIPELAGO, NOW UNDER THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT

abounded on the islands, or to carry on manufacturing enterprises. The Germans held a coal district and maintained a scientific station at Ebeltoftshafen; the English had several sections in the coal fields and elsewhere, and Norway, Sweden, and Russia all had coal claims on the west coast, which they were working. Each community was a law unto itself, but for several years there had been urgent attempts to arrange a definite political status for the islands; in fact, a treaty on the subject was in process of negotiation when the great war broke out in 1914. Now at last the Peace Conference has completed the work, apparently to the satisfaction of everybody.

The Norwegians claimed the adminis-

trative control of the archipelago by right of discovery, and by right of occupation and development of its coal resources. They allege that Norsemen discovered the archipelago; that it was mentioned in the sagas as early as 1194 under the name of Svalbard, and that Norwegian whalers have kept up the connection ever since then. The Dutch sailors, Jakob van Heemskerck, Jan Corneliszoon Rip and William Barents, were supposed to have discovered the islands in 1596, taking them to be part of Greenland, and naming them New Land. For two centuries the Dutch used the islands as hunting grounds for seal and walrus, changing the name to Spitsbergen, from its sharp-pointed mountains. This name has since been accommodated to German spelling. There is a strong sentiment for reviving the old Norse name Svalbard (cold mountain) for the archipelago. In 1630 England formally annexed the islands, all except a small portion permanently occupied by the Dutch, but she urged no claims on them in 1914, when the international conference met in Christiania to settle the status of Spitzbergen.

The most productive of the coal mines are at Advent Bay, about the middle of the west coast, where there is also a wireless station. These mines were prospected by Norwegians, developed by the American Longyear Company, and afterward sold to Norwegians. Norwegian coal holdings thus came to exceed all others, though next in importance comes those of the Swedes, who are carrying on considerable coal-mining operations a little further south. There are said to be deposits of iron ore in the islands. Five hundred workmen passed the Winter of 1918-19 in Spitzbergen, all Norwegians, except sixty Swedes. Since 1908 the Norwegian Government has subsidized voyages of exploration there, with the results of full and valuable maps, including the only ones that have ever been made of the interior, and extensive literature on the geography, history and mineralogy of Spitzbergen. The Norwegians also maintain the wireless telegraph station and a postal service, the only connection with the outside world. The area is about 28,000 square miles. The Nor-

wegian Government will levy taxes, but only to devote the proceeds to the needs of the islands, which must not be used for military purposes.

Under the Norwegian sovereignty established by the treaty all private interests already existing in Spitzbergen will remain intact, and provision is made for

the free entry of any foreign enterprises that desire to take part in developing the resources of the islands. The German mines were taken over by the English during the war, and the German scientific station was destroyed, but it is hoped that the latter will in time be re-established.

Slesvig and the First Plebiscite

Victory for Denmark

ONE of the first of the plebiscites, or popular votes, provided for under the German Peace Treaty was that of the northern zone of Slesvig, the province which Germany had wrested from Denmark in 1864 and annexed as part of Schleswig-Holstein. The vote was held on Feb. 10 and proved to be an overwhelming victory for the Danes. Official returns, published two days later by the International Commission, showed 75,023 votes for the return of the zone to Denmark, as against 25,087 for its retention by Germany. As some 10 per cent. of the voting Germans at once returned to their homes in Germany, whence they had come at the urging of the Berlin Government, the International Commission stated on Feb. 12 that the Danes were about 85 per cent. of the population.

The result was greeted by the Germans with charges of unfairness and with some violence. A German climbed to the roof of the hotel in Flensburg where the Interallied Commission was staying, tore down the English and French flags, pulling the French one to pieces, and hoisting German flags instead. Denmark, on the other hand, rejoiced over the result of the plebiscite. In the Council of State at Copenhagen on Feb. 11 King Christian recalled with emotion how his grandfather fifty-six years ago had voiced the sorrow of the Danes over the dismemberment of their country. He added:

It is my happy, if undeserved, fortune to see this glorious day. Humbly thanking God and in fond remembrance of those, dead and living, who fought to preserve Danish Slesvig, I send the first

greeting of welcome to my returning compatriots, whose love of their mother country has only been strengthened by their long and trying period of alienation from her.

BEFORE THE PLEBISCITE

King Christian X. of Denmark had cabled to President Wilson on Jan. 12, 1920, the deep gratitude of the Danish nation for the part played by the United States in bringing about the Treaty of Versailles, containing the provision that Danish Slesvig should have "an opportunity to be united to its Fatherland." The Allied Plebiscite Commission, which had been sitting in Copenhagen since August, 1919, entered Flensburg on Jan. 26 to oversee the voting which constituted this "opportunity." Allied troops were present to enforce fair play. The commission received an enthusiastic welcome from the Danish portion of the population, as did the allied troops of occupation at Handerslev and other cities. At Flensburg the reception was marred by German assaults on persons displaying Danish flags. Stones were thrown and some Danes injured. Many arrests were made, and the German police was replaced by Danish and allied policemen.

The commission issued orders prohibiting public officials and preachers from electioneering, and forbidding aliens to participate in such activities on pain of deportation. This was to prevent the influx of professional agitators from Germany and Denmark. The British troops occupying Flensburg found it necessary to deport the Mayor of that

city for his activity in behalf of German interests. The Dannebrog was hoisted all over the province. Feeling ran high, both factions waging a vigorous contest, with the use of every political trick to gain the desired end. Attempts of the rival factions in the country districts to capture each other's meetings resulted in some broken heads, but the Allies kept the situation so well in hand that serious violence was prevented.

Ten days after the signing of the peace protocol German troops had to leave the province. German officials rapidly abandoned the northern zone, where the first vote was to be taken, and where there was no possible doubt that the Danes would win. Still there the Germans strove to secure as large a minority as possible in the hope that every vote would help to save Flensburg, which is in the southern zone, where the second vote was to take place five weeks after the first. The northern zone was to vote as a unit and the southern zone by communes. If the northern zone voted a return to Denmark—a foregone conclusion—the southern zone was to vote five weeks later. The first zone was to vote three weeks after the ten days' notice given the German authorities to leave both zones after the signing of the peace protocol, the day finally set being Tuesday, Feb. 10, 1920.

CONTEST OVER FLENSBURG

When the plebiscite was first ordered the Danes protested against extending the boundary line too far southward. Denmark did not wish a return of that part of the territory taken away in 1864 which is racially German. Some objection was made even against the return of Flensburg, which, however, became

the storm centre of the campaign. Fifty-five years of Prussianizing had removed all evidence of Danish life, but the Danes of the district assert that it is essentially Danish, though the German lan-



SHADED PORTION ABOVE UPPER BLACK LINE IS ZONE THAT VOTED FEB. 10 TO REJOIN DENMARK. REMAINING SHADED ZONE WILL HOLD A PLEBISCITE IN MARCH

guage was forced upon the population. Moreover, the Danes became more and more swayed by the economic importance of Flensburg, which is the chief city and seaport of the province. Economic elements in the situation made it difficult if not impossible to settle the Slesvig question along national lines. It became evident that many Germans preferred going under the rule of Denmark to remaining subject to Germany; they also wished to escape the war-indemnity taxation of Germany. German shipping companies of Flensburg had given up their ships to the Allies, and hoped by becoming Danish to recover them.

Then there is the superior value of the Danish krone over the depreciating German mark. The Danish Government has promised to do all that is possible to protect returning Danes from losses, but this question of valuation has not been settled. Premier Zahle, whose Ministry guided Denmark through the dangers threatened by the world war, explained before his resignation (March 1, 1919) that to redeem the mark at par was an impossibility. Trade and industry are almost paralyzed by the unsettled conditions, and food and fuel are scarce, in spite of the efforts of the Danish Government to relieve the distress in the province.

The commission agreed to fix the boundary line according to "geographical and economic considerations." The flexibility of this phrase gave rise to the hope on the part of the Slesvig Danes that Flensburg would be awarded to Denmark whether the Germans got a majority of the votes or not. Though the Danish Government specified that Flensburg was not to be returned unless the inhabitants clearly indicated a desire for it, there was agitation throughout Denmark and Slesvig to redeem it from Germany. It was argued that Flensburg, though forcibly Germanized, is an old Danish town, a stronghold of Danism, and belongs economically with the agricultural hinterland of North Slesvig. The feeling increased that the boundary should be fixed at the Eider River. This stream was the southern boundary of Denmark fixed by King Canute the Great in an agreement with Kaiser Konrad II. of Germany in 1027, and there it remained until 1864, when Germany seized Slesvig.

HISTORIC DANISH WALL

In the campaign in South Slesvig much use has been made of the sentiment and historical associations that centre about the Dannevirke (Danes' work). This great wall was built in prehistoric times by the Danes as a defense against the Holsteiners and other Germans, who are referred to in the sagas as Huns. Extending from the forks of the Trae River to the Slie Fjord, about

eight miles long, the wall is still a striking feature of the landscape, and has always been the symbol of Danish national entity. Around it centre the sacred memories of over a thousand years, with all the imponderable values of national sentiment, love, and pride in heroic ancestry and epic deeds.

Attacks on this wall by the "Huns" drove the neighboring tribes to gather around King Dan, who founded the kingdom which was called after him Danmark (Dan's field or land). Toward the end of the ninth century Queen Thyra caused the construction on the same site of a new wall thirty to forty-eight feet high and thirty feet thick at the top, built of earth, stones and timbers. The steep southern side was protected by palisades, and for every hundred feet there was a bastion tower. Below the palisades was a moat nine fathoms deep and ten wide. In its whole length there was only one place where the moat could be passed and only one passage through the mound. This was called Karlegat or Viglidsdör ("Carls' Gate" or "Warriors' Door"). The wall has since been reinforced and extended by various Danish monarchs.

The land bounded on the north by the Dannevirke, with the Trae River and its marshes at its western end and the Slie Fjord at its eastern end, and on the south by the Eider River was in olden days a dense forest called Mörkved (Mirkwood) or Jernved (Ironwood). But the Eider River was then, as now, the border line between the old Danish province, South Jutland, and the German province Holstein. Even to this day the Germans call part of this territory Dänischwald, the Danish Forest.

The name Slesvig was given to the province from the city of the same name on a *vig* (small bay) of the Slie Fjord, and means the Slie's Vig (Cf. Old Norse *vik*—English *wick*). The German form Schleswig has no meaning. As Slesvig has always been ethnically Danish and Holstein ethnically German, there is no such country as Slesvig-Holstein. Hence the bitter hatred, on the part of the Danish Slesvigers, of the artificial union of the two provinces.

Rumania and "Greater Rumania"

Survey of Regions Claimed by the Bucharest Government— How Much the Peace Conference Has Granted

BY the Rumanian elections of November, 1919, the old Kingdom of Rumania brought under one Liberal (de facto) Government Ministerial and Parliamentary representation both its antebellum territory and the territory of the "Reunion." On Nov. 21 the Grand Parliament of "Greater Rumania" was convoked to sanction the reunion of Bessarabia, Bukowina, Transylvania, the Banat of Temesvár, Oltenia, Maramuresh, Ardjal, Crish and Dobrudja, all countries which the Rumanians of the old kingdom overran after the armistice and wrested from Russia, Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria. In all these regions, except Dobrudja, Rumania had pluralities of irredentist Rumanian population, which, on the coming of the troops from the mother country, revolted against their several masters and threw in their lot with the old kingdom. Thus Rumania seemed to realize her wildest dreams of national unification, which raised her, in population, area, and natural resources, to the rank of a great power.

Of course there was national jubilation on the part of those of Rumanian race, but by this action Rumania came into disagreement with the allied and associated powers, with whom, however, the Rumanians continued in alliance with the conciliatory attitude which they still maintain. The Supreme Council ordered the Rumanians out of Hungary when they were in Budapest levying indemnities for the damage done when the Austrians and Germans overran old Rumania during the war. The Rumanians obeyed this order to the extent of leaving the Hungarian capital and withdrawing their troops beyond the Theiss, but they retained their hold on Transylvania, a few Hungarian counties west of Transylvania and north of the Banat, and the eastern part of the latter.

The Peace Conference refused to sanction their annexation of Torontal, the

westernmost of the three counties of the Banat. The Entente powers have since sanctioned the Rumanian possession of Dobrudja, but have not yet acted on the question of her retaining the rest of her "Reunion" territories. The uncertainties arising out of this situation are bitterly complained of by the Rumanians, who attribute to it the slowness of their economic recovery, the suspension of many of their industries, and their inability to put into execution their proposed agrarian and other internal reforms. Bolshevism was repudiated at the November elections.

BANAT OF TEMESVAR

The Banat of Temesvár (pronounced Temeshvár) is a district in the southeast of Hungary, consisting of the three counties on the Danube, Krasso-Szörény, Temes, and Torontal. The latter county is bounded on the west by the Theiss River. Because of the 183,000 unredeemed Serbs in Torontal, the Entente proposes to award this county to Serbia. The Rumanians complain bitterly of this, citing their waived claim to that part of the Timok Valley in Serbia which is mostly Rumanian in population.

The term banat (Hungarian *Bánzágy*) means generally a frontier province corresponding to the German *Mark*, and the old English March (cf. the Marches of Wales). This was governed by a *ban*, the Hungarian equivalent of the German *markgraf* and the old English Lord Marcher. The other banats which existed in Hungary until swept away by the Turkish wars were those of Slavonia, Bosnia, and Croatia. But when the word Banat is used without qualification it always indicates the Banat of Temesvár, which strangely came by this title after the peace of Passarowitz (1718), though it was never governed by a *ban*. The area is 11,260 square miles. It is bounded on the south by the Danube, on the

west by the Theiss, on the north by the Maros Rivers, and on the east by the Transylvanian Alps. It is mountainous in the east and southeast, while in the north, west, and southwest it is flat and in some places marshy.

The climate is generally healthy, except in the marshy parts. It is well watered and one of the most fertile farming districts of former Hungary, producing great quantities of wheat, oats, rye, barley, maize, flax, hemp, and tobacco. The products of its vineyards are of excellent quality. It is a good game country and the rivers swarm with fish. In the mountains the mineral wealth is great, including coal, iron, copper, tin, lead, and zinc. Even in the Roman period it was famous for its mineral springs, especially the sulphur springs at Mehadia, then known as the Baths of Hercules (*Thermae Herculis*). In 1900 the Banat had a population of 1,431,329. According to nationality there were 578,789 Rumanians, 362,487 Germans, 351,938 Serbians, and 170,124 Magyars. The chief city is Temesvár, in the north-central part, on the Alte Bega River, which had in 1900 a population of 53,033. Other cities of importance are Versecz (25,199), Lugos (16,126), Nagybeczkerek (26,407), Nagyikinda (24,843), and Panczova (19,044).

HISTORY OF THE BANAT

The Turks conquered the Banat in 1552, and ruled it as a province until 1716, when they were driven out by Prince Eugene of Savoy. After the peace of Passarowitz, two years later, it received the title of Banat, and remained under a military administration until 1751, when Maria Theresa gave it a civil administration. When the Turks were driven out the district was found to be nearly depopulated, having become a desolate wilderness of heath, forest, and marsh. Rumanians poured in great numbers into this region, settling the Hungarian plain almost as far westward, in some places, as the Theiss. Count Claudius Mercy (1666-1734), who was appointed Governor of the Banat in 1720, took numerous measures for its regeneration, draining the marshes near

the Theiss and the Danube, and building canals and roads at great cost of labor. German artisans, Serbs, Magyars, and other settlers were attracted to the district, and trade and agriculture were encouraged. Maria Theresa further developed the Count's measures, colonizing the crownland with German peasants and founding many villages, besides encouraging the exploitation of the mineral resources. In 1779 the Banat was again incorporated with Hungary. After the revolution of 1848-49 the Banat and another county (Bacz) were separated from Hungary, and the Banat was made a distinctive Austrian crownland, but was again incorporated with Hungary in 1860. The city of Temesvár became a town in the thirteenth century, but was destroyed by the Tatars in 1242. It fell into the hands of the Turks in 1552, from whom Prince Eugene delivered it in 1716. In 1849 it successfully warded off the attack of Veczy and his Hungarian insurgents. On Aug. 9, 1849, the Austrians under Haynau defeated the Hungarians under Bem and Dembinski, near Temesvár. In the city stands a Gothic column forty feet high, by Max, erected to these defenders of 1849. The city consists of an outer town and an interesting inner town, or "fortress." Among the notable structures are the commander's palace, an immense barracks, the Greek Bishop's palace, a Catholic cathedral built by Maria Theresa, a Greek Catholic cathedral, and an arsenal housed in the castle built by Hunyady in 1442. The population is mainly German Catholic.

Up to the outbreak of the world war the Rumanians of the Banat belonged mainly to the peasant, town proletariat, and other lower classes, and were in a backward condition, culturally and socially. The ruling and business classes and the intellectual classes were Germans and Magyars, who regarded the Rumanians with haughty contempt.

THE DOBRUDJA

The peninsula projection of the Bulgarian uplands, thrusting northward between the Danube River on the west and the Black Sea on the east, known as the Dobrudja, is of little intrinsic value. It



SHADED PORTIONS INDICATE TOTAL OF NEW TERRITORY CLAIMED BY RUMANIA. THE PEACE CONFERENCE SANCTIONED RUMANIA'S RIGHT TO THE DOBRUDJA AND PART OF THE BANAT. THE OTHER CLAIMS ARE STILL IN ABEYANCE

consists of a ridge of bare hills and plateaux, and barren, wind-swept downs, whereby the Danube is forced to make its great bend northward from Silistria, until it rounds the Dobrudja hills and breaks a marshy way to the Black Sea. Turco-Tatars roam these uplands with their flocks of sheep and goats, and herds of half-wild swine find pannage there. A few Bulgarian peasants tilled the scattered patches of fertile soil.

The region had no importance until the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. Then Russia took it from the Turks and thrust it upon Rumania, in enforced exchange for the fertile Rumanian province of Bessarabia, between the Dnieper and Pruth Rivers and the Black Sea. The Rumanians resented this robbery, and could see little use to be made of the barren Dobrudja, which was without any Rumanian population. In making the best of this bad bargain, however, Rumania, under the pressure of her expanding commerce after 1878, discovered that Dobrudja's principal harbor, Constanza, afforded a much-needed short-line com-

mercial outlet to the Black Sea. When Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, was connected by railroad with Constanza, the latter became a flourishing seaport, Rumania's chief economic outlet to the world.

The nearness of Constanza to the Bulgarian frontier, however, made Rumania dissatisfied with the situation, which exposed her seaport to capture in case of war. By her intervention in the second Baltic war of 1913, Rumania remedied this strategic defect by forcing Bulgaria to cede to her the Danube fortress of Silistria and a strip of territory extending southeast to the port of Baltchik, on the Black Sea. This cession of nearly 3,000 square miles put the Bulgarian frontier out of easy striking distance to Dobrudja, and made the Rumanian frontier a menace to the Bulgarian port of Varna. This infuriated Bulgaria, who promptly made use of the opportunity for revenge afforded her by the world war. In the Autumn of 1916, when Rumania entered the war on the Entente side, Bulgaria, as the ally of Germany,

overran Dobrudja. This Bulgaria held until Rumania struck back after the armistice was signed, and by this coup brought the Dobrudja again under her own sovereignty.

ORIGIN OF THE RUMANIANS

Speaking a language more like the ancient Latin than any other living tongue, looking like Southern Italians, though separated from the nearest Italic population by hundreds of miles of territory peopled by stocks utterly alien, the Rumanians form a racial cultural puzzle. Ethnologists accept as probable the picturesque tradition of the Rumanians, who believe themselves to be descendants of the Roman colonists planted in this part of the lower Danube, known as the ancient Dacia, in the second century A. D. When the irruption of barbarian hordes compelled Rome to abandon Dacia, at the end of the third century, a portion of the Romanized Dacians are supposed to have taken refuge in the Carpathian fastnesses of the present Transylvania, there preserving the Latin language and traditions. Historical certainty of their movements dates from the early Middle Ages, when the modern Rumanians descended from the Transylvanian Mountains into those wide plains north of the Danube which now make up the antebellum Kingdom of Rumania. They moved under pressure from the west by the warlike Magyars (of Finnish stock), who had settled the great plains of Hungary, and a branch of the Magyars, called the Czechlers, had become dominant in Transylvania.

In the lower Danubian plains the Rumanian colonists gradually formed themselves into two States, Wallachia in the south, and Moldavia, including the recent Russian province of Bessarabia, in the north. These Rumanian principalities underwent many devastations from the Turks, who, after their conquest of the Balkan Peninsula in the fifteenth century, compelled Wallachia and Moldavia to accept a status of autonomous vassalage to the Ottoman Empire. As the Turkish power declined in the early nineteenth century, the principalities, being

the natural high road from Russia to the Balkans, suffered much from the passing to and fro of the Russian armies invading the Balkans.

But in this period the Rumanians awoke to full racial consciousness, threw off the Turkish suzerainty, and in 1859, notwithstanding Russian opposition, Wallachia and Moldavia united, forming the independent Kingdom of Rumania though real independence of Turkey was not obtainable until the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. Though Rumania rendered valuable assistance to Russia against the Turks, Russia regarded Rumania as a stumbling block to her ambitions in the Balkans and in Constantinople. Russia considered her seizure of Bessarabia as a preliminary step to her intended annexation of all Rumania, when the time should be ripe.

PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY

That tract of country between the Dnieper and Pruth Rivers and the Black Sea, a goodly continuation of the Russian "black earth" belt so famous for its fertility, has for centuries been overwhelmingly Rumanian in population, as have Transylvania, Southern Bukowina, and the eastern plains of Hungary.

The racial solidarity secured by the recent formation of the kingdom of Greater Rumania would seem on the face of it to go a long way toward solution of the Balkan questions by removing the age-long Balkan curse of irredentism. What casts the shadow of doubt on this solution is the characteristic incompetence, politically and economically speaking, of the Rumanian race. The Rumanians have never been noted for ethical energy of character, for business or industrial efficiency, or for political organization and responsibility. They are a temperamental, easy-going, light-hearted, thriftless people, fond of music and of the gayeties of life, and have shown bigoted hostility to the superior thrift of the Armenians, Jews and Greeks, who control the retail business of Rumania; they have imposed ironclad legal handicaps upon these aliens, including a law forbidding their ownership

of land. From habit and the natural fertility of their soil they are good farmers and graziers; also, they are good horsemen and good individual fighters. But all the industrial and large business life of their country has been carried on by German, Russian, and other foreign capital.

The oil and other mineral wealth of Rumania and Transylvania are great, as well as that of the Banat—coal, iron, tin, zinc, copper, lead, mercury, sulphur and arsenic. The gold mines of Rumania and Transylvania are the richest in Europe. Rumania is a successful stock-raising country also. Greater Rumania is poten-

tially a great power in the hands of a people who may not know how to use it without danger to neighboring countries. Transylvania and the Banat are removed as a natural bulwark from the Hungarians, a fact that causes dangerous rancor. The loss of Bessarabia causes much bitterness in the Ukraine.

Rumania delivered the Jews from all legal and political disabilities by a decree in June, 1919, and was compelled, after long hesitation, to agree to the treaty protecting minorities, which is printed on Pages 531-4 of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

The Balkans and Turkey

Dangerous Rivalry Between Greece and Bulgaria Over Turkish Territory—Sultan Regaining Ground

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1920]

PROCRASTINATION between Paris and Budapest over the signing of the Treaty of Neuilly passed almost unnoticed in the Balkan Chancelleries. Rumania on Feb. 5 had ordered the withdrawal of her troops to the frontier between Hungary and Transylvania as designated in the treaty; the Russian Soviet troops on the frontier of Bessarabia were attempting to arrange a protocol with the Rumanian Government, the pourparlers for which began on Jan. 28, and Jugoslavia was principally concerned with the settlement of the Adriatic question; elsewhere in the Balkans, however, a new policy was rapidly being developed on account of the Entente's delay over the settlement of the Turkish problem. This revealed that Bulgaria and Greece were becoming rivals over the settlement of this problem, just as they were over the destination of Macedonia and Thrace, which is now, particularly in Bulgarian opinion, incorporated in the larger and more intricate problem of Turkey.

Both Government utterances and the press of Bulgaria and Greece showed that each nation was bent on exerting itself to convince the Entente that only

by its mastery of Constantinople could the problem of the nationalities, for centuries under Turkish rule in Asia Minor, be solved. The argument of each was developed along different lines: That of Bulgaria was historical, anti-British and pro-French; that of Greece was based on future exigencies and was both pro-British and mildly anti-French.

The material which M. Briand's paper *L'Eclair* of Paris published on Feb. 11, purporting to show that last September Great Britain, through under officials, had attempted to negotiate a separate treaty with Turkey, was obtained from Sofia. In *La Macédoine* of Sofia was also revealed an alleged bargain that Britain in November, 1915, had attempted to make with Bulgaria, by which, it was said, Bulgaria would have received for her desertion of Germany all that she could capture from Turkey in Europe and the guarantee that Macedonia would become an independent State with its capital at Saloniki.

In Athens London press articles which attempted to outline the future British policy in Asiatic Turkey were reproduced with favorable comment; those of Paris outlining the projected French policy,

with unfavorable comment. Further, the line of argument is shown by the assertion that while Bulgarian dominance in Turkey in Europe would keep the tide of Bolshevism out of Asia, Greek dominance with British support there would keep the Turk from interfering in European affairs while Great Britain could keep him in his place in the Asiatic hinterland.

CONFLICTING ATTITUDES

Typical of the Bulgarian argument is the following from *La Macédonie*:

If the way for Saloniki is blocked for Austria in the present condition, it is open for her successor—Jugoslavia. The road to Constantinople will still remain open for Russia, and it is not difficult to foresee how will be met the possession of these two Mediterranean points by two large Slavonic States. It is obvious, therefore, that there is danger of new conflicts if the great conquerors do not timely correct their erroneous solutions. The discussion of the Turkish question is a most opportune moment for a correction of this kind. The creation of an independent Macedonia would result not only in putting an end to national antagonism in the Balkans, but would be a beginning for a fortunate liquidation of the Eastern problem. An independent Macedonia, internationally controlled, will bar the appearance of many new conflicts, and thus will save much bloodshed and wealth.

Typical of the Greek point of view is an article by Colonel Prantzès, the Greek military attaché at London, in *Le Journal des Hellènes*, in which he points out that in the Eastern Mediterranean Constantinople is destined to play the same rôle as that played by Gibraltar in the Western. There are three gates to the Mediterranean, he writes; Gibraltar and the Suez Canal are already in the hands of England; the third, Constantinople, must be equally secured for civilization. This can only be done by Greece under British guidance and aid.

English civilization would soon acquire such a powerful influence over Greeks, Armenians and Kurds that it would not take long to found a State sufficiently strong to play satisfactorily its allotted part, especially as the repopulation of those countries by such prolific races would not be long delayed.

Turkey and Bulgaria, undeniably two of our future enemies, must be placed in such a position that it will be impossible

for them to attack us in the rear. Such a result cannot be effected by half measures. It can be obtained only by the application of such means as are dictated to us by the elementary instincts of self-preservation, measures which, thanks to the actual ethnological conditions, are in accordance with the legitimate rights of the peoples concerned.

BERLIN-ATHENS CORRESPONDENCE

A curious phase of anti-Greek propaganda was noticed. The *Echo of Bulgaria*, issued at Sofia, published the correspondence between Berlin and Athens in 1916-17, including the letters written by the German Kaiser, his sister, Queen Sophia, and his brother-in-law, King Constantine, with the idea of showing that at the time the letters were written the majority of the Greeks were on the side of Germany, and that the Greek army was about to attack the rear of the Entente army in Macedonia. Hence, it was argued, the position of Greece was exactly like that of Bulgaria, only the former by the coup d'état of Venizelos, managed by the French, ultimately lined up with the Entente. The Sofia paper presented the correspondence as a great revelation, saying that the documents had been secured from the *Gazette de Lausanne*. As a matter of fact, they were originally published in the Greek White Book last Summer, for the purpose of showing the treason of King Constantine and his German wife.

The Sofia press, having seen the dispatches from Vienna telling of revolts against the Bulgarian Government, strikes and attacks on King Boris, and the establishment of communication between the Russian Bolsheviks and those in Bulgaria, declared that all these stories were merely lies calculated to prevent the rehabilitation of Bulgaria in the eyes of the Entente. Sofia mail advices, however, showed that there were serious strikes in Bulgaria. Bourtzev, the Russian revolutionist, who now conducts the *Obchtée Délo* and the *Cause Commune* at Paris, passed through Sofia in the middle of January and was interviewed by the *Echo of Bulgaria*. He was quoted as saying:

Personally I know nothing about these Bulgar Bolsheviks. They are not in evidence. But Bolsheviks are the same

everywhere. The strike which they are now maintaining is both a misfortune and a crime for Bulgaria. If it succeeds, Bulgaria will be plunged into a sea of tears and will probably perish. I cordially welcome the words which the President of the Council, M. Stambolisky; flung at the Communists of the Sobranje: "I fear you not, and I will fight you to the end." * * * Before long I hope we shall see an alliance between a new-born Russia and a recovered Bulgaria.

The Sofia papers also reprinted with enthusiasm the articles in the Prague press inviting a rapprochement between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria—a movement begun by the Narodna Politika. Editorial opinion, while resigned to the ratification of the treaty of peace by the Sobranje, declared that the Entente would soon become convinced of the impossibility of the country's carrying out the economic and military conditions, while, as to the territorial, the interests of the Entente would soon show the necessity for rectification.

SITUATION IN GREECE

The fact that there were diplomatic exchanges between the Bulgarian Premier, Stambolisky, and Venizelos, the Greek Premier, over the suggested surrender of Thrace on the part of the latter for the friendship of the former toward Hellas caused a revival of the charges of Bulgar perfidy in the Greek press, save in the *Echo de Grèce*, which made political capital out of it for ex-King Constantine, whose cause it still fights from far-off Switzerland. Once in a while the royal press bureau there has managed to get some of its stuff in circulation through press agencies. As, for example, the declaration of ex-Queen Sophia on Feb. 2 that she blamed President Wilson for the misfortunes of herself and of Greece, and, on Feb. 6, when an interview with the former Greek Minister, Elio Panas, obtained by the *Giornale d'Italia* in Rome, was widely circulated. M. Panas was quoted as saying that civil war in Greece could only be avoided by the prompt restoration of Constantine, and that for this eventuality he had received assurances of the support of the Vatican against Venizelos—assurances which the organ of the Vat-

ican, the *Osservatore Romano*, vehemently repudiated on the following day.

ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY

Aside from the Bulgar and Greek aspirations in regard to the Entente's ultimate settlement of the Turkish problem, this proclaimed disinterested article appeared in the *Préopretz* of Sofia:

The certain refusal of the United States to assume the mandate over Turkey or any part thereof obliges France and England to seek another solution. Not wishing to show their different conceptions of this question, these two powers are seeking an understanding between themselves before allowing the debate to become public. It was not so very long ago that the English were for maintaining Constantinople under the authority of the Sultan. They now seem to have changed that point of view.

The French, on the other hand, are for maintaining the Turkish Government on the Bosphorus. This rivalry between the English and the French has for its object the domination of the remainder of the Ottoman Empire so formidable in days gone by. In the speeches of statesmen and in the press each side sets forth its policy with elevated motives—the maintenance of peace, the protection of Christians, &c.

But all this does not prevent us from observing that the diplomats who are gathered around the green table pay little heed either to the rights or the prosperity of the peoples concerned, but are principally concerned with the iron, copper, coal, oil, and cotton.

Whatever may be its details, we are in the presence of a rivalry between France and England on the subject of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles which recalls that over Egypt, which terminated in complete domination by England.

For years Great Britain would suffer no change in the political entity of Turkey, although vast territorial changes in her territorial entity were going on. The object was to keep Russia out of the Eastern Mediterranean, where Czardom would have arrived had the Turk been driven out of Europe. First the Russo-British Treaty of 1907 caused England to change her policy; then the overthrow of Czardom ten years later caused her to ratify that change. Now the rise of Soviet Russia has caused her to reconsider both her change of policy and the ratification thereof. With the United States as mandatarly for Turkey she

could have remained tranquil. Bolshevism would have been kept out of the Levant and the Turks there would have been restrained from either joining them or creating revolutions on their own account. India would have remained unmenaced, both without and within. And all the parties to the partial partition of Turkey in Asia—Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece—would have felt secure in their several spheres of administration.

DEMANDS OF MOSLEMS

Great Britain, with her millions of Moslem subjects, has a moral obligation bound up in the political exigency to settle the problem which is also more or less bound up with the material interests of France, Italy and Greece. Taking advantage of this moral obligation, the Turkish Government increased its pressure to have the status quo ante-bellum maintained, while from the Moslem heads in India poured into Downing Street petitions, manifestoes, memorials and propaganda of all sorts demanding that the Sultain remain in Constantinople as Caliph of the Faithful, whatever disposition be made of the political capital of the Turkish Empire.

In the middle of January unofficial telegrams received at Stamboul from Western Europe, stating that the scheme to transfer the Turkish Government from Constantinople, which would remain the seat of the Caliphate, was likely to be accepted by the Peace Conference, caused much anxiety in Turkish as well as foreign residential circles. While the former resented the projected solution, the latter did not believe it practical. Both pointed out that no Anatolian city, with the possible exception of Brusa, to which the Turkish Government, fearing an attack by Greece and the allied fleets, prepared to remove in the Spring of 1915, contains buildings suitable for the Government and its official entourage. They also asked why, if the Turkish Government at Constantinople with the straits open could be controlled by a mandatary or mandataries, should it be transferred to Anatolia, where it would be far more difficult to control if it

misbehaved and fell into the hands of militant Nationalists like those who were causing all the trouble now.

In arguing that both the political and religious Governments should remain in statu quo the Turkish press declared that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Turkey time and again came to the aid of France when near to being overwhelmed by the Hapsburgs, and that in 1857 Turkey opened Egypt to the passage of British troops to crush the great Indian mutiny.

PLEA FOR THE SULTAN

Emir Ali, an Indian Privy Councilor who has held several high offices in the British Government at Bengal, wrote in a memorial on the subject:

Maintenance of the temporal authority of the Sultan is necessary. His temporal and spiritual power cannot be separated. Moslems were assured in the late war that the Caliphate would not be interfered with and that Constantinople, Thrace and the homeland of the Turkish race would remain in their hands; and on this assurance Mohammedan troops bore their full share of the fighting in various regiments. During the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, when the Russians got to San Stefano, some twelve miles or so from Constantinople, there was great excitement in India. I well remember how high feeling ran among Mohammedans.

Concerning Mecca and Medina, it would be most unwise, in the interests of the empire, to claim or to exercise, directly or indirectly, a protectorate over them. While the administration of these sacred cities might be left to the autonomous government of the Hedjaz, the Sherif Hussein should receive the usual investiture from the Sultan-Caliph.

The authority of the Sultan himself is based upon a formal deed of assignment executed in 1517 by the Caliph Al-Mutawakil Alaa-Allah, who transferred the Caliphate to the Ottoman conqueror, Selim I. The transfer was carried out with all the rites demanded by the law, and the Ottoman Caliph duly received the homage of the Sherif of Mecca, who presented him with the keys of the Kaabah. From that moment to this the Caliphate has remained the rightful heritage of the House of Othman.

Another memorial signed by a number of high-placed Moslems, together with Lord Lamington, Lord Amphil, Earl of Denbigh, General Dickson, Admiral Fremantle and other British notables, was

presented to the British Prime Minister on Jan. 16. It was over 1,000 words in length, and appealed for the Turkish people that they "may be granted the blessing of peace and freedom under the sovereignty of their spiritual and temporal head, the Sultan." "The maintenance of the whole of the Turkish Empire in the homeland of the Turkish race, with its capital Constantinople," it was pointed out, was promised as a condition of a just and lasting peace. Reference was also made to the underlying principle of self-determination promised by President Wilson and accepted by the Allies as applicable to enemy countries.

TURKISH ARMY MOBILIZING

Reports coming to the Interallied Mission at Constantinople as well as observations made in the capital itself showed that thousands of able-bodied Turks were leaving the coast towns for the interior of Anatolia, where it was said they were being enrolled in the Nationalist Army of Mustapha Kemal. Reports of agents reaching the mission charged that the Turkish Minister of War, Djemal Pasha, was not only conversant with this movement, but was actually aiding it, and that with the complete mobilization of the Turkish army a simultaneous rising of the Young Turks in Constantinople and an attack upon the Levantine hinterlands held by the British, French, Greeks, and Italians would take place.

About the middle of January General Gouraud, who commanded the French forces in Syria, estimated at between 15,000 and 20,000, mostly Senegalese, asked for reinforcements, and between 25,000 and 30,000 men were sent from Marseilles. Reinforcements were also dispatched by their respective Governments to the British in Palestine, to the Greeks in Smyrna, and to the Italians in the Adalia region. The agreement reached by Emir Feisal and the Peace Conference announced in CURRENT HISTORY last month seemed to have had little effect in stopping the attacks made by Turkish and Arab bands upon the land convoys between the zones occupied by the different Allies. The attack upon General Gouraud's train and the capture

of his Chief of Staff by Syrian volunteers early in January were followed a month later by the reported murder of three American relief workers.

DECISION ON CONSTANTINOPLE

It was announced on Feb. 15 that an agreement had been reached by the Supreme Allied Council to permit the Sultan to maintain his Court in Constantinople, but that Turkey must give guarantees, especially relative to the Dardanelles, and must not have an army, according to a statement by Premier Millerand. The Allies will maintain vigorous military and naval control over the Straits of the Dardanelles. The experts assembled in London were to begin at once to formulate the methods of control.

In the first week of February several reports were received from Constantinople by news agencies that 2,000 Armenians had been massacred by the Turks at Marash and Aintab, sixty miles northeast of Aleppo. The French War Office reported an engagement between Turkish National forces and a French detachment in that region, but nothing more.

The Fourth Turkish Parliament met on Jan. 12, but did not have a quorum for several days. Only seventy-two Deputies out of 132 listened to the Sultan's speech from the throne. He complained bitterly that since the armistice the Allies had without right occupied Turkish territory. "The reverses of war," he said, "cannot affect a nation's right to political existence." He then outlined the new reform scheme and particularly emphasized the point of the protection of minorities. The deplorable financial and industrial condition of Turkey and her dire need for assistance from abroad were also expatiated on. Already, on Jan. 8, the Grand Vizier had handed the text of the reform measure to the allied representatives. It is said that they made reports to their respective Governments to the effect that whatever may be expert opinion on the measure per se, the present Government had neither the power nor the inclination to put it into effect.

AMONG THE NATIONS

Survey of Important Events and Developments in Various Nations, Great and Small

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1920]

AUSTRIA

OF all the new Central European countries none is in such a desperate plight economically and financially as Austria. Day by day and week by week heartrending tales of cold, hunger, disease and death have poured into the capitals of Europe. At the end of January Frederic C. Penfield, former American Ambassador to Austria-Hungary, declared that if relief did not come to Austria soon a quarter of the population, and practically all the children, would die before the coming Spring. He described the former light-hearted capital as "Dying Vienna," a capital without a country, without material resources, without food or coal, transportation facilities or money. Reports from Vienna dated Jan. 27 confirmed this description. The food distress remained unrelieved, and public discontent was growing. The announcement that three ounces of meat would be offered for sale at the central market brought a surging mob of 60,000 people, many of whom, in the frantic rush to purchase, fainted or were thrown down and trampled by the crowd.

The fuel distress, aggravated by the exceedingly cold weather, was equally acute. A shudder went through Vienna on Jan. 18 when it was announced that the authorities would suspend the street car service owing to the lack of coal. Theatres, concert halls, and other places of amusement were closed for lack of heating. Electric and gas power was cut off after 3 o'clock in the afternoon, resulting in a lack of employment in the factories. Every source of coal supplies had been cut off by the strike or transport difficulties. Much had been hoped from the Chancellor's visit to Prague, but he returned with nothing definite accomplished in the way of fuel relief

from the Czechs, though he brought back promises of negotiations. Meantime the people of Vienna and Austria generally shivered in their homes. Influenza and pneumonia were rife.

One of the most serious problems was the welfare of Austrian children. Representatives of the American Relief Committee for German Children, on examination of Vienna school children shortly prior to Jan. 19, found that 97 per cent. of them were suffering from lack of food. This committee's relief fund had reached an aggregate of \$200,000. Food purchased to the value of \$100,000 by the Herbert Hoover Relief Committee was distributed in Austria as well as in Germany through the Society of Friends organization directed from Philadelphia.

Meanwhile the Austrian Government continued its undertaking of sending children abroad to countries that pledged themselves to provide for them. Almost 6,000 of these half-starving children left Vienna on Jan. 22 en route for Holland and Italy, making a total of 28,000 Austrian children sent out of the country. Many came from the poorest workingmen's homes. Altogether it was estimated that there were 300,000 underfed children. Of these the Americans were feeding 120,000, the Dutch, Italians, Swiss and Scandinavians had pledged themselves to take a total of 60,000, still leaving two-fifths of the child population uncared for. An extension in American relief plans as announced on Jan. 28 to bring relief to 275,000 children, reduced this remainder. As a result of the refusal of prospective mothers to bring new children into such misery the birth rate, according to official statistics, was decreasing alarmingly.

The Government was further crushed by its enormous debt, including about 50,000,000,000 kronen allotted from the old

monarchy's debt, and some 10,000,000,000 kronen incurred since the creation of the republic to last July. The current budget also showed a deficit of from 8,000,000,000 to 10,000,000,000 kronen additional. All State enterprises, including the railways, were showing a deficit in similar proportions. The country was being flooded with paper money, worthless abroad and of little value at home. Mines, banks, and other industries were being taken over by French and Italian capitalists. And Austria's sole recourse was to add to the already crushing national debt by contracting large loans abroad, in which the Government saw its only salvation. It was for this purpose alone that Dr. Renner had gone to Paris to lay Austria's desperate situation before the allied Governments. On their decision the Government and the people were anxiously waiting. An unsubstantiated report that the United States would open a credit of \$20,000,000 caused wild jubilation in Vienna.

It was stated in Vienna on Jan. 15 that a general assembly of the Provincial Diet to frame a Constitution for submission to the Central Government would be held soon. The obtaining of the widest possible degree of autonomy was envisaged. Especially antagonistic to the Central Government were the Provinces of Vorarlberg and Tyrol, whose attempts to secede and join, the one Switzerland, the other Germany, had been defeated by the decision of the Paris conference. Tyrol announced that it would never cease working for union with Germany. A Government counterplan of creating a small upper house to include two elected representatives from each province had been coldly received in the provinces.

Under the provisions of the army bill before the National Assembly on Jan. 21 the personnel of the army was limited to 1,500 officers, 2,000 noncommissioned officers and 30,000 men, who were to serve six years in active service and six on the reserve list. Both soldiers and officers were forbidden to marry and obliged to waive all political rights while in service. Trade and agricultural instruction were provided.

Austrian guards and customs employes had been posted along the Swiss frontier to prevent the passing of gems and articles of historic value taken from the museum of Vienna, which was looted some time ago of material worth \$5,000,000. It was said that many families had grown rich by the smuggling of contraband between Switzerland and Vorarlberg.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

During January and February the official internal and external policy of Czechoslovakia, as outlined by the Constitution of the new republic and by Dr. E. Benès, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in London on Dec. 4, was applied consistently. The more important points of the Constitution, now published, are as follows:

The President of the republic will not be eligible for office for more than two consecutive terms, and will enjoy legal immunity except in case of high treason.

The Constitution provides for the separation of Church and State.

Parliament will consist of a Senate and a Diet.

The Czech language will be the official language, and will be an obligatory subject in all elementary schools. In all districts containing a national minority which represents at least 20 per cent. of the local population, this minority will be granted the right of using its own language in all official transactions and of having it taught in the schools.

As outlined by Dr. Benès, the external policy of the Czechoslovak State was one of economic conciliation and assistance to its Central European neighbors. In full realization of the economic distress of Austria and Hungary, particularly, and of the inability of the Allies, because of transportation difficulties, to relieve the pressing food and fuel needs of Central Europe, Czechoslovakia had conceived its mission to be peculiarly that of an intermediary agency, and was ready to offer her large supplies of coal, sugar, and manufactured products to meet the emergency. This policy had been approved by both the French and British Governments, and Dr. Benès intimated that a combined loan of \$125,000,000 would be made his Government to support the object sought.

By Jan. 10 Dr. Benès was back in Prague, and, with M. Tusar, the Prime Minister, received officially Dr. Karl Renner, the Austrian Chancellor, and his Ministers, who had come to Prague to discuss with the Czechoslovak Government the international situation affecting the two new States. Dr. Renner returned to Vienna, following an interview with President Masaryk on Jan. 12. An official communiqué stated that it had been agreed that the foreign policy of both States would be based on the peace terms of the St. Germain Treaty, and would envisage the following objects:

To assure the democratic and free institutions prevailing within both nations, and the complete independence of both republics externally.

To reject any attempts whatsoever at restoring the former political conditions or at establishing new State alliances.

To bring about an economic co-operation in accordance with the interests of both States for the purpose of re-establishing a national economic status and mutual relationships.

The conferences of the Ministers and State Secretaries with the technical experts in the committees were at once initiated.

Further details of the agreement, subsequently published, were: The unrestricted import and export of goods, subject to a mere declaration; the settlement of mutual indebtedness by a special commission; an increase in the deliveries of coal, and reciprocity in regard to sugar exchange.

Cession of the coal territory of Teschen to Czechoslovakia by the Poles without a plebiscite, in return for which Poland would be rewarded with certain lands east of the Polish boundaries, was announced on Jan. 30 in newspaper reports from Prague.

At a meeting of the Reform Priests' Association, held on Jan. 10, it was resolved by 140 votes to 66 to separate from Rome and to establish a Czech National Church, which would take over the institutions, rights, and possessions of the Roman Catholic Church.

Sensational charges that Czechoslovakia had fallen under Bolshevik influences were contradicted in toto by Donald L. Breed in an article published in New York on Feb. 1. The Government

was Socialistic but not radical, said Mr. Breed, and Muna, Lenin's chief propagandist in the country, was publicly ridiculed in the concert halls and cabarets of Prague. Every means was being taken by the Government to increase the industrial product, and the workmen were encouraged to work more than the eight hours prescribed by the National Assembly the year before. Food profiteers were being penalized. The unemployment wage allotted by the Government, vitally necessary in the early days of the new republic's existence, had been practically abolished, and Czechoslovak industry, after a long and painful season of war and Austrian mismanagement, was again in the ascendant.

GERMANY

The critical financial and economic situation in Germany continued to occupy the public mind in January and February, producing an intensified degree of pessimism despite certain mitigating factors. Mainly fear of the immediate future centred on the fall of the mark to the unprecedentedly low value of 1 cent in American money, thus cutting off importations of needed raw materials for German factories from the United States; this drop in exchange also cut off the food imports needed to avert threatened starvation for a large proportion of the German people. There was also the coal shortage problem. Emphasis was laid on the recent grant by Holland of a credit loan of 200,000,000 guilders as the only way in which other countries, especially America, could save Germany from plunging into the well-nigh hopeless condition of Austria and Poland.

On the other hand, the stability of the Ebert Government, its patient though successful policy in defeating all the attacks of the Radicals and Reactionaries, together with the willingness of the German people to work out their national salvation if guided by at least a gleam of promise, gave point to the opinion that Germany might be able to overcome her hour of desperation provided her financial and economic stress were relieved from without.

These elements become pronounced in the trend of events. The fall in exchange caused a serious panic among business men and the public generally. This led to the payment of enormous prices for gold and silver as an "iron reserve" against the day of collapse. At the height of the scramble 500 paper marks were paid for one 20-mark gold piece. In Berlin speculators in the precious metals posted themselves in front of the National Bank building and began to bid against the Government in its efforts to induce citizens to part with hoarded treasure on patriotic grounds. It was estimated that 500,000,000 marks in silver coin still remained in hiding. Curious instances of the wild ideas of exchange were noted in Berlin on Feb. 2. Some of the leading jewelers closed their doors, fearful that foreigners would purchase the few valuables left in the country for next to nothing. Others closed simply because the prices asked staggered American or other foreign buyers, and no business could be done. Similarly, thrifty country folk, unable to realize the depth to which the mark had sunk, made bad bargains with their stock in gold. At a village near Magdeburg a wealthy peasant woman grasped at a horse priced 3,000 marks—in gold—completely failing to understand that she had really paid 150,000 marks at current paper rates for the animal.

Regarding food conditions a competent ally investigator presented facts and figures demonstrating the slow torture of undernourishment from which the German masses suffered. In showing how rations had dwindled he pointed out that during the last twelve months of the war the weekly ration per head was:

Bread—2,000 grams (4 lbs. 6½ oz.)
 Fresh Meat—150 grams (5¼ oz.)
 Butter and Margarine—50 grams (1¾ oz.)
 Potatoes—2,500 grams (5 lbs. 8 oz.)
 Milk—1-10th litre (1-6th pint).

The writer went on to state that, soon after the conclusion of the armistice, the bread ration was raised to 2,300 grams (5 pounds, 1 ounce); the meat ration to 200 grams (7 ounces); the ration of food fats to 100 grams (3½ ounces.) Imports from America also permitted a

weekly distribution of 125 grams (4½ ounces) of bacon, 50 grams of lard (1½ ounces), and 125 grams (4½ ounces) of wheat flour per head. Later on the only foods rationed were flour, meat, fat, milk, and sugar. Circumstances, however, had changed for the worse in the last few weeks. A drastic reduction on an already trivial milk ration had taken place. It was now 40 per cent. less than the milk ration of 1918. The meat ration of 1918 had been reduced by half, owing to the number of cattle having much diminished, and to the thin and impoverished condition of the stock. All artificial manures or cattle foods had been denied to the farmer for several seasons. The ration of fats for the whole population is now 30 per cent. less than the ration allowed twelve months ago.

This state of things was attributed to the low value of the mark, which forcibly restricted the purchase of meat, flour, and other necessities abroad, to disintegration of the transport system, shortage of harvests, and labor troubles. The only remedy suggested was that of the German Food Controller. He estimated that to provide 40,000,000 undernourished German people with 50 grams (1½ ounces) of food fats, meat, and flour daily for 300 days would necessitate the purchase abroad of 600,000 tons of food fats, 600,000 tons of meat, and 600,000 tons of flour.

These figures were impressively illuminated from a seafaring point of view, so far as Hamburg was concerned, by Captain Adrien Zeeder of the American liner Manchuria, the first passenger vessel flying the American flag to make the Port of New York from Germany. Captain Zeeder said that shipping was at a low ebb in Hamburg, with many of Germany's merchant marine starving for something to do.

The people in Hamburg were glad the war was over, and bore no animosity toward Americans. They worked ten hours a day at the docks for 24 marks, but could not buy any substantial food because of the cost. Men working in the hold of the Manchuria were so ravenous for real food that they cut slices of frozen meat off quarters

with an axe, and ate it without cooking or a pinch of salt. "It took eight full days," he explained, "to discharge 5,500 tons of cargo from the Manchuria, which could have been done in New York in forty-eight hours. This slowness was due to the lack of strength among the German longshoremen and their low spirits."

* * * There was little meat or butter and practically no coal." Captain Zeeder added that the Elbe would have to be dredged before shipping in its harbor could become normal again, because the sand had choked up the channel during the war. The Manchuria had managed to reach Hamburg because strong west winds had driven the water up from the mouth and held it there.

The lack of coal in Hamburg, referred to by Captain Zeeder, was merely an example of a similar condition throughout the country. Robert Schmidt, Minister of National Economy, in speaking of it, said: "The six-hour day means suicide. The word coal is written in sinister letters across the whole situation. Production has fallen by 50 per cent. as compared with that of peace time, and it cannot be distributed owing to the lack of transportation and the very bad condition of engines and rolling stock. So factories are shut down one by one." The acuteness of the situation on Feb. 2 was marked by even wealthy people in Berlin's West End flats sitting down to dinner wrapped in furs. "Lack of coal," said Herr Koch, Home Secretary, "threatens to bring down our whole economic situation."

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

The complete sovereignty of Belgium over the former Prussian regions of Eupen and Malmédy was proclaimed as dating from Jan. 10, and on Jan. 22 General Baltia, Belgian High Commissioner, made his solemn entry into Malmédy, where at the Hôtel de Ville he read, first in German and then in French, a proclamation to the population setting forth the promises of the Belgian Government to the people. These consisted of religious freedom, standardized labor, and educational systems similar to those of Belgium. Military service, he said, would

not be required for four years, and he concluded:

In return for these advantages the Belgian Government requires of you that you be faithful to the King and the Belgian dynasty and that you obey the Constitution and the laws of the Belgian people.

For our part [added General Baltia] we promise you, in exchange for your loyalty and your fidelity, an absolute devotion, which we shall derive from our common Ardennes origin [the General is a Luxemburger by origin], a complete impartiality and toleration. Give us your frank and loyal confidence.

Although Belgium's chief exports had not reached 50 per cent. of what they were in 1913, other products helped to make up the balance in 1919. In 1913 the imports were \$900,000,000 and the exports \$700,000,000; in 1919 they were, respectively, \$860,000,000 and \$360,000,000. The Antwerp trade since last September increased at an average of 20,000 tons a month until December when the increase was 73,356 tons. The total figure for the year was 5,300,876 tons. The total export figures were:

	Tons.
France	25,230,125
Holland	10,313,550
Great Britain	9,186,000
Germany	3,304,000
Italy	6,893,000

There were strikes among savings bank employes, postmen and school teachers, but these were all settled; in some cases the strikers, having made their demonstration, returned to work to show "their spirit of patriotism and self-denial"; in others the trouble was ended by arbitration, or by the Administration's refusing point-blank to discuss arbitration, in the case of the bank employes.

On Jan. 25 a group of bankers decided to subscribe 50 per cent. of the national loan of \$500,000,000, and the Government decided to take over all municipal loans, and in future to assist in financing the various communities surrendering them.

On Jan. 31 the Dutch press printed the text of the treaty between Belgium and Holland. The principal provisions read:

Holland and Belgium are to have joint control of navigation on the Scheldt River. The question of the movement of Belgian warships from Antwerp and other

problems likely to result in the event of war are left to the future decision of the League of Nations.

Both countries agree to the principle that the mouth of the Scheldt shall be free and open water. Two new large canals are to be constructed at the earliest moment to give Belgium an equal outlet to the sea (one from Antwerp to Holland connecting with the North Sea, and the other from the Rhine to the Meuse to the Scheldt at Antwerp, connecting Antwerp with the German Rhine, the latter to be constructed within seven years).

An additional number of existing canals are to be deepened to accommodate larger ships. In general, each country is to pay the expense of construction and maintenance within its own borders, and customs, quarantine and pilotage regulations are to be made as uniform as possible.

With reference to the German Rhine canal Holland agrees that no new conditions shall be imposed other than those already in effect on traffic to Germany.

BRITISH EMPIRE

The intentions of the British Government in regard to Soviet Russia remained as much of an enigma as ever, but the speeches of the Prime Minister were generally interpreted to mean that he was seeking a *modus vivendi* for trade, if it could be obtained by anything short of a formal recognition of the Soviet Government. Following the tentative re-establishment of peace between the latter and Esthonia, other States formerly in the Russian Empire were making a rapprochement toward the same end—Latvia, Lithuania and Ukraina—and Poland was advised by the Entente to make peace if the status of its territory could be guaranteed thereby.

The situation brought out vehement denunciations in the Russian anti-Bolshevik press printed abroad, which declared that as Bolshevism was not a State or Government, but merely a propaganda, no peace could be made with it without acknowledging its dominance; that it was absurd to suppose trade could be had with the Russian co-operative societies, since no such societies now existed, and those which were called co-operative were under Soviet Commissioners.

THE UNITED KINGDOM—A chance word dropped by Lord Birkenhead, the Lord Chancellor, caused the news to be cabled to this country that he had ad-

vised the resurrection of the National Party in order to preserve the coalition from deflection and to fight labor. In a letter addressed to Lord Ampthill, dated Jan. 21, he repudiated this. On the other hand, the Labor Party, hearing that the middle class workers were organizing (that is, those who belonged neither to the capitalist class nor to the proletariat), invited their leaders to a conference—an invitation which was rejected. The press throughout the kingdom gave considerable support to the idea of a middle-class organization, as it would be by nature conservative and hold the balance of power between the capitalists and the hand workers, and thus tend to prevent industrial and commercial ruptures and disturbances which caused a falling off in production.

On Jan. 27 George Barnes, Minister without portfolio, resigned, thereby making the final withdrawal of labor from the Coalition Government. The by-elections, which, because of the recent Laborite victories, brought about, it was charged, by the Unionists through the Liberals insisting on having candidates where Coalition Unionists could easily have been elected, reached the height of interest on Jan. 21, when former Premier Asquith accepted the invitation to stand for Paisley on the principles of the old Liberal Party. The result of the election, which was held Feb. 14, was not announced until Feb. 25—too late for record in this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. Paisley since 1832 has had an unbroken Liberal representation. In the last general election, however, the Liberal candidate, Sir John McCallum, won by only 106 votes over the Laborite. He declined to throw in his lot with the coalition and declared he would stand as a free Liberal. Then he was pushed aside to make room for Mr. Asquith's candidature.

It was Mr. Asquith's second by-election. The first was in the Spring of 1914, when he offered himself for re-election for East Fife on taking over the duties of Secretary of State for War, while still Prime Minister, during the Curragh crisis. He was then returned unopposed. Paisley was only the second

seat for which he has stood, as he sat without a break for East Fife from 1886 to the last election. At Bromley and Ashton Coalition Unionists won in by-elections by diminished pluralities. At Spen Valley a Laborite won.

On Jan. 15 the National Union of Railwaymen accepted the Government's offer on the wage question, which covered the following points:

The Government have adhered to the principle of standard rates based on an average, and also to that of a sliding scale according to the cost of living.

The increase of war wage contained in the proposals for adults in the conciliation grades is to be extended to grades not hitherto included, and an increase of 2s. 6d. is made to boys and girls under 18 years of age.

Cases of individual hardship will be gone into.

The Government expressed readiness to make retrospective payment on the terms originally promised, but pointed out that the delay which would ensue was the reason for their offer of a fixed sum.

The men to whom was left the decision as to the form of retrospective pay accepted the fixed sum.

The Government are ready to extend the principle in their proposals to Ireland, with modifications for narrow gauge and road railways.

The movement, advocated by some Liberals and all Laborites, for the nationalization of the coal mines of the kingdom came to a head on Feb. 11 in the House of Commons, when a motion in favor of nationalization was defeated by a vote of 329 to 64.

EGYPT—On Jan. 19, Arian Yusuf Saad, who was found guilty of attempting the assassination of the Egyptian Premier last December, was sentenced to ten years' hard labor. On the same day the Milner Mission, after a fortnight's investigation at Alexandria, departed for Cairo. As a result of the visit a fusion was expected to take place between the mixed and the Consular Courts in regard to commercial and civil matters as well as in regard to jurisdiction in criminal matters and matters of personal status heretofore exercised by the Consular Courts, while the religious courts would be left untouched. For such a reform which will meet the native complaints the consent of the capitulatory powers will be necessary, but no opposition was

expected on the part of foreign communities.

The schools were closed in Cairo on account of refractory pupils and three trains were derailed, including the Luxor-Cairo Express, but without loss of life. Aside from these cases and some isolated assaults on soldiers the Nationalist revolt confined itself to propaganda.

The Egyptian Government approved the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into the scheme of irrigation throughout the Nile basin, evolved by the Egyptian Public Works Department, and into the rival scheme projected by the designer of the Assouan dam, Sir William Willcocks. The former includes the construction of a huge reservoir some twenty-five miles south of Khartum and of a dam at Senaar, about 150 miles from that point, in order to form a reserve for the flooding of the area between the Blue and White Niles, known as the Gezirth. Sir William would utilize a large depression in the Bahr El Ghazal region, which, he says, is a giant natural reservoir and could be used to supply Egypt "to the day of doom" and the Sudan "for many generations."

INDIA—In spite of the dispersal of the Mahsuds on the northwest frontier after an engagement with the British Derejat column on Jan. 10, in which the latter lost 380 and the enemy 330 in casualties of all sorts, isolated skirmishing continued, but without any approach to these losses.

According to advices from Bombay the news of Bolshevik domination of Turkestan profoundly moved India. The Bombay correspondent of The London Times wrote:

A survey of the military situation carries the conviction that India is immensely strong if the commands are given to young Generals versed in modern war. The public will not stint the Government for money if the nature of the Bolshevik menace is brought home to the people, but a much more vigorous campaign is necessary if the few Indian Nationalists who are coquetting with Bolshevism are to be effectively countered.

A more drastic policy also is required to remedy social injustice and lighten the cost of living, for India is now groaning under rampant profiteering. Any relaxation of the food control would be im-

mediately followed by an unprincipled cornering of supplies, producing an atmosphere of justifiable discontent, favorable to the spread of the Bolshevik creed. The natural conservatism of the Indian temperament is a deadly enemy of Bolshevik ideas, but it would be overborne by the burden of the cost of living, which demands immediate redress.

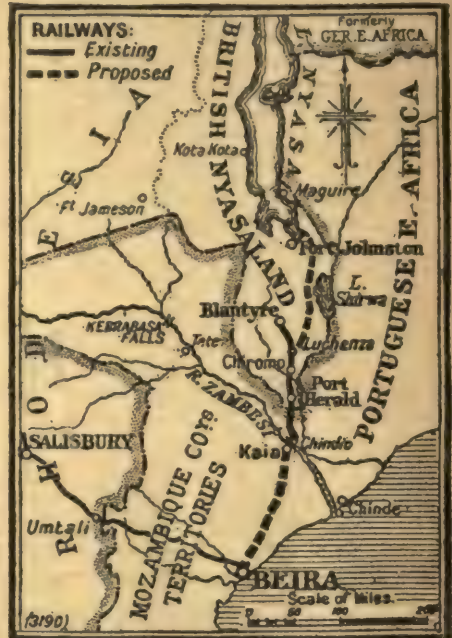
Up to Jan. 20 there were no disorders in the great cotton mill strike involving 200,000 workers in the Bombay Presidency, but on that day, the eighteenth of the strike, rioters began to hold up vehicles and assault pedestrians, and the troops thereupon fired into one crowd, killing one and wounding several. The mill owners were prepared to grant the ten-hour day and a 50 per cent. advance in wages demanded, stipulating, however, that the workers should not strike again without a warning period in which differences might be adjusted without a strike. This the strikers declined to agree to.

IRELAND—Aside from the continuation of violence and outrage organized by the Sinn Fein and counter-raids by the constabulary two interesting events took place in Ireland. On Jan. 30, when the new Municipal Council met in Dublin, with 42 Sinn Fein members out of 80, the flag of the "Irish Republic" was hoisted on the City Hall. On Feb. 12, at the Royal Albert Hall, London, a Sinn Fein demonstration, under the protection of the police, was held demanding self-determination for Ireland. Prominent on the platform was Mrs. Despard, sister of Lord French, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whom the Sinn Fein attempted to assassinate on Dec. 19.

On Jan. 24 Dublin Castle issued a report showing that between May 1, 1916, and Dec. 31, 1919, 1,529 outrages were attributed to the Sinn Fein movement—134 in Ulster, 429 in Leinster, including Dublin; 205 in Connaught and 761 in Munster. The character of the outrages was designated as follows:

Murders of military, police and officials	18
Murders of civilians	2
Firing at police	50
Firing at military	13
Firing at civilians	14
Assaults on police	46
Assaults on civilians	17

Raids, &c., for arms on police	20
Raids, &c., for arms on military	67
Raids, &c., for arms on civilians	502
Incendiary fires	70
Injury to property	279
Firing into police dwellings	3
Firing into civilian dwellings	38
Threatening letters	180
Miscellaneous	210



MAP SHOWING RAILWAY THROUGH PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA, WHICH WILL GIVE BRITISH NYASALAND AN OUTLET TO THE INDIAN OCEAN. THE ROAD WILL OPERATE UNDER A BRITISH GUARANTEE

NYASALAND AND NIGERIA—The first instance of a British official guarantee being given in respect to a railway traversing foreign territory in order to reach the coast and provide an ocean gateway for an inland British possession came about with the completion of the arrangements for the Beira-Zambezi Railway, which, starting from Nyasaland, is to cross Portuguese East Africa and reach the coast at the Lorenzo Marquez town of Beira.

In 1912 Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated, thus forming the largest of the British Crown colonies and protectorates. It is one-third the size of British India, and has a population of 16,000,000 or 17,000,000. The first report

on Nigeria was issued in the form of a White Paper on Jan. 26. The author is Sir F. D. Lugard.

The report says that while "cordially recognizing mission activity in pagan areas, the Government has desired to discourage propaganda in Moslem districts."

Discussing the question of slavery and free labor, Sir F. D. Lugard says that the sudden abolition of the institution of domestic slavery would have produced social chaos, and the wholesale assertion of their freedom if they choose; that the discouraged. Generally speaking, there are no slaves in the Moslem States who are not well aware that they can assert their freedom if they choose; that the native courts deal liberally and impartially with all cases, and that the masters not only acquiesce, but increasingly recognize the advantages of free labor, while all persons under 18 years of age are free born.

FRANCE

Jean Longuet, grandson of Karl Marx, and leader of the Socialist Party in France, who visited the United States last Autumn, qualified the defeat of the Socialists at the last general election by the following statement, issued Jan. 15:

I pray for a similar defeat for us at every election. It is true that instead of the 101 Socialists elected to the Chamber of Deputies at the election before the last we have now sixty-eight. But it is also true that instead of only 1,125,000 Socialist votes—the number that elected the 101 Socialist Deputies—at the last election we received 1,700,000 votes. * * * We not only increased in quantity of votes but in quality. The one and a quarter million votes that elected the 101 Socialist Deputies just before the war had a considerable number of merely protesting elements among them, so-called radicals, who cannot be considered Socialists at all. At the last election, however, thanks to the fire tests of war and our support of the cause of Soviet Russia, these people were purged out of our vote, and what remained was pure metal. We have now, therefore, a clear mandate for our representatives—Socialism.

To the list of Ministers of the Millerand Cabinet, announced Jan. 19, should be added the names of nine Under Secretaries of State as follows:

Presidence du Conseil—M. Reibel.
Finance—M. E. Brousse.
Provisions—M. R. Thoumyre.
Ports and Merchant Marine—M. Paul Bignon.
Hydraulic Power—M. Borrel.
Post and Telegraphs—M. L. Deschamps.
Agriculture—M. Queuille.
Air Department—M. P. E. Flandin.
Professional Tuition—M. Coupat.

On Jan. 22 M. Millerand outlined his program to the Chamber and suffered a moral defeat. The latter was not on account of his program, but because of the presence of M. Steeg as Minister of the Interior in the new Government, exception to whom was taken by Léon Daudet, who charged that Steeg had been associated with M. Malvy, the exiled statesman, in defeatist propaganda. The vote of confidence in the most significant division of the day was as follows:

Of the 595 members present only 275 voted for the Government and 297 refused to vote at all, while 23 were more positive in their opposition. Those who abstained included 180 members of the Entente Républicaine, 70 Socialists, and 47 members drawn from other parts of the Chamber. All the members of the old Clemenceau Government, as well as former Premiers Barthou, Briand, and Viviani, voted for the Government.

In answer to the Daudet attack on M. Steeg, M. Millerand said:

I am in complete political accord with the last Cabinet, the head of which did not hesitate to strike hard against the leaders of "defeatism." We are not men of one party. We invite the co-operation of all in the service of France. We shall be bound to no person. We are a Government of concord, and we mean to pursue a bold and sweeping social policy.

A resolution proposed by M. Daudet condemning the choice of M. Steeg as Minister of the Interior was rejected by 383 against 14, and an Order of the Day declaring that the Chamber approved the statement of M. Millerand explaining the Steeg appointment was adopted by 272 votes against 23. Subsequently the firm standing of the Millerand Government was confirmed. The Steeg question came up again on Jan. 30, when the vote for the Government was 510 to 70, and on Feb. 6, its foreign

policy was sustained by a vote of 518 to 68.

The French custom that the General who is destined to command the armies in time of war should in peace be placed at the head of the General Staff was followed when the new Minister of War, on Jan. 25, reorganized the Supreme Council of War, with himself, M. André Lefevre, as President; Marshal Pétain as Vice President; General Buat, Chief of the General Staff, and Marshals Foch and Joffre, together with nine Divisional Generals.

On Feb. 12 Raoul Peret was elected President of the Chamber by 372 of the 425 votes cast, thus succeeding Paul Deschanel, elected President of the Republic on Jan. 17.

On Feb. 1, M. Maginot, Minister of Pensions, announced that 660,000 war pensions had been liquidated, but that nearly five times as many still remained to be settled, 1,975,000 being pensions for those disabled, 700,000 for widows and 550,000 for dependents. No pensions due civilian victims of the war had been settled.

On Jan. 27 M. Poincaré, then President, issued a decree creating a Supreme Council of Natalivity under M. Breton, Minister of Health and Social Welfare. On this subject M. Breton reported as follows to the Cabinet:

The lowness of the French birth rate, which becomes worse each year, endangers the existence of the nation. For a long time before the war France lacked men. French soil is one of the most fertile in the world, but is one of the least productive because of lack of labor. Because of the lack of men industry in France is obliged to depend more on immigration than any other European country. The war in depriving France of 2,000,000 young men has increased still more the danger which threatens the nation.

We have often studied this situation, which is unique with France; we have recognized that it is not due to one cause, but to a multiplicity of causes. Therefore, to combat it we must not resort to one remedy, but to many remedies, some of a moral nature, others of a national and economic nature.

We must not intrust this grave question, the gravest of all that confront us, to a temporary commission, irregularly convoked, but to a permanent organization meeting at fixed periods and equipped

with sufficient means of inquiry and publicity.

A council will give its advice upon questions proposed by the Ministry or upon those which belong upon its calendar. It will prepare projects of law decrees and circulars which, it believes, should be presented to the Minister. It can call in authorities for consultation.

ITALY

The alternative of having President Wilson and Yugoslavia accept the Adriatic decision of the Premiers of Great Britain, France and Italy—reached on Jan. 20—or the application of the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915, was believed by Italian authority to refer only in so far as the Adriatic question was concerned, since other parts of the treaty had already been liquidated or were in the course of settlement. For example, it was not believed possible that the question of the concessions in Africa would be reopened if the decision of Jan. 20 were to be rejected at Washington and Belgrade. The African concessions to Italy include an expansion of Libya, Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, as explained in detail, with maps, on pages 482-4.

By Jan. 20 a railway strike, the most extensive in the history of the Peninsula, reached its greatest expansion. It had begun on Jan. 15. Not a wheel turned on Jan. 20. On that and the following days hundreds of strikers were arrested and the principal cities were placed under military law. The causes of the walk-out were very complicated, including a demand on the part of the strikers for higher wages, fewer hours of work, and, most important of all, Government recognition of the unions. The Government offered bonuses and reduced time of labor, but declined to recognize the unions.

The strike was not popular, and former soldiers volunteered in large numbers to break it. On Feb. 4 the strike ended by a complete victory for the Government. On the same day it was announced that the Sixth National Loan (5 per cent., opened Dec. 26) had reached over \$2,500,000. On the same day also there was the greatest uproar among Deputies that the Chamber had witnessed

in recent years. Socialists and Catholics flew at each other until Signor Orlando, President of the Chamber, suspended the sitting. The clash was precipitated by a Socialist Deputy, Signor Pandebliano, who accused the Government officials of hoarding oil.

On Jan. 24 the American Academy of Fine Arts at Rome, closed since Italy entered the war, resumed its normal work.

On Feb. 6 former Deputy Mondello received credentials as Minister Plenipotentiary and started for the United States on a special mission.

SPAIN

On Jan 24 the Spanish Government took energetic action against the strikes and the coercive measures practiced by the General Federation of Labor and against the lockouts resorted to by employers, all of which had produced a con-

dition of anarchy in Barcelona and, to a smaller degree, in other cities. The dissolution of the federation was ordered, the employers were commanded to terminate the lockouts, and the threat was made that labor would be requisitioned by the authorities for public works and for transport of necessaries. Although independent of the movement of the federation, which is not a political organization, a sign of the times was noted in the municipal elections on Feb. 7, which, in a large majority of places, elected Socialist candidates. The Government's action of Jan. 24 broke up certain guilds of the federation, particularly those in public service and of the professional class; it enabled numbers of small employers and workmen to shake off the Employers' Congress on one hand and the federation of syndicates on the other.

Turkey's Coercion by Germany

THE proceedings of the secret Parliamentary committee investigating the acts of the Turkish wartime Ministers were published toward the end of January in Constantinople, revealing new details of Turkey's severance of diplomatic relations with the United States.

According to this evidence, the American Ambassador on April 4, 1917, informed the Turkish Finance Minister that the State Department at Washington saw no cause for a break, as relations were friendly. The Ambassador said that no cause for a break existed, unless Germany compelled Turkey to forward secret reports bearing on the United States. Germany at first preferred that Turkey should not break with America, according to the Ambassador, but later suddenly changed her attitude.

On April 7 the Austrian Ambassador informed the Sublime Porte that Austria was breaking relations with the United States, and insisted upon immediate

action by Turkey. Most of the members of the Cabinet were afraid of burning all their bridges on the hope of German victory. The Germans made the pretext that military intelligence leaked through the American Embassy, but the real reason for urging the break was said to be the desire to diminish Turkey's opportunities for a future separate peace.

Turkey, through the Turkish Ambassador at Berlin, notified Herr Zimmermann, the German Foreign Secretary, that Turkey was unable to break relations with the United States, citing only military reasons. The German Minister was not satisfied, and replied that America would not declare war if Turkey broke of relations. Germany insisted, and Turkey complied, eventually, after delaying the matter for a time by demanding that Bulgaria act first.

The secret reports show that the Cabinet successfully resisted the German demand for the seizure of all American institutions after the departure of the American Ambassador.

Hungary and the Treaty of Neuilly

Peace Terms Imposed by the Allies Cause Consternation and Protest—Elections Foreshadow a New Monarchy

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1920]

THE new Hungarian Government under Premier Huszar began its career, facing many problems by no means easy of solution, among others that of ratifying the Peace Treaty between the allied Governments and the Magyar Republic, which Count Apponyi, head of the Hungarian peace delegation, brought back to Budapest from Neuilly soon after the middle of January. The main features of the treaty are as follows:

Hungary recognizes the full independence of the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Czechoslovak State; the frontiers between Hungary and the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Rumania will be determined by a commission composed of seven members, five of whom will be appointed by the principal allied and associated powers, one by the interested State and one for Hungary.

Hungary renounces in favor of Italy, the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Rumania and the Czechoslovak State all rights and claims on the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy recognized as being an integral part of these States.

Rumania accepts the dispositions that the principal allied and associated powers judge necessary for the protection in Rumania of the interests of the inhabitants who differ from the majority of the population by race, language or religion. She agrees also to clauses framed for the protection of the freedom of transit and an equitable régime for the trade of other nations.

The Czechoslovak State undertakes not to erect any military works on the part of its territory situated on the right bank of the Danube to the south of Bratislava.

Hungary renounces all rights and claims to Fiume and the adjacent territory belonging to the former Hungarian Kingdom and comprised within the boundaries which will be ultimately fixed, and she undertakes to recognize the stipulations which will be made on this subject.

Hungary renounces in favor of Austria all her rights in territories of the old Hungarian Kingdom situated beyond the boundaries fixed today.

The military clauses are identical with those contained in the treaty of Saint Germain, except on two points. The total number of the Hungarian military forces is fixed at 35,000 men. No heavy guns are permitted—that is to say, guns of a larger calibre than 105 millimeters.

As to reparations, the provisions are the same as those in the treaty of Saint Germain, except that Hungary is to give the allied powers an option on the annual delivery of railway coal for the period of five years, the amount to be fixed by the Reparations Commission, and the coal to go to the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Regarding the proportion and character of the financial obligations of Hungary which will be borne by the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Rumania and Czechoslovakia, by virtue of territory placed under their sovereignty, these will be decided upon in conformity with the financial clauses of the present treaty, which are identical with those of the Treaty of Saint Germain, except for two additions.

The provisions by which Hungary must undertake to support the allied armies of occupation in her territory are not to apply to military operations subsequent to Nov. 3, 1918, without the consent of the principal allied and associated powers. In this case the Reparations Commission will fix the share of the expense to be borne by Hungary.

On the other hand, it is laid down that the Hungarian Government must guarantee to pay in addition to the Hungarian public debt, part of the Austrian debt representing her contribution to the general debt of Austria-Hungary.

The economic clauses are identical with those of the Treaty of Saint Germain, except as to some points of detail concerning economic relations between Austria and Hungary.

EFFECT IN HUNGARY

Publication of these terms caused an uproar in Hungary. A statement issued by Count Apponyi on his arrival in Vienna, implying that the treaty in the form dictated would never be signed, read in part as follows:

Concerning internal physical conditions of Hungary, we have been pillaged of everything. In the first place, we had

the hardships of war; secondly, we had two Communist administrations when all our money was spent abroad for propaganda; and, thirdly, the Rumanians robbed us of manufacturing machinery, even printing plants and railroad equipment, so that we now have but twenty-seven locomotives.

Our agricultural interests, which the Central European powers ruined by taking away our live stock, are in a condition of general devastation beyond the River Theiss.

I tried to make Premier Lloyd George and others see that it was in the general interest of humanity to assist us and that cutting us up was an economic crime. Under the terms of this treaty we should have no wood, lumber, coal.

The Hungarian press declared: "The treaty condemns us to ruin." "It is an injustice that cries to Heaven." "It is annihilating." "It is bound to fall to the ground of its own weight." In a speech delivered on Jan. 19 Premier Huszar said:

Hungary's coffin is being built at Neuilly. We are impotent, but never for a moment will we renounce our claims. We will wait until we are strong again, and then convert our enemies by diplomacy—not by arms—confident in our historic powers of resistance and endurance.

The military terms of the treaty were denounced as impossible by Hungary's military representative at Neuilly, who asserted in a memorandum to the Entente plenipotentiaries that the army of 35,000 men allowed by the treaty was insufficient to maintain order in the interior in view of the conditions obtaining, or to protect the frontiers against the Bolsheviks and insure the execution of the obligations which the treaty demanded. Count Apponyi, who was engaged in writing Hungary's answer, said in Budapest on Jan. 27:

There are sixty absurdities in the proposed treaty. One of these takes away all our wood and iron ore, while another demands that we give wood and ore to the Austrians. As for the economic conditions, we know that we can never fulfill them.

Daily demonstrations occurred in Budapest at the end of January against this "peace without honor"; parades were organized, in which the Cross of St. Stephen was borne amid the singing of the national anthem, and patriotic plays were given at the theatres.

ALLIES EXTEND THE TIME

A request for an extension of time to consider the treaty terms, on the ground that most of the delegates were members of the Hungarian Assembly, which would not meet until Feb. 7, was granted on Jan. 31, the limit being extended first to Feb. 12, then to Feb. 20. Count Apponyi and his colleagues on the peace delegation left Budapest for Paris on Feb. 10, in company with General Bandholtz, the United States Military representative; on his departure Count Apponyi expressed regret that America had no voice in the peace negotiations, and declared that only a plebiscite could justly determine the national boundaries of Hungary. He stated that he would make the request for such a plebiscite his principal plea. Hungary, he said in Vienna, would never recognize the rights of conquerors to annex forcibly Hungarian territory. It was his intention to show that forceful annexation was the aim of the powers. He complained bitterly of the methods of "secret diplomacy" followed in Paris, by which he had been prevented from visiting his relatives or seeing newspaper correspondents, implying that the Council of Powers was afraid to face the light of publicity in its predetermined intention to seize Hungarian land.

The second extension of time was granted by the Allies when the Hungarian delegates at Paris presented a 500-page letter contending that the treaty as it stood contained such fundamental and grave errors that "it should be totally rejected." The delegation was allowed eight more days in which to prepare details of a treaty such as it had outlined in this long letter. The conquered were, in fact, proposing terms to the conquerors. The willingness of the Allies to hear their plea was understood to be due, in part at least, to the acknowledged wrong done to Hungary by the Rumanian Army, which had looted the country and was still occupying one-third of it in defiance of seventeen separate Peace Conference ultimatums.

Brig. Gen. H. H. Bandholtz, an American who had been six months in Budapest as a member of the Interallied Com-



HUNGARY AS IT WILL BE UNDER THE TREATY OF NEUILLY

mission of Control, stated in Paris on Feb. 12 that the Rumanian Army was still on the Theiss River, where it had no right to be, since the boundary fixed by the Peace Conference was fifty miles further east. He said that wherever they had been in Hungary the Rumanians had taken away almost everything movable under the guise of requisitions. He was largely instrumental in carrying out the Peace Conference order that account be kept of everything the Rumanians took away. In Budapest he left an indexed record of all that went across the Theiss River bridges. One item was 35,000 freight cars. This record was kept by the Peace Conference for the purpose of charging against Rumania's share of the war indemnities all the goods she took out of Hungary.

Rumania asserts that what she took was only in repayment for what was taken from her, but, as General Bandholtz points out, Rumania has put Hungary in a position where she cannot produce or pay her indemnity. Rumania

has made Hungary a liability for the rest of Europe rather than an asset.

SENTIMENT FOR A MONARCHY

Returns of the elections to the Hungarian National Assembly, held in the week beginning Jan. 25, showed a sweeping defeat for the Socialist elements, the Nationalists and Peasant Party electing a great majority of the members. Approximately 95 per cent. of the votes were cast for a monarchical form of government. The Premier, on Jan. 29, declared that Hungary would undoubtedly be a monarchy, and that the new King would be chosen immediately after the National Assembly convened. It would, however, he stated, be premature to mention the names of those considered for the throne. The Royalist Party was divided into two factions, one favoring a native Hungarian, the other a member of a foreign dynasty, as the new ruler. Archduke Joseph declared in Budapest on Jan. 30 that it would be a dangerous experiment to establish a monarchy in Hun-

gary while the rest of the world was in such a state of revolutionary unrest. A formal announcement that the allied Governments would not permit the restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty in Hungary, was issued by the Council of Ambassadors in Paris on Feb. 2.

Further trials of former terrorists under the Bela Kun régime were announced in Budapest to begin on Feb. 2. Sensational reports that the new Hungarian Government had executed as many as 5,000 persons charged with terrorism were emphatically denied by Count Ap-

ponyi on Jan. 31. In this connection he said:

I have implicit confidence in the Judges, who are moving so slowly that there have been only twenty-seven executions for murder so far, which is a small number when it is remembered that the Communists killed several thousand persons. Nobody is being arrested for opinions, but for acts.

Hungary is in a state of self-defense against the Red terror, just as America, which is deporting Bolsheviki. With semi-Bolshevist Governments at Vienna and Prague, and also agents coming in from Russia, all preparing to subvert the peace of Europe, we are bound to be careful.

Poland and Bolshevik Peace

Isolation of the New State Leads to Consideration of Peace Negotiations With Soviet Russia

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1920]

WITH the defeat of the army of General Yudenitch on the Petrograd front, the rout of the Siberian forces of Admiral Kolchak and the driving back of General Denikin in the South, the Moscow Government turned its attention to those Baltic States which were still in arms against it. Latvia and Lithuania, both small and relatively weak States, still held firm against the Bolsheviki, but the larger State of Esthonia, lured by offers of recognition of its autonomy, accepted the Soviet peace overtures, and finally concluded an armistice, which developed into peace. By this defection of Esthonia, Poland, the most powerful of the border States, was left practically isolated; its population was suffering from typhus and other epidemics due to hunger, cold, lack of food, clothing and vital necessities, and in this crisis its army was left to stem the Bolshevik tide practically alone.

Indications came from various quarters that the allied nations, as well as the United States, realized fully the seriousness of the situation which Poland faced under the threat of an announced Bolshevik drive in the Spring, the danger from

which seemed so extreme to the new Polish Foreign Minister, M. Patek, that immediately after assuming office he left Warsaw to lay an appeal for assistance before the allied representatives in Paris and London.

It was declared by General Tasker H. Bliss on Jan. 15, before the House Ways and Means Committee, that Poland was "the only bulwark against Bolshevism." Secretary Baker supplemented this with a statement that definite plans for furnishing Poland with war materials and food to aid in checking the westward spread of Bolshevism were being considered by the United States and by the allied Governments. He said our Government favored such action; to furnish food and supplies to Poland would be to protect civilization. Both Mr. Baker and General Bliss joined in urging the immediate grant of the \$150,000,000 recommended by Mr. Hoover for the relief of Poland and other parts of Europe. The official attitude of the American Government toward the granting of such aid to Poland was set forth in an authorized statement by Secretary Baker, published on Jan. 21, in which he emphasized the understanding that such assistance would

be conditioned wholly on the defensive and nonimperialistic attitude of the Polish Government.

The Polish military situation toward the end of December was as follows: Poland's army, under the supreme command of General Pilsudski, head of the Polish Government, was holding a long front, extending from Marienburg in the province of Livonia, along the Dvina, across Poland, and through Ukrainian territory to the Rumanian frontier. Poland was negotiating with the Ukrainian Government to establish a military alliance with that republic. The co-operation of the Letts, who had shown brilliant military capacity in evicting the Russo-German forces of Colonel Avalov-Bermond, and in driving the Bolsheviks out of Letgalen (Eastern Latvia), was also being sought. American help for the Polish Army in the way of clothing reached Poland on Feb. 1, when 100 carloads of war materials, including a large supply of underwear, socks and sweaters supplied by the American Red Cross, and army uniforms for 300,000 men, arrived. It was said that American uniforms were being worn by most of the Polish Army at the front, of which some 70,000 men were estimated to be naturalized Americans.

Toward the beginning of February, after an attempted concentration by the Bolsheviks of large numbers of Soviet troops north of the Dvina River had been prevented by attacks of Polish units, both the Polish and the Bolshevik armies were compelled to abandon military operations, owing, it was said, to unfavorable weather conditions.

It was learned in London on Feb. 2 that the Polish Government, subject to approval by the Allies, was considering an offer of peace made to Poland by Lenin, Trotzky and Foreign Minister Tchitcherin. This offer had been made by Moscow wireless in the last week of January, and embodied overtures toward a friendly settlement of all disputes and outstanding difficulties between Soviet Russia and Poland. M. Sapieha, the Polish Minister to London, stated that the decision as to this offer would be referred to the Polish Diet after it heard

the result of M. Patek's discussions in London and Paris.

It was asserted in the offer that the Soviet Government, from the first, had recognized the independence and sovereignty of the Polish Republic, and that this action would be confirmed at the February meeting of the Supreme Executive Committee of the Soviet. Further, it was declared there was no territorial, economic, or other question which could not be solved peacefully by negotiations, concessions, and mutual agreement, such as were being arranged with Esthonia.

Poland's formal reply to the Soviet Government was sent on Feb. 6 by M. Patek. It was as follows:

The Polish Government acknowledges the receipt of the wireless declaration of the Government of the Russian Soviet Republic, dated Jan. 29, 1920. That declaration will be considered, and the answer will be communicated to the Russian Soviet Government.

In the meantime the Polish Foreign Office had obtained the consent of the allied and associated powers to such negotiations. The Polish Minister to the United States, Prince Casimir Lubomirski, had announced in Washington on Feb. 3 that the Polish Diet would sign a peace treaty with the Moscow authorities if they would guarantee that Bolshevik propaganda would not be carried on in Poland and other European countries.

POLAND WEDDED TO THE SEA

The modest seaside village of Putzig on the Baltic coast was the scene of a unique ceremony on Feb. 11, when a detachment of Polish cavalry, with General Haller at its head, rode fetlock deep into the sea as part of a historic ceremony symbolizing the fact that Poland's writ once more runs to the water's edge, and that its ancient kingdom is regained.

Early in the morning Polish troops, completing the occupation of the "corridor," which separates West Prussia from the free city of Danzig, reached Putzig, where shortly afterward arrived General Haller, who commanded the Polish legion which won its spurs in France, and a number of members of the Polish Parliament from Warsaw. From the

wide countryside tens of thousands of people assembled to welcome the warriors whose deeds helped to bring them freedom.

At every half mile along the scores of miles of approaching avenues garlands were stretched across the roads from tree to tree, and in every village the school children threw floral greetings beneath the horses' hoofs. At Putzig was formed a long cavalcade which moved toward the Strand. Varicolored and picturesque were the human elements in the scene. Three companies of marine infantry in British khaki, with naval caps, kept the lines. Behind were aligned several squadrons of cavalry with their pennons and infantry in French horizon blue and steel helmets. Here and there were Catholic priests in gorgeous vestments, and Polish societies, each carrying a multicolored banner.

Filling the great space of greensward behind were tens of thousands, all in the decorous black of Polish Sabbath and high holiday wear.

In this strange drama one figure, that of General Haller on horseback, detached

itself, and then rode down to the beach into the sea, where there closed around him a group of staff officers. The General paused a moment, looked with a gaze that seemed to pierce the mist over the face of the waters, then turned toward the assembled multitude, and in a few ringing sentences told how after 138 years Poland had once again returned to the sea.

Then the horses splashed their way back to dry land. The riders dismounted, and closed around the flag-staff. Officers made a way for a dozen color bearers, each holding aloft the standard of a Polish regiment. The Polish marine flag was dedicated by a Catholic Bishop and was hoisted. Simultaneously great guns roared out a salute, whose thunder must have been carried to the Prussian side.

Once more General Haller stepped forward, drew from his finger a golden ring and threw it far out into the water, saying as he did so:

"As Venice so symbolized its marriage with the Adriatic, so we Poles symbolize our marriage with our dear Baltic Sea."

Russia a Problem for the Allies

Soviet Government, Triumphant on All Fronts, Rejects Trade With Entente Nations Unless Based on an Armistice

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1920]

IN the first six weeks of 1920 the Moscow Government consolidated its successes on all former anti-Bolshevist fronts except East Lettland. The Yudenitch army, utterly demoralized, disintegrated by wholesale desertions to the Soviet Army, was eliminated as a military factor; the Kolchak army, driven headlong toward the east, was forced to abandon Siberia to the Bolshevik forces; Kolchak himself was captured by the Reds and put to death in Irkutsk; Vladivostok was seized by a group of revolutionists, and a Soviet republic was set up in Kamchatka and Sakhalin. The Bolshevik campaign in Turkestan and Transcaspia was carried

on energetically, and Krasnovodsk was captured; the Bolsheviks won new successes in the Caspian, Don and Black Sea regions, and Denikin's forces were crowded back into a small area between Odessa, which the Red Army entered on Feb. 8, and a point on the railway line southwest of Tsaritsin.

After a month's armistice* with Esthonia, renewable from week to week, peace was finally signed with the Esthonian Government on Jan. 29, and peace overtures were made to Poland; these offers, with the sanction of the allied Governments, were seriously considered by the Polish Government, the difficulties of whose position, in face of famine,

cold, epidemics, and the threat of an overwhelming Bolshevik invasion in the Spring, were fully recognized by the Entente Powers.

The most surprising development of the month under review was the announcement of the Allies that they intended to raise the blockade of Soviet Russia and to resume trade through the Russian Co-operative Societies, whose representatives in Paris and London had declared direct trading without recognition of the Soviet Government to be feasible. Like other attempted solutions of the Russian problem, including the famous Prinkipo Conference, this project died before it was born; Lenin and Trotzky promptly made it apparent that any trade with the Russian people without recognition of the Soviet Government would be combated. The Co-operative representatives in Paris soon admitted that they had not been able to obtain the expected sanction of the Moscow authorities to a trade arrangement, and the latter declared officially that they would sink all allied vessels attempting to initiate trade without the prior conclusion of an armistice.

The disbanded troops of General Yudenitch in Esthonia were reported in the middle of January to be in a sorry plight, ragged, hungry, ravaged by epidemic, the object of Esthonian hostility, demoralized by Bolshevik propaganda, leading to constant desertions to the Reds. General Rodzianko, who commanded them under Yudenitch, left for England to lay their case before the British Government. General Yudenitch himself, as the result of a private feud with Colonel Balakhovitch, was arrested as a reactionary, but subsequently, following an allied protest to Esthonia, was released.

NEW BALTIC CONFERENCE

A new Baltic conference, composed of representatives of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland, was opened at Helsingfors on Jan. 15. The two main objects of discussion were the danger of a Czarist Russia and the possibility of a joint union of the Baltic States to resist the advance of Bolshevism. This conference from the start met with great difficulties; first, because of the hostility

which had arisen between Poland and Lithuania over alleged Polish encroachments on Lithuanian territory, especially in Vilna and Grodno, and, secondly, because of the unwillingness of Esthonia to bind herself not to conclude peace with the Bolshevik authorities. It was stated on Jan. 20 that the only result of the conference was the appointment of a commission to work out a scheme of defensive alliance. The Lithuanians withdrew soon after the conference began, declaring that they would not sit in council with the Poles. The Poles asserted their intention of waging war on Soviet Russia, while Esthonia's delegates upheld their country's right to make peace with the Lenin Government after the expiration of the Dorpat armistice. It was surmised that Esthonia's sole motive in taking part in the Helsingfors conference was the gaining of a stronger position in the Dorpat negotiations; it was subsequently stated that the Bolshevik envoys at Dorpat, alive to the possibilities of such a defensive alliance as that discussed at Helsingfors, had accepted certain important features of Esthonia's peace terms which they had previously rejected.

ESTHONIA'S PEACE TREATY

A separate peace between Esthonia and the Bolshevik Government was concluded at Dorpat on Jan. 29. The treaty provided, *inter alia*, that no concession made to Esthonia should be made a precedent when other border States came to negotiate; Esthonia, on her part, stipulated that any rights or privileges given to such other States should automatically also accrue to herself. Diplomatic and commercial relations were to be resumed forthwith. A commercial treaty was to be entered into on the basis of the most-favored-nation clauses. Esthonia was prohibited from exacting taxes or duties on goods arriving in her ports for Soviet Russia or tolls in transit. The right to use the Narova River waterfalls was given to the Soviet Republic, which in turn lent Esthonia 16,000,000 rubles in gold and gave her concessions for the construction of a railway from Reval to Moscow, materials for building the line, and 300 locomotives. Both the Esthonian

and Bolshevik delegates at Dorpat showed great jubilation over the making of peace, and celebrated the event with banquets and speeches.

The Letts meanwhile, though disconcerted by the announcement of the abortive scheme to trade with Russia, definitely refused to make peace with the Soviets and proceeded with their nationalist program of clearing Latvia, especially Lettgalia (East Lettland), of Bolshevik forces. In a statement issued by the Lettish Legation in London on Feb. 9 it was definitely announced that this object, after hard and continuous fighting, had been attained. All suggestions of peace with the Soviets were deferred by the Letts until a new conference of Baltic States could be called in April.

LITHUANIA'S STATUS

The Lithuanians were reported on Jan. 21 to be so resentful toward Poland for occupying Lithuanian territory that at the Helsingfors Conference they proposed an alliance of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania against the Poles. It was when this proposal was rejected that they withdrew from the discussions. It was stated that this smallest of the Baltic States was contemplating an armistice with the Bolshevik Government. Meanwhile her national claims for recognition as a republic were rejected by the United States. In Washington, on Feb. 9, Secretary of State Lansing made public the text of two official communications in which the United States, replying to requests of the Lithuanian Government, had refused to grant provisional recognition to Lithuania. The first letter was dated Oct. 15; the second, dated Jan. 7, declined, on the ground of nonrecognition, to attribute a diplomatic status to Lithuanian agents in Washington. The same policy had been adopted in regard to Ukraina, Esthonia, and other would-be independent republics set up on former Russian territory.

Alarming internal conditions were reported from Esthonia and the other Baltic States on Jan. 17; over 12,000 were stricken with typhus in Esthonia alone, and it was estimated toward the end of January that there were 1,000,000 cases of this disease throughout the Russian

border States. Large numbers of the sick in Esthonia were former members of the Yudenitch Army.

The conference held between Litvinov, the Bolshevik delegate, and Mr. O'Grady, the British representative, in Copenhagen, remained, after protracted negotiations, in a virtual state of deadlock, the British representative declaring the Soviet demands regarding prisoners to be impossible; Great Britain refused to yield to the Bolshevik demand that the exchange of prisoners be extended to other countries where Russian prisoners were interned. Arrangements to send warm clothing and food to the British prisoners in Soviet Russia, however, were concluded. The negotiations were complicated on Jan. 22, when Litvinov appealed to his Government to transfer the discussions to another country, in view of the fact that virtually every hotel in Copenhagen after hard and continuous fighting, had hagan had refused to receive him. An agreement was finally reached, however, on Feb. 12, by which all prisoners on both sides were to be released at once. Great Britain agreed to furnish transportation.

REDS WIN IN SOUTH

Soon after the beginning of January a swift and startling change took place in the military situation in South Russia. The steady advance of the Bolsheviks in the Donetz Basin had made it necessary for General Denikin to remove the general headquarters and the allied missions from Taganrog, on the Sea of Azov, and the political centre from Rostov, on the Don. The retreat of the Denikin armies was partly forced by the skillful use of cavalry under the Bolshevik leader, Budenni, and partly was the result of rebellion in Denikin's rear. Rostov fell on Jan. 9; 10,000 prisoners and vast stores of booty were taken. General Denikin and his staff left for Novorossisk the night before. On Jan. 7, the Russian Christmas Day, Denikin had come to Rostov and attended services at the cathedral; even then the sound of gunfire could be distinctly heard to the north of the town. The volunteer army was holding the line from Nikopol to Melitopol, north of the Crimea. These positions also fell shortly prior to Jan. 15. Despite



BLACK LINE SHOWS EXTENT OF REGION CONTROLLED BY SOVIET RUSSIA SINCE ITS MILITARY SUCCESSES AGAINST KOLCHAK AND DENIKIN

Denikin's desperate attempts, the Soviet advance could not be stayed; place after place was captured, and soon Denikin had taken refuge in Yalta, in the Crimea. The Moscow Government, on Feb. 8, declared that Bolshevist troops had entered Odessa, which had been partly evacuated, many of the sick and refugees being taken on board British warships. A large part of the Denikin garrison had surrendered. A portion of Denikin's army was retreating southward; another portion, headed north, was being protected by the long-distance fire of British warships.

On the eastern flank the Bolshevist success was also pronounced, the Denikin forces being driven southwest from Tsaritsyn. In the Transcaspien region, despite British bombardments from the sea, the City of Krasnovodsk, on the Caspian, said to be the key to Persia and India, was taken by the Bolsheviks.

DEBACLE IN SIBERIA

As a result of the rout of the Kolchak armies along the Trans-Siberian Railway

all resistance to the Red Army ceased before the end of January. Despite bombardment by armored trains of General Semenov, successor of Kolchak as Supreme Commander, Irkutsk, the last refuge of the former Kolchak Government, remained in the hands of insurgents, whose Bolshevist sympathies were later to be evidenced in the case of Kolchak. The allied missions were assured of their safety by the arrival of a Japanese battalion which occupied the Irkutsk Station shortly prior to Jan. 2. When the missions left Irkutsk on Jan. 5 virtually all the Kolchak Government troops had joined the insurgents. The Moscow Government issued a statement that Kolchak had been taken prisoner, and, in common with all other captured anti-Bolshevist Generals, would be court-martialed and shot.

EXECUTION OF KOLCHAK

It was later learned by the Entente Governments that the person of Admiral Kolchak had been surrendered to the Bolsheviks by General Janin, the Czecho-

slovak commander in Siberia. This news produced a stir in Paris and London. Premier Millerand on Jan. 28 telegraphed to General Janin demanding an explanation and ordering him to take steps to secure Kolchak's liberation. Reports from Harbin declared that Czech reports on the situation at Irkutsk, telegraphed to General Janin at Verkhnie-Udinsk, where Kolchak was staying, had induced him to consent to the latter's surrender. The Czechs asserted that it was a choice between surrendering one man and a conflict in which they themselves were likely to be completely annihilated. The request made by the Japanese to turn Kolchak over to them for protection was refused, and a similar request made of the insurgents at Irkutsk, to whom he was first delivered, was also rejected. A profound sensation was caused throughout the Far East by the news that Kolchak had been given up, and one Russian officer challenged General Janin to a duel.

After a silence of two weeks concerning the fate of Admiral Kolchak the British Government received official confirmation of the rumors of his execution. The Admiral, with one of his Ministers, M. Pepelaiyev, had been shot at Irkutsk at 5 o'clock in the morning of Feb. 7. The revolutionary committee at Irkutsk had decided at 2 A. M. that both officials should be executed. The meagre information on the subject indicated that the Reds had hastened the shooting of their prisoners in the belief that forcible efforts were to be made for their rescue.

REVOLTS SPREAD TO PACIFIC

The spirit of revolt against the former Kolchak régime grew ever more pronounced, and was combined with the parallel development of Bolshevism. On Jan. 10 a bloodless revolution broke out at Petropavlovsk in Kamchatka Peninsula, where the military, in league with the population, arrested all officers and civil officials, and set up a Soviet. Revolution broke out anew in Eastern Siberia at the end of January; the report sent to Washington by General Graves, the American commander, stated that the revolutionaries had entered Vladivostok; no attempt had been made to attack the allied troops, who were patrol-

ing the streets to maintain order. The insurgents were not identified by General Graves as Bolsheviki, and the revolution, it was stated, would not interfere with the departure of American troops from Vladivostok, which had begun in January. The country outside the city, however, was in the hands of the Bolsheviki, whose power was growing daily; from a point west of Irkutsk, where the Czech forces were hemmed in on both sides by Reds and forced to do battle at great odds, to the far-off peninsula of Kamchatka and the island of Sakhalin, the capture of whose capital, Alexandrovsk, by Siberian Bolsheviki, threatening Japan, was reported on Feb. 9, the ever-increasing menace of the spread of Bolshevism could not be denied.

THREAT TO JAPAN

With the fall of the capital of the island of Sakhalin, ceded in part to Japan after the Russo-Japanese war, the Bolshevik threat to Japan became clearly crystallized. On Jan. 25 the Japanese Premier, after receiving from the American Government on Jan. 16 its decision to withdraw its armed forces from Siberia, stated in answer to interpellations in the Japanese Diet that the position of Japan in the Far East was very different from that of the United States, and that immediate withdrawal of the Japanese forces was impossible. A statement issued by the Japanese Publicity Bureau of Vladivostok, summarizing Japanese press comment, said:

Single-handed opposition to the Bolsheviki in Siberia is an exceedingly heavy burden on Japan, both in a military sense and financially. However, it is unthinkable that Japan would withdraw her forces from Siberia and thus abandon to the Reds country contiguous to her own territory. * * * With the important railway centres guarded, Japan can follow the trend of events and of popular feeling and can form a definite policy accordingly.

In this guarding of railway communications, General Graves, the American commander, was co-operating with the Japanese. From the railway sectors a part of the American forces in process of withdrawal had been moved toward Vladivostok, but assurances were given Japan that no further withdrawals would

be made until Japan was able to replace those removed. The first American contingent sailed on Jan. 17 for Manila. It was stated in Tokio on Jan. 20 that the Advisory Diplomatic Council had decided also to withdraw its forces as soon as practicable, in approval of the Cabinet decision not to stem the Bolshevik tide in Siberia alone.

ALLIED TRADE WITH RUSSIA

The great problem left unsolved was the policy to be adopted by the allied nations in dealing with the people of Russia without recognizing the Bolshevik régime. The official announcement of the scheme of reopening trade with Russia through the Co-operative Societies, as published on Jan. 16, was followed by a period of doubt, especially in Scandinavia and the Baltic States; but the various statements implying that the Co-operatives' representatives in Russia had gained Moscow's consent to such trade were soon contradicted by the Soviet Government's threat to sink all ships attempting to bring cargoes without the preliminary conclusion of an armistice with the Bolshevik Government, and by the action of Lenin and Trotzky in seizing absolute control of the Co-operatives' organization in Russia. The Co-operative officials in Paris on Jan. 24 admitted that their hopes of gaining the Soviet Government's sanction of the project had not materialized. By Feb. 6 the situation had developed to the point where it was a choice between peace with the Soviets and no trade relations with Russia. Despite this unfavorable outlook, Premier Millerand on that date, before the Chamber of Deputies, maintained anew that trade with Russia did not mean the making of peace; this view was confirmed by an important statement made by Lloyd George before the House of Commons on Feb. 10.

STATEMENT OF BRITISH PREMIER

In a long and interesting explanation of the Government's policy the British Premier said that he agreed with the view that Europe could not be restored without putting Russia, with all her strength and resources, "into circulation." He continued:

Until assured that the Bolsheviks have dropped the methods of barbarism in favor of civilized government, no civilized community in the world is prepared to make peace with them. Further, there is no established Government possessing the right to speak for the whole of European Russia. We failed to restore Russia to sanity by force. I believe we can save her by trade.

Commerce has a sobering influence. There is nothing to fear from a Bolshevik invasion of surrounding countries or the Middle East, because the Bolsheviks cannot organize a powerful army. I believe that trading will bring to an end the ferocity, rapine and cruelties of Bolshevism more surely than any other method, and Europe badly needs what Russia is able to supply but cannot supply with contending armies moving across the borders.

The dangers are not all in Russia; they are here at home. I speak with knowledge, with apprehension and responsibility, and I warn the House that in the face of things which may happen we must use every legitimate weapon. We must fight anarchy with abundance.

This statement was received in the allied countries, as well as in the United States, with the keenest interest, but with considerable mystification as to how the reopening of trade could be accomplished without recognition of the Bolshevik régime. The existence of a certain current of feeling in favor of a resumption of United States trade with Russia was evidenced by a meeting at New York on Feb. 2 of more than a hundred representatives of American business firms, who had organized the American Commercial Association to Promote Trade with Russia. The Executive Committee of this new organization was directed to start mandamus proceedings in the Federal courts if Secretary of State Lansing continued to refuse permission for a resumption of commerce with the Soviet Government. It had been previously stated by L. C. A. K. Martens, the so-called Soviet Ambassador to the United States, that a large number of American business firms had accepted Soviet trade offers through his embassy. At the meeting of the new association a strong feeling that Great Britain was preparing to gain commercial advantage in Russia before the United States lifted the trade embargo was repeatedly expressed.

Bolshevist Horrors in Odessa

By the Rev. R. COURTIER-FORSTER

[FORMER BRITISH CHAPLAIN AT ODESSA AND THE BLACK SEA PORTS]

In a series of articles published in The London Times, Dec. 8-10, 1919, the Rev. R. Courtier-Forster gave a vivid picture of the atrocities committed by the Bolsheviki at Odessa during his stay in that city, crimes paralleled only in the persecution of Nero's time. The essential portions of these articles, here presented, paint an appalling picture of human degeneracy, and take on a fresh interest in view of the fact that Odessa has again fallen into the hands of the Reds.

DO English people really imagine that the published accounts of the appalling atrocities and brutal tyranny of the Bolshevist rule in Russia are an exaggeration? Before God I wish I could believe they are not true to the actual facts. Could I but find them untrue, I would speak for the Bolshevists from end to end of England. Unhappily, I have spent nearly a year in Soviet Russia, and was in the hapless country over seven years before that.

While I was still British chaplain of Odessa the city was deluged with blood. When the Bolshevist elements, grafting on to their main support the 4,000 criminals released from the city jails, attempted to seize the town, people of education, regardless of social position, offered what armed resistance was in their power. Workmen, shop assistants, soldiers, professional men, and a handful of officers fought for liberty through the streets of the great port for three days and nights against the bloody despotism of the Bolshevists. Trams were overturned to make barricades, trenches dug in the streets, machine guns placed in the upper windows of houses to mow the thoroughfares with fire. The place became an inferno. The Bolsheviki were victorious. On capturing the Odessa Railway Station, which had been defended by a few officers and a number of anti-Bolshevist soldiers, the Bolshevists bayoneted to death the nineteen wounded and helpless men laid on the waiting room floor to await Red Cross succor.

Scores of other men who fell wounded in the streets also became victims to the triumphant Bolshevist criminals. The ma-

jority of these wretched sufferers completely disappeared. Inquiries at the hospitals and prisons revealed the fact that they were not there, and no trace of them was to be found. A fortnight later there was a terrible storm on the Black Sea, and the bodies of the missing men were washed up on the rocks of Odessa breakwater and along the shore; they had been taken out to sea in small boats, stones tied to their feet, and then dropped over alive into deep water. Hundreds of others were captured and taken on board the Almaz and the Sinope, the largest cruisers of the Black Sea Fleet. Here they became victims of unthinkable tortures.

VICTIMS ROASTED ALIVE

On the Sinope General Chormichoff and some other personal friends of my own were fastened one by one with iron chains to planks of wood and pushed slowly, inch by inch, into the ship's furnaces and roasted alive. Others were tied to winches, the winches turned until the men were torn in two alive. Others were taken to the boilers and scalded with boiling steam; they were then moved to another part of the ship and ventilating fans set revolving that currents of cold air might blow on the scalds and increase the agony of the torture. The full names of seventeen of the Sinope victims were given me in writing by members of their families or their personal friends. These were lost later when my rooms were raided, my papers seized, and I myself arrested and thrown into prison.

The house in the Catherine Square, in which I was first in captivity, afterward

became the Bolsheviks' House of Torture in which hundreds of victims were done to death. The shrieks of the people being tortured to death or having splinters of wood driven under the quick of their nails were so agonizing that personal friends of my own living more than a hundred yards away in the Voroutsoffsky Pereoluk were obliged to fasten their double windows to prevent the cries of anguish penetrating into the house. The horror of the surviving citizens was so great that the Bolsheviks kept motor lorries thundering up and down the street to drown the screams of agony wrung from their dying victims.

This House of Torture remains as much as possible in the condition in which the Bolsheviks left it, and is now shown to those who care to inspect its gruesome and blood-bespattered rooms.

There are people who maintain that, with theatres open and electric trams running, anarchy does not exist, and that life in Soviet Russia is both secure and pleasant. I did not find it so. There is a halting place for the electric cars at the corner of Kanatnaya and Grecheskaya. Returning from the town at 11:30 one morning I encountered a frightened group at this point. Inquiry revealed the fact that the Reds had just murdered two unprotected and defenceless women waiting for the tram, to go into the city shopping. Their crime was that both clothes and manners showed them to be "Bourjouie." Also in the Kanatnaya one morning a working woman was shot for the sport of the thing while running across the road to purchase a bottle of milk for her children. Her body was lying by the curb as I came by, the bottle smashed, and milk and blood streaming down the gutter. The house door stood open, her two little children crying with grief and terror at the entrance.

TREATMENT OF WOMEN

Week by week the newspapers published articles for and against the nationalization of women. In South Russia the proposal did not become a legal measure, but in Odessa bands of Bolsheviks seized women and girls and carried them off to the Port, the timber yards and the Alexandrovsky Park for

their own purposes. Women used in this way were found in the mornings either dead or mad or in a dying condition. Those found still alive were shot. One of the most awful of my own personal experiences of the New Civilization was hearing at night from my bedroom windows the frantic shrieks of women being raped to death in the park opposite—screams of shrill terror and despair repeated at intervals until they became nothing but hoarse cries of agony like the death calls of a dying animal. This happened not once, or twice, but many times. Never to the day of my death shall I forget the horror of those dreadful shrieks of tortured women, and one's own utter powerlessness to aid the victims or punish the Bolshevik devils in their bestial orgies.

To be decently clothed and washed was a crime in the eyes of the Bolshevik proletariat. Both men and women were stopped in the streets of Odessa, robbed of their boots, stripped of their clothes and sent home naked through the frost and snow. So many hundreds of people were treated in this manner under the Soviet rule, that the satirical paper of South Russia, the Scourge, brought out a full-page cartoon representing one of the chief streets of the city with a naked man and woman departing hand in hand up the road while a group of unkempt Bolsheviks with men's trousers and women's underclothes fluttering on their arms were seen running in the opposite direction. Beneath was the satirical observation, "In Odessa the World Finds Paradise Anew." For this reflection on the glorious New Civilization of the Soviets, the windows of the Scourge offices were smashed and the paper fined.

By this time the devastating corruption of the Holy Revolution had so spread that I saw open acts of indecency being committed in broad daylight in the parks and public gardens. These are but a few experiences from the mass of events crowded into my life in Soviet Russia.

That any professing Christian of any denomination in the whole globe should feel or express sympathy with the Bolsheviks of Russia, can only be due either

to lack of accurate information or to deliberate deception by clever propaganda. The paucity of first-hand information as to what is really happening in Soviet Russia has enabled the Bolsheviks to conceal the ghastly persecution of the Christians which is being carried out with the utmost ferocity.

DESTROYING CHRISTIANITY

It is repeatedly said "Bolshevism is solely concerned with economics. It has nothing to do with religion." This is absolutely untrue. The horrors of heathen Rome and the episodes of the Coliseum have been brilliantly imitated and excelled by the Reds in Russia.

The first objective of Bolshevism is the complete elimination of every form of Christianity from the world and the substitution of a worldwide atheism. Of course this will be denied, as everything else which is inconvenient is denied. The fact remains. The ideals of Christianity are diametrically opposed to the brutal practices of Bolshevism, therefore Christianity is recognized as its most dangerous foe, and is treated accordingly.

It was the martyrdom of the two Metropolitans and the assassination of so many Bishops and the killing of various Christian ministers of religion, regardless of denomination or school of thought, that proved the undoing of the Scourge [newspaper]. Russian Orthodox clergy, Protestant Lutheran pastors, Roman Catholic priests were tortured and done to death with the same light-hearted indiscriminate in the name of toleration and freedom. Then it was that the Scourge, seeing the last remnants of liberty ground under the heel of a tyranny more brutal in its methods than a mediaeval torture chamber, published another full-page cartoon representing Moses descending from the burning mount, bringing in his arms the tables of the Ten Commandments to humanity, and being stoned to death by a mob of workmen's and soldiers' deputies.

Marriages were tumultuously interrupted by bands of propagandists, determined to compel the people to abandon Christian marriage and accept the new civil contract which has been introduced.

My own man servant was obliged to drive into the country to be married at a wayside church, where the wedding party might pass unobserved.

The Bolsheviks have attempted to bring about the abolition of Sunday as the weekly day of rest on account of its age-long association with the Resurrection of Christ. The virulence of the Red hatred of everything Christian seeks to substitute Monday for the old hallowed day. In the Spring of 1918 the attempt was temporarily crowned with success. The last Sunday in April was peremptorily ordered to be erased from the calendar as a rest day. Works, factories, and shops were commanded to carry on their business as on other days of the week. The streets of Odessa were thronged with crowds of truculent, jubilating Reds making a great parade of work. The following Wednesday, May 1, was substituted for the condemned Sunday, and duly observed as the festival of the Holy Revolution. On this day all workshops, houses of business, and factories were strictly forbidden to work; even bread was not allowed to be baked. I had the greatest difficulty in obtaining anything to eat.

PERSECUTIONS INCREASE

The brutal persecution of the Church increased. After the torture and martyrdom of many priests and several Bishops, a demonstration of protest was made by the Christians of Odessa. The Archbishop of Kherson and the Bishop of Nikolaiev took part in the procession. I marched with the other demonstrators. Two hundred Christian soldiers in uniform presented themselves at the cathedral and requested permission to carry the banners. Forty thousand of the faithful assembled. An unsuccessful attempt was made by the Reds to wreck the solemn march.

As the procession moved down one of the main thoroughfares I inquired of a group of sullen Bolshevik sailors from the Black Sea Fleet why they no longer uncovered their heads as the Archbishop's procession passed. The answer was given with morose rage, "We would kill all the clergy in the procession, but

we do not wish to even soil our hands with the blood of such vermin as Christ's priests."

In many places the persecution of the Church is carried out with terrible fury. Outrages and affronts were offered to the Christians on every hand. At the women's hotel at Odessa University the Ikon was torn down from the wall of the common room amid a wild scene of ribald jesting and jeers, and the ubiquitous Red Flag was triumphantly hung over the place reserved for the sacred picture. In one part of my Chaplaincy alone, sixty priests were driven from their parishes as a result of the anti-Christian propaganda.

BLOOD-SOAKED TYRANTS

The persecution developed with unexampled ferocity. In the monastery near Kotlass, all the monks and the Prior were shot. In Perm Archbishop Andronik was buried alive. This ghastly fate caused such horror among the cowed and terror-stricken peasants that the heroic Vassili, Archbishop of Tchernigov, greatly daring, made the journey to Moscow to make representations respecting the tragedy of Archbishop Andronik. It was a splendid venture gloriously made, but the Archbishop could look for no mercy from the blood-soaked tyrants who have made "Freedom of Mind" a byword for the most despotic tyranny the world has ever seen. The history of the journey will live in the annals of the Russian Church forever. Archbishop Vassili shared the martyrdom of his brother. With his two companions he was hacked to pieces.

The long list of Christians martyred at the hand of the Bolsheviki has grown to a volume of names. The saintly Archbishop Feofan found death only through an agony of refined torture. He was reduced to a dying condition and then dipped through a hole bored in the

frozen river and drowned in the Kama. Fifty priests were also tortured with every fiendish cruelty, and then done to death.

When the town of Yuriev (Dorpat) was taken an orgy of Christian-slashing took place. They who look for mercy, or pity, or justice from the Bolsheviki look in vain. The unhappy and venerable Bishop Platon was seized at midnight in his house, and, clad only in his night apparel, dragged with insults from his bed. Barefoot, the Bishop and 17 companions were driven with unspeakable brutality to the cellars of the house and hacked to pieces with axes for the cause of glorious "freedom of mind" and the enlightenment of a benighted world, too obtuse to appreciate the benefits of the New Civilization conferred upon it by the Bolshevist proletariat.

ORGY OF SLAUGHTER

After the ghastly massacres at Dorpat and Walk I was shown photographs of the martyred ministers of religion lying in the snow; Russian Orthodox clergy, Protestant Lutheran pastors, Roman Catholic priests, all done to death with the utmost impartiality in the outraged name of "liberty." Never has the world seen a more ghastly and cynical travesty of the great term. The martyrs for Christ had their eyes torn from their heads; their noses were slashed off with knives and their cheeks gouged out with bayonets.

When the history of the Bolshevist persecution to eradicate Christianity from Russia comes to be written, the Christian world will stand aghast at the crimes committed in the attempt to stamp out the love of Christ from the heart of the Russian nation. Lenin and Trotzky may well chuckle from within the recesses of the polluted Christian churches, as of the Kremlin, as they make peace overtures to a duped world.



What the War Did for Canada

By WILLIAM BANKS

NATIONAL confidence and national consciousness are Canada's greatest gains from the war. They are reflected in the activities and thoughts of the people since August, 1914. They are the basis of the undertakings embarked upon and the stock-taking that has followed the brief period of uncertainty at the end of active hostilities. Anxiety as to what was to be done with the elaborate industrial organization that was built for war purposes only has long ago given way to wonder that there should have been any doubt.

Confidence was rooted deep when, within two months after the declaration of war, Canada's first expeditionary force of 33,000 men sailed for England, complete in every detail down to the ammunition for the artillery units. That was considered to be no mean accomplishment in a country whose regular forces numbered only 3,000 men, and whose voluntary militia organization had lightly trained not more than 60,000 men that year. National consciousness was of slower growth. It came with revelations that, in striving for material development and advantage, Canada had not paid enough attention to the Canadianizing of many foreign-speaking immigrants and to the social conditions of large masses of the people generally. It had its ramifications in regard to the relations between Britain and Canada, and between Canada and other nations outside of the British Empire.

PRIME MINISTER'S WORDS

Both national confidence and consciousness were voiced by the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, in his insistence upon Canada having distinct representation at the Peace Conference, having a part in the shaping of the Peace Treaty, and having her own representatives sign it. He elaborated his views later in the Canadian Parliament when in reply to some questions and

criticisms by the Hon. W. S. Fielding, a noted Liberal leader, he said:

His suggestion was that the Government of the United Kingdom can impose their will upon us without respect to our desire. If such is the opinion of the honorable member he is thinking in the terms of one hundred years ago.

On another occasion, explaining in Parliament his attitude at the Peace Conference, he used these words:

On behalf of my country I stood firmly upon this solid ground, that in this, the greatest of all wars in which the world's liberty, the world's justice, in short the world's future destiny was at stake, Canada had led the democracies of both the American continents. Her resolve had given inspiration, her sacrifices had been conspicuous, her effort was unabated to the end. The same indomitable spirit which made her capable of that effort and sacrifice made her equally incapable of accepting at the Peace Conference, in the League of Nations, or elsewhere, a status inferior to that accorded to nations less advanced in their development, less amply endowed in wealth, resources and population, no more complete in their sovereignty, and so far less conspicuous in their sacrifice.

RE-ESTABLISHING BUSINESS

At this time, however, questions of trade and commerce have first place in the thought of the majority. It cannot be fairly charged that the Government has been slow to give aid and seek opportunity in this respect. Within a few days of the signing of the armistice a Canadian trade commission under Lloyd Harris, a business man of wide experience and great driving power, was located in spacious offices in London, with a big fund at its disposal and practical carte blanche as to its operations. While one of its members was always on hand in London with a capable staff, others were in France and Belgium and other European countries, gathering information with which to guide the Canadian manufacturer and the Canadian farmer in the disposal of still more of their goods and produce.

The fruits of the commission's activity

of twelve months are still being reaped. Credits to France, Belgium, Rumania, and Greece, aggregating \$100,000,000, were granted by the Canadian Government. To date these have been taken advantage of to the extent of somewhat less than \$40,000,000, and business to the latter amount has been placed in Canada. It is not so satisfactory, one may admit, as cash transactions, nor is it everywhere regarded with the assurance that the large business formerly done with Britain on a credit basis is. But the trade commission and the Government believe the securities to be ample and the future opportunities for expansion of trade in Europe greatly enhanced by the arrangements.

The war has witnessed Canada's passing from a debtor to a creditor nation in a trade sense. In the five-year period, 1910 to 1914, the excess of imports over exports aggregated \$1,000,424,000. In the succeeding five years the excess of exports totaled \$1,371,284,000. The favorable balance was due chiefly to exports to Britain. This is a bald way of saying that the war made Canada an exporting country. The question her people ask is whether she can retain that position in peace times. They think she can. The figures and facts available give support to their belief. The new industries born of the war stress and the readjustment period are finding themselves. Canada's exports for the calendar year 1919 were valued at \$1,294,920,372 and the imports at \$941,000,700. Of the exports official figures show that only \$37,745,750 were sold on credits, a big change from the war years, when sales to Britain were being largely financed in that way.

There is one drawback that has its effect on the exchange situation, namely, the imports from the United States. These totaled \$740,580,225 last year, against an export of \$454,686,294. The United States indeed is responsible for nearly 80 per cent. of Canada's imports. From Sir Harry Drayton, Minister of Finance, down to the humblest ward politician the people are being urged to help out the exchange situation by purchasing less from the big Republic and bending their efforts to exporting more.

TWO BILLIONS OF DEBT

There is this also to be considered: The debt of Canada before the war stood at the moderate figure of \$336,000,000. The latest careful estimate is that it will total over \$2,000,000,000 by the end of March, when the fiscal year closes. A consolation is that some \$1,700,000,000 of this is in domestic loans, involving the payment of a little over \$100,000,000 a year in interest to the Canadian people. Revenues will fall far short of meeting the expenditures, however, the totals for the nine months ending with December giving the financiers some food for more thought. The country's income for that period was \$253,964,722. The expenditures for ordinary services and the ordinary capital outlays were \$269,931,089, while war costs amounted to \$239,709,184, making a grand total of \$509,640,273. The war outlay was, in fact, heavier for the nine months of 1919 than in the corresponding period of 1918. The cost of bringing the armies home, of the generous gratuities for the men, and of restoring them to civil life, vied with that of actual war conditions. The peak has been passed in this item, however, and by the end of the fiscal year the direct war outlay will have ceased to be an important charge, though for decades to come the pension bill and the interest on the war debt will be a reminder to Canada of its share in the great conflict.

To those in authority and to the politicians may be left the arguments over the steps to be taken to increase the revenues of the country. They are battling over them now. Sir George Foster, the acting Prime Minister, put one view of the present situation bluntly enough in a recent nonpolitical address to the Canadian Club of Montreal. It was of no use to "damn the Government" or "damn the capitalists," he said, in regard to the prevailing unrest and the high cost of living. There were no short cuts to reconstruction. Neither strikes, nor acts of Parliament, nor the overthrow of the present economic system could effect it. The only remedy was to work harder and produce more.

Apart from the new industries that are based on private capital and enter-

prise, the most outstanding illustration of Canada's confidence in her future and in the quality of her people was the acquisition in wartime of the system now known as the Canadian National Railways. The Canadian Northern was the first to be taken in, and negotiations are now nearing completion for the acquiring of the stock and control of the Grand Trunk Railway, Parliament having authorized the Government to take such action. Added to the original Government-owned line, built as part of the Canadian confederation compact and serving the maritime provinces, the system will have a mileage of 22,375, including 1,881 miles of the Grand Trunk Railway in the United States. An investment of more than \$1,300,000,000 is represented in this mileage, which serves every province in the country and practically all the great ports.

The reasons for the embarkation by Canada on such a gigantic system of public ownership are complicated and have aroused bitter controversies. The fact now is that the ratification of the Grand Trunk agreement, which it is hoped will be announced at the coming session of Parliament, will give the Canadian National Railways the biggest mileage in the country. Upon its efficient use and management Canadians hope for as great an expansion in development and trade as has attended the unceasing efforts of its only rival, the privately owned and always profitable Canadian Pacific Railway.

GOVERNMENT STEAMSHIP LINE

It was clear that a railway system of magnitude owned by the people could not hope to compete with a wide-awake private road whose ships insured continuous carriage for overseas consignments, unless it could also offer similar advantages. There has come into being, therefore, a fleet of Government-owned steamers that is being rapidly enlarged, and is expected by the end of the present year to aggregate 300,000 deadweight tons. Under the somewhat cumbersome name of the Canadian Government Merchant Marine twenty-five steel ships are already in service. They ply to Britain, Australia, and New Zealand, the West

Indies, South America, and Cuba. A Mediterranean service is now being arranged, and one to South Africa is under consideration. Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine, is authority for the statement that so far there has been a handsome profit on the operation of these ships, and that the Government is now considering the addition of several 15,000-ton passenger ships to its fleet. To the freighters already in commission or on the stocks a number of others will be added, contracts having been let for sixty in all, including the finished ships. The total cost to the country of these will be about \$70,000,000.

All these ships were built, or are being built, in Canada, at ten different shipyards. If the Government does decide on the building of the passenger vessels mentioned, they also will be constructed in Canadian shipyards, which, since the days when wooden ships were the only kind known, have never experienced a boom equal to that of the war period and since.

It is the hope of those directly concerned, as well as of all who wish for continued Canadian prosperity, that shipbuilding will become a stable industry of the country. It was the building of submarines, armed trawlers and drifters, lighters and other vessels for the British, French, Italian and Russian Governments that pointed the way. War was a great price to pay for the revival of the shipbuilding industry; peace may place it on a permanently sound basis.

A corollary of the development in shipbuilding is the completion in Sydney, Nova Scotia, of a private plant for the manufacture of steel ship plates. These have never been made in Canada, and the output of the plant is expected to be sufficient to meet the demands of the country for a long time to come. What this means is shown in the fact that a shipbuilding plant in Toronto lately had to close down in large part for some days because it could not get from Pittsburgh the desired supply of plates when required. It was war demand that led to the establishment of the steel plate plant, which will now meet the requirements of peace.

Instances of that kind might be multi-

plied. Amherstburg, in Ontario, is the home of a \$4,000,000 plant for the manufacture of soda ash, the first of its kind in Canada. This establishment was begun during the war and with the idea of catering to war contracts. Industry in normal lines now claims its attention and output. At Ojibway another new concern, a steel corporation, has already expended \$2,000,000 on its ore dock and furnace foundations. Its enterprise is planned on a huge scale, the acreage it has bought being counted upon to afford decent housing for 20,000 people in addition to space for its mills.

British officialdom, which in the earlier stages of the war doubted the ability of Canada to make supplies of any kind, was certain that airplanes could not be made in the country; but more than 2,500 airplanes for training purposes were produced in the Dominion. In its latest months of usefulness the national plant under the supervision of the Imperial Munitions Board was turning out bombing planes for the United States Navy. One concern engaged in airplane making during the war has succeeded in turning its establishment into a manufactory for gramophones, the tremendous Canadian demand for which has been largely met by United States makers.

STEEL AND PAPER MILLS

In Toronto a national plant for forgings, part of the imperial and Canadian governments' organization for making war munitions, contains some of the most modern of electrical devices. After the armistice was signed it seemed likely to become a dead loss, but it has been purchased by a British tin plate corporation, which is spending \$5,000,000 in enlarging the plant, and expects to turn out enough black and galvanized sheets to supply the whole of Canada. One of the indirect influences in attracting the Britishers to the location was the immense harbor improvement plans under way at Toronto, persistently carried on, though on a reduced scale, during the war, and now resumed with vigor. Toronto itself is investing large sums in the project, and is reaping returns in the shape of new-made land with water

front sites for new industries already beginning to arrive. To be the Chicago of Canada is Toronto's ambition.

A Montreal firm which during the war concentrated its efforts on machinery for the making of munitions is now producing machinery for use in paper mills. This is another new venture for Canada. There has been a steady advancement also in the making of all classes of paper in the country. For the first time papers of the highest grades are being successfully produced and are finding a good home market in competition with the importations upon which the country depended in the pre-war days. In regard to newsprint, mills of Canada find it almost impossible to keep up with the demand from the United States. With this development there has been an awakening to the importance of conserving the timber resources, an effect which all the academic preaching of former years had failed to produce. It is based on the hope of making the newsprint industry a lasting one.

IMPETUS TO AGRICULTURE

Throughout the war there was a remarkable development in every branch of agriculture. Indeed, in spite of the expansion of manufactures then and since, the products of the wheat, live stock, and dairy farms still lead in Canada's exports. It is here and in the wealth of its forests and mineral areas that many people think Canada's future as a trading country lies. Sir George Paish, fresh from his self-imposed mission of trying to arouse the United States to the needs of Europe, has visited the Dominion to suggest to its people that their duty is to raise and ship to the old lands foodstuffs in far greater quantities than they have yet done, and all the raw materials they can handle. The war has been responsible for a closer study of agricultural conditions, and for a back-to-the-land movement with sane and sensible methods as its foundation. Not the least helpful of these is the Government's land settlement plans for returned soldiers, including those who served in the imperial forces.

It would not be surprising to find that this attention to agriculture and condi-

tions of rural life will be considered in years to come as making the inauguration of one of the greatest economic and social reforms that Canada has known. It is not dependent upon the Federal Government alone. All the provincial Governments are displaying a practical interest that is finding its way into action, particularly on matters relative to the education and future of the children in the rural sections. Some of the provinces are on the eve of changes in this respect that are long overdue, and that have been forced by the developments of the last few years.

Good roads, too, in the rural districts especially, are at last beginning to receive the attention their importance deserves. To aid in the spread of the good roads gospel the Federal Government voted \$20,000,000 in the midst of war-cost demands, to be divided among the provinces as supplementary to the millions the latter will themselves spend on these links with the main arteries of transportation.

THE FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN

The extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as to men, with the right to election to the House of Commons, is a Canadian wartime reform the effect of which may be left to a future decision. It is certain, however, that in many of the more progressive sections of the country it has been a splendid encouragement to women engaged in social reform work. A number of the provinces had women's franchise on their statute books before the Federal Government adopted it, and a few of them have women members in their Legislatures. As in some other countries, the ardent battlers for woman's suffrage have waged a long campaign. The efforts of themselves and their sisters in the war work and its many offshoots earned them the right to vote.

It is difficult to say in what branch of work the women excelled, and foolish to dogmatize as to the extent the experiences they gained will mold the ideals

of the generations to come. ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰

ventured that their best work was done in connection with the Canadian Patriotic Fund and the various regimental associations, the latter formed of relatives of men on service. Some \$50,000,000 was raised by the Patriotic Fund by voluntary subscriptions for supplementing the allowances granted by the Government to the dependents of soldiers. It was administered locally through committees serving gratuitously. Many women were on these committees, and their work took them to the homes and brought them into constant association with the wives and children of the men in khaki. The same was true of the work carried on for the respective regiments by the regimental associations. The consequence was that hundreds of women, as well as men, gained much first-hand knowledge of how other people lived.

THE HOUSING PROBLEM

They are the people who today are generally found at the forefront of the efforts to solve the housing problem, which is a real one in most of the cities and towns of Canada. To the fact that there was very little house building during the war must be added the truth that many houses that served as such are not now fit for human beings to live in. The cost of materials is so high, however, that many who would like to build for themselves cannot finance the initial transactions. To help to relieve the situation the Canadian Government, backed by public opinion, has appropriated \$25,000,000 to provide houses for workingmen. Not as a gift. The money is lent direct to the provincial Governments, who in turn lend it at low rates for twenty years to municipalities that will co-operate with them in securing homes at the actual cost of building and land acquired at a fair value. The plan is working very well so far, though some of the larger municipalities have not always waited for the application of the Government scheme and have started "on their own."

Before the Government plan of assistance in house building was in operation thousands of people had been driven by the constantly increasing rents to begin to buy their homes. To that move-

ment the combination of Government and municipal aid has given a great fillip. The war will get the credit of making Canadians more than ever a people of home owners.

INCREASE IN SAVINGS

It is still the fashion to paint the allied countries as having plunged into an orgy of extravagance following the restraints of the years of conflict. Canada is not exempt from this criticism; but if there is flaunting prodigality on the part of the comparatively few, there is a strong strain of canniness in the actions of the many. The savings deposits in the banks in December of 1919 aggregated \$1,138,086,691, an increase for the year of \$179,613,134, and that despite the large withdrawals for investment in the Victory Loan of last Fall. Since November, 1918, there have been established throughout Canada 1,000 branches or agencies of the country's chartered banks, and there are now over 4,300 of these branches in all.

Another proof that not all are living high on the gains made from the war is afforded by the unparalleled new business written by the life insurance companies of the country for the year, totaling \$560,000,000. The highest previous record was \$313,251,556 in 1918. Life insurance in Canada now reaches well over two billions, of which 36 per cent. is in United States companies. For the immense new business of 1919, G. Cecil Moore, a Canadian expert, gives credit to several influences, among them the observation of the people as to the manner in which the insurance companies stood the strain of the "flu" epidemics and the payments arising out of war casualties, the soldiers' insurance undertaken by many Canadian municipalities, "and the colossal insurance scheme of the American Government" for its soldiers.

Even in Canada there are some who regard prohibition as not having proved particularly beneficial in wartime, and who look upon its retention by a majority of the provinces to this date as being nothing to cheer for. The bulk of public opinion has shown by its votes that it favors it, however, and the majority of

people are convinced that it is one of the most vital of economic and social reforms. Another generation will be in a better position to review dispassionately its merits and demerits.

DEPORTING THE UNDESIRABLES

Several occurrences among the foreign-born population of the country since 1914 have revealed causes for anxiety as to Canada's immigration policy, an anxiety reflected in some changes already being carried out, now that the tide of newcomers is again setting in. The recent raids on the "Reds" in the United States brought forth an official statement that in the last twelve months 1,000 undesirable enemy aliens had been deported. These include 100 of the most active "Reds" in the West, who were quietly gathered up by the Royal Northwest Mounted Police in Winnipeg during the general strike there last Summer. It has been decided to keep up the barriers against Germans, Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians.

For the present, encouragement is given only to farmers, farm laborers and selected domestics, and as the larger proportion of the newcomers are English-speaking there is no anxiety regarding them. Of the 91,420 immigrants in the last nine months, British and Irish people numbered 47,585, and those from the United States 38,711. The latter are said to be mostly farmers who have sold their lands at high prices in the Middle Western States and are bent upon taking up the cheaper land still available in the Canadian West.

It is in regard to large numbers of foreigners already in the country, however, many of whom have remained ignorant of the English language, or of modes of living other than their own, that misgiving arises. The Social Service Council of Canada has urged upon the people and all the Governments the absolute necessity of seeing that in the future these newcomers are not left to shift for themselves without an attempt being made to teach them elementary outlines of Canadian customs and laws, and enough English to enable them to understand what they should do if they want to become citizens in the real meaning of the

word. The Toronto Globe, in a commendatory editorial on the measure passed by the United States Senate and aiming at the Americanization of all those within its borders, has this to say:

The proposal to make all aliens living in the country (the United States) learn its language is neither hysterical nor unjust. It is sound national business. It is a constructive step toward the solution of many of the social and industrial problems which confront the Anglo-Saxon nations of the New World.

It proceeds to say that the action taken "on the other side of the line" may well commend itself to the consideration of the provinces in Canada where education is a matter of provincial jurisdiction. The signs indicate that this is to be done in conjunction with the Dominion Government when the latter's immigration policy is worked out in the light of the knowledge of late experiences.

The war has brought to Canada a realization that it should endeavor to find within its own borders inducements for the retention of the scientifically trained men and women who are drifting, largely, to the United States on their graduation from the colleges and

laboratories of the country. Men like Professor J. C. McLennan of the University of Toronto, who was loaned to the British Admiralty during the war, and as a result of whose efforts helium gas was discovered in Canada, some of it being shipped overseas in time to be of use in the conflict, are leading in the agitation to educate the people to the need of science and industry walking hand in hand in the Dominion.

Much more could be said of the changes and the gains that war and its aftermath have brought to and promise for Canada. Its church life and work might furnish a theme; but, as elsewhere, that is a subject bristling with controversy. In a general way it can be said that the Church has striven and is striving harder now to keep abreast of the times and to fulfill its mission to humanity.

After the long night of war Canada hopes for an unbroken day of peace. She is confident of herself and her future, and is not blindly ignorant of the many difficulties that her people must meet. Canada will be true to herself and to the golden hearts who made her famous on the fields of France and Belgium.

New Postage Stamps—Thousands of Them

Products of New-Born States

THE new postage stamps issued in 1919, the first year of peace after the world war, were more numerous and of infinitely greater variety than those of any other year since the first adhesive stamp came into existence, eighty years ago. Since 1840, when Great Britain led the way with the "Penny Black," an unused specimen of which is now worth about \$10, over 30,000 varieties of stamps have been issued by the Governments of the world, and about 2,500 of these appeared in 1919, as part of the aftermath of the war. Many of these were issued by new States—in fact, the only man now likely to pass a successful examination on all the new nations of Europe is the one whose hobby is philately.

The stamps of 1919 are in themselves a vivid chronicle of great events—for those who have mastered their meanings—and they embrace many types hitherto unknown to collectors. A correspondent of The London Times has been at pains to describe the most interesting issues of that year, including special series representative of victory, peace, war, armistice, reconstruction, conquest of the air, &c. Some of the most valued stamps are those issued in a hurry by new Governments, which adopted the easy method of printing a new design over the stamp already in use.

Newfoundland led the way on Jan. 1, 1919, says this writer, with a notable set of stamps commemorating the exploits of her soldier and sailor sons in the war,

inscribed "Trail of the Caribou," and blazoned with the regimental crest, a caribou head, after the design of a Colonial artist. Alternate values bore the battle honors of the military contingent and the remainder the motto "Ubique," coupled with the name of the Royal Naval Reserve.

During January appeared also the first definitive stamp issues of the new-born free States of Europe—Czechoslovakia, with its picturesque allegory of dawn rising over the Hradschin of Prague (by Alfonse Mucha); Poland, with its crowned white eagle and equestrian portrait of King Sobieski; Jugoslavia, with its caryatid of Victory and Croat sailor proclaiming freedom from the masthead; while from Fiume came on Jan. 28 autonomous postage stamps of pictorial design by the artist, Giovanni Rubinovich, issued by the National Council, and eloquent of the Italian sympathies of its populace. In Turkey the abortive pictorial stamps prepared in anticipation of Essad Pasha's ill-fated invasion of Egypt were finally placed in circulation toward the end of January, with the addition of a three-line overprint signifying "Souvenir of the Armistice—30 Dulkanada 1334" (Oct. 30, 1918).

A figure of Victory flanked by trophies of flags of the allied nations formed the design of a much criticised commemorative stamp issued by the United States Post Office on Feb. 13, 1919.

About this time postage stamps came into use in the newly constituted Baltic States of Latvia (Lettland), Lithuania, and Esthonia, whose resources were in course of development under the direction of a British military mission. For the most part their first stamps were of an extremely primitive nature, locally designed and printed on paper of varying types and textures by reason of the acute shortage of regular printing paper. The stamps of Latvia, with the device of three ears of wheat in a sunburst, were originally impressed at Riga on the backs of German Staff maps, and subsequently at Libau on writing and cigarette paper. Lithuania's first issue was printed at Vilna and Grodnow from

ordinary printers' type on coarse white paper, and when at length a more elaborate design representing St. Michael on horseback was obtained from Berlin the stamps had to be printed temporarily on thick gray paper that had previously been employed for printing German bread tickets.

The first aerial crossing of the Atlantic in May was marked by the use of special postage stamps provided by the Newfoundland postal authorities in limited numbers for franking the mails carried by the competitors for The London Daily Mail prize. A three-cent stamp of the current type overprinted "First Transatlantic Air Post—April, 1919," was affixed to the ninety-five letters forming the mail intrusted to Hawker and Grieve on their plucky attempt, which were rescued from the sea, while the Alcock-Brown post bore stamps of the 15 cent denomination of the 1897 series surcharged "Transatlantic Air Post—One Dollar." Stamps of several values bearing a distinguishing imprint were likewise prepared in connection with the Raynham-Martinsyde venture, but as this met with disaster at the outset were never used. The development of the air post also produced aerial stamps from Switzerland, Tunis, Japan, Colombia, and Germany.

BOLSHEVIST ISSUES

The red hand of Bolshevism has not failed to leave its imprint on the stamps of those countries that have come under its spell. The establishment of Bela Kun's Red Republic at Budapest was the cause of the overprinting with distinguishing inscriptions of the Hungarian stamps in use in other parts of the country, notably at Arad under French occupation, in the Serbian-controlled Banat of Temesvar, in Transylvania under Rumanian occupation, and at Szegedin, where the independent Magyar Government of Count Karolyi was installed. Paper shortage brought to a premature conclusion the printing of the distinctive stamps of the Bolshevik administration with their unprepossessing portraits of the Socialist leaders, Marx, Petofi, Engels, Doza, and Martinovics, the unrestricted sale of which was intended to

bring grist to the mill of State. They were superseded by former Hungarian types of 1916, overprinted "Magyar Tanacs Koztarsasag" (Hungarian Red Republic) until the overthrow of Bela Kun and the re-establishment of the Hungarian State by the Allied Commission. In Bavaria and Württemberg the establishment of Soviet republics was signalized by the addition of the word "Volkstaat" or "Friestaat" on their contemporary postage stamps. The introduction of free postage by the Bolshevik Government of Russia rendered unnecessary the issue of some weird postage stamps in advanced futurist designs symbolical of Labor in all its phases, prepared by the State Printing Works at Petrograd.

The Transcaucasian Republic of Georgia was added to the roll of stamp-issuing countries on May 26, when a set of four stamps made its debut with a hieroglyphic reproduction of the national arms depicting St. George crossing the Black Mountains. Some curious stamps adorned with a vignette of a large tree were issued about the same period by the Provisional Government of the Black Sea port of Batum, under British military control. Three separate series of provisional postage stamps issued at Aivaly, Smyrna, and Rodosto resulted from the Greek occupation of Asia Minor by the mandate of the Paris Conference.

The deliverance of Riga from the Bolsheviks was duly commemorated on June 6 in the issue by the Lettish Government of a set of three celebration stamps portraying the reunion of Lettonia and Riga. The anti-Bolshevik campaign in both North and South Russia is denoted by the stamps of General Denikin's Government, inscribed "Russian Union," and issued at Sebastopol in June, the curious typeset adhesives of the Northwest Russian Army which appeared at Reval later in the year, and Finnish stamps overprinted "Aunus" for use in the district of Olonetz after the Soviet forces had been compelled to retire.

PEACE STAMPS

Japan was first in the field with "Peace" commemorative stamps, issued on July 1, in designs by S. Okada and

Yuki, representing doves, and beautifully engraved by the Government Printing Bureau at Tokio. Uruguay followed suit on July 17 with a handsome vignette of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty on a series of six special stamps inscribed "Paz—1914-1919." On Aug. 1 Switzerland added her quota of three "Peace" stamps in attractive symbolical designs by native artists. From Jamaica came on July 3 a single 1½d stamp recess printed in apple-green, commemorative of the departure of the West Indian contingent for the battlefields of France and Flanders.

Changes in the stamps of Far Eastern countries have been brought about by the phenomenal rise in the value of silver, including the overprinting for the first time of the stamps sold by the United States postal agency in Shanghai. The first postage stamps of the German Republic, in futurist designs symbolical of the rebirth of the Teutonic nation, were issued on the occasion of the National Assembly at Weimar in July. Austria has likewise been provided with a complete new series of postage stamps, designed by Josef Franz Jenner, and comprising four different types. Czar Boris figures on the latest Bulgarian issue, while Turkey has been compelled to resort to provisional surcharging pending the preparation of her new stamps.

An interesting set of commemorative postage stamps marked the opening of the first Polish Diet in Warsaw. Among the appropriate designs was a stamp portrait of President Paderewski. Czechoslovakia, the youngest nation of Europe, celebrated her first birthday on Oct. 28 by the issue of allegorical postage stamps sold in aid of the widows and orphans of fallen soldiers.

THE LEICESTER EXHIBITION

The first public stamp exhibition in Great Britain since 1914 was held at the beginning of the present year by the Leicester and Nottinghamshire Philatelic Societies. The collection shown was valued at more than \$60,000 and included most of the types described above. This exhibit was especially rich in new Russian stamps. Before the Soviet Government inaugurated a free postage system

for Russia the Bolsheviks were responsible for several stamps of such a weird Futurist type that it is difficult to imagine what they are meant to represent. All one can be certain about is that there has been an attempt to symbolize labor, and that one stamp shows a miner and another a sickle and no more than two ears of corn. A third may depict a factory, but surely such a factory never existed.

Saarín was among the artists who prepared a series of stamps for Kerénsky's Government, but of these only one, showing a sword cutting a chain, was issued to the public. Since then Romanoff stamps have been overprinted with various designs indicating liberty. The Ukraine has given philatelists a task by overprinting old stamps with a design, now generally described as the Ukrainian trident, taken from the arms of the Grand Duke St. Vladimir of Kiev.

The Leicester exhibit included a number of Lettland stamps, which are more interesting because of the paper on which they are printed than because of their design. When the republic was formed

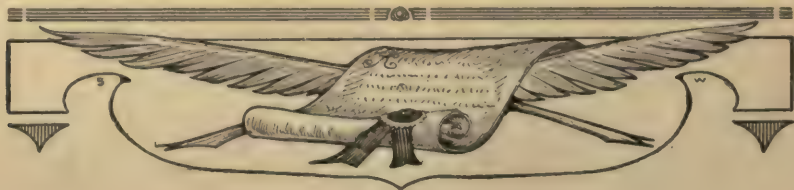
paper was so scarce that the stamps were printed on the back of war maps the Germans had left behind. These stamps used to command tremendous prices, but early buyers threw money away, as it is possible now to obtain complete sheets on different maps at quite reasonable rates. Lettland's second issue was on lined paper, and the third was on thin cigarette paper. Lithuania also has supplied a permanent record of the shortage of paper during the war by printing stamps on paper of the kind previously used for bread tickets. The exhibit also included stamps of the Don Cossacks, Georgia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Fiume, and of Finland, the country which before the war used Russian stamps slightly altered by the inclusion of a few dots in the design. Now Finland proclaims her independence by stamps showing a lion tramping on the Russian sword. Turkey was represented by stamps intended to be used after the invasion of Egypt and kept from becoming waste paper by an overprint which interpreted means "Souvenir of the Armistice."

French Memorial Diplomas]

FRANCE is expressing her gratitude to the 112,422 American soldiers who died on French battlefields by a memorial diploma which was presented to the next of kin by the American Legion, in co-operation with the Army Recruiting Offices, on Washington's Birthday, Feb. 22, 1920.

These diplomas were sent by the French High Commission to the Adjutant General's Office for distribution, and the recruiting officers and Legion posts have been busy since November finding the addresses of the next of kin. This memorial is designed to supplement the

special message of the French Government embodied in a pamphlet addressed "To the Homeward Bound Americans," which was not completed in time for distribution before our troops sailed for home. The diploma bears an engraving of a group adapted from the famous bas-relief of "La Marseillaise" on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. This group is placed on a cenotaph, on which is engraved, in French, the tribute of France's homage, with President Poincaré's signature. The whole is reproduced in the rotogravure section of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY.



The Retreat of the Serbian Army

[LAST HALF]

By CAPTAIN G. GORDON-SMITH

[ROYAL SERBIAN ARMY]

Captain Gordon-Smith, the only English-speaking eyewitness of the historic retreat of the Serbian Army across the mountains of Albania to the Adriatic, here concludes his stirring narrative of that little-known chapter of the history of the war. This portion of the story embodies the thrilling climax of the drama which marked the lowest ebb of Serbia's fortunes.

FROM Nov. 24 to 26, 1915, we were occupied in making preparations for our departure from Prisrend.

The Headquarters Staff, headed by Field Marshal Putnik, numbered, with its escort, over 300 persons with more than 400 riding and baggage horses. The aged Voivode was a martyr to asthma and unable to mount on horseback or face the bitter cold of the Albanian mountains. It is, however, utterly impossible to traverse the mountain roads in a wheeled vehicle of any sort; a sedan chair was constructed, in which the veteran leader could be carried across the mountains on the shoulders of Serbian soldiers.

The French in Prisrend, consisting of the aviation and other units, numbering altogether nearly 250 officers and men, resolved to cross the mountains by the same route as the Headquarters Staff, starting the day before it, immediately behind the King and the royal household. This detachment was under the command of Colonel Fournier, the French Military Attaché, having as his Lieutenant Major Vitrat, the head of the French Aviation Section. This section had rendered immense services to the Serbian Army throughout the whole retreat. Major Vitrat is an officer who would do credit to any army. I have rarely met a man of more decision of character, and certainly none of greater courage. His example inspired the Aviation Corps from its pilots to the last of its transport chauffeurs.

The French detachment was composed of three sailors from the naval gun battery of Belgrade, 94 automobile mechanics, 125 officers and men of the Aviation Section, and five wireless op-

erators. The personnel was utilized according to its aptitudes. A commission for the purchase of the necessary pack animals was formed of two observing officers of the Aviation Section, one a Captain of hussars and the other a Captain of artillery. The officers brought together what money they still possessed for the purchase of the provisions necessary for the journey, a matter of 18,000 francs.

This proved the most difficult part of the organization, as food and fodder were becoming rare. A certain amount of corn for the seventy pack horses of the expedition was found at a price of one franc the "oka" (the Turkish "oka" is about three pounds) and ten sheep which accompanied the column and were killed and eaten as occasion required.

SICK SENT BY AIRPLANE

The next difficulty was the question of transport of half a dozen sick men in the detachment. Horses for their transport could not be found, and it was out of the question that they could be carried on stretchers by their comrades. Colonel Fournier solved the difficulty by ordering their transport by airplane. The section still possessed six machines capable of flying, in spite of the fact that for two and a half months they had been exposed night and day without shelter to wind, rain and snow. On Thursday, Nov. 25, the six airplanes started off across the mountains on their flight to Scutari. This was the first time in military annals that the airplane had been pressed into the ambulance service; but the innovation was most successful, the machines arriving in Scutari in less than half the number of hours that it took

the rest of the detachment days in its march across the snow-clad hills.

It was, indeed, with a certain envy that we watched the start of these ambulance-airplanes when we remembered the difficult task that lay before us before we could rejoin them in Scutari. Du Bochet and I arranged to travel with the French column, and handed to Major Vitrat the list of provisions which we could contribute to the common stock. The first *étape*, that from Prisrend to Lioum-Koula, is along a fairly good road. It was resolved to send on the pack animals the day before and to cover the thirty kilometers to Lioum-Koula, which is the last village on Serbian territory, in the automobiles of the Aviation Corps. As the road from this point onward is a mere sheep track across the mountains, utterly impracticable for wheeled vehicles, the automobiles would there be destroyed in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy.

BURNING THE AUTOMOBILES

It was 7 in the morning of Friday, Nov. 26, when we started on our march across the mountains to Scutari. Despite the depressing circumstances, the aviation detachment was in high spirits at the prospect of returning to France after a year of hardship in Serbian campaigning. At Lioum-Koula we were to destroy the automobiles, preliminary to starting on our 120-mile tramp. We had, however, to begin the ceremony prematurely, as six miles from the start one of the motors gave out. As there was neither time nor inclination to repair it, the vehicle, a ten-ton motor lorry, was run by hand into a field alongside the road, flooded with petrol and set on fire. An instant later it was blazing merrily while the irrepressible younger spirits of the detachment executed a war dance round it, solemnly chanting Chopin's "Funeral March."

But it was at Lioum-Koula that we had the grand *feu d'artifice*. Near a bridge across the Drin the right bank of the river drops precipitously nearly 150 feet. One after another the huge motors were drenched with petrol and set on fire. The chauffeurs steered straight for the preci-

pice, jumping clear as the cars shot over. The immense lorries rolled crashing to the bottom, where they formed a blazing pile.

Twelve hours later I saw a crowd of 500 wretched Austrian prisoners gathered around the ruins. They had crawled down to warm themselves and to roast chunks of meat cut from dead horses at a blaze that had cost the French Republic a quarter of a million francs. The rest of the landscape was blotted out by the whirling blizzard through which the fiery tongues of flame were darting. Every now and then the explosion of a benzine tank would scatter the Austrians, but the temptation of warmth proved too much for them and they soon returned.

DEPARTURE OF TROOPS

Five minutes after the last car was over the precipice Major Vitrat formed up his men, told off his advance and rear guards, gave the word, "*En avant, marche!*" and the column swung off through the driving snow on the first *étape* of its long march. We had intended accompanying it to Scutari, but found that the bullock wagon with our baggage and our pack horse, which had left Prisrend the previous day, had failed to arrive. It did not put in its appearance until 5 o'clock in the evening, and as a violent snowstorm was then raging I did not care to tackle the mountain ascent in the dark to try to find the French bivouac. There was, therefore, nothing for us to do but to join the Headquarters Staff.

The event of the day was the arrival of the Voivode Putnik. The veteran Field Marshal, a victim of asthma, practically had not left his room for two years. A seven days' mountain journey in a sedan chair, carried by four soldiers, must have been a terrible experience for him; but the capture of their beloved Voivode by the Germans would have been regarded by the Serbians as a national disaster.

The next day it was still snowing, and the start for Scutari was delayed another twenty-four hours. As two years before, during the Albanian campaign, the Serbians had demolished all the houses



SCENE OF FINAL RETREAT OF SERBIAN ARMY ACROSS ALBANIA TO THE ADRIATIC. THE AUSTRIANS HAD TAKEN MT. LOVCHEN AND CETINJE IN MONTENEGRO, CUTTING OFF EGRESS BY THAT ROUTE

in Lioum-Koula except four, accommodation was limited. I found lodgings in a huge ammunition tent. The gendarme in charge objected to my smoking cigarettes, which he said was strictly forbidden by the regulations, but he said

nothing about the score of guttering candles burning on cartridge boxes, or the spirit-lamp on a box labeled "shells," over which the wife of the Colonel was preparing tea. When I drew his attention to this he declared the regulations

were silent on the subject of candles and spirit-lamps, but distinctly mentioned cigarettes.

A CAPTAIN'S EXPERIENCES

All day and night the troops bound for El-Bassan poured through Lioum-Koula. As we had nothing to do, I went out for a walk about five miles along the road. Every five hundred yards or so I came on dead bodies of men who had succumbed to cold or exhaustion. Coming back I encountered Captain Piagge, an English officer in Serbian service, whom I had met at the Pristina Railway Station when he was leaving to take part in the last desperate effort to advance on Uskub. When I had last seen him his machine-gun section numbered about eighty-four men. At Lioum-Koula it had dwindled to twenty-six. He had all his guns intact, however, and delivered them, as I afterward heard, safely at El-Bassan.

The sufferings of the Serbians in the Katchanik Mountains had, he told me, been terrible. His section, after passing the whole day in the blizzard at Pristina Station, had, at midnight, with the temperature far below zero, been embarked on open trucks for its six hours' journey to the fighting line. The men had nothing to eat except some maize bread and a few raw cabbages. As soon as they left the train they had started on their march into the mountains. At first they were successful, driving the Bulgarians from one mountain ridge after another. But fatigue and privations soon told their tale, and in forty-eight hours his men had fought themselves to a standstill and nothing was left but retreat on Prisrend.

The sight presented by Lioum-Koula on the eve of departure was unique. On the mountain side for miles nothing could be seen but endless fires. They were made by the burning of the thousands of ox-wagons, which were unable to go further, as the road for vehicles ceases at Lioum-Koula. Fortunately the snowstorm had ended and had been followed by brilliant sunshine.

Next morning at nine o'clock the Headquarters Staff set out. The road wound

along the banks of the Drin, which had to be crossed twice by means of picturesque old single-span Turkish bridges, since destroyed to impede the Bulgarian advance.

The first mistake made was that of transporting the sedan chair of Field Marshal Putnik at the head of the procession. Every time it halted to change bearers, which was every fifteen minutes, the whole two-mile-long procession, following in single file, had to stop also. As a result, instead of reaching Spas before sundown, we only reached a village at the base of the mountain after darkness had fallen.

Here a long council was held as to whether we should bivouac in the village or undertake the mountain climb in the dark. After a discussion lasting three-quarters of an hour, during which the mass of men and animals stood shivering in the freezing air, the latter course was decided upon. It was one of the most extraordinary adventures ever undertaken. A narrow path about four feet wide, covered with ice and snow, winds corkscrew fashion up the face of the cliff. On the one hand is a rocky wall and on the other a sheer drop into the Drin. This road winds and twists at all sorts of angles, and it was up this that we started in the black darkness, with the sedan chair of General Putnik still heading the procession. Every time it reached a corner it was a matter of endless difficulty to manoeuvre it around.

On one occasion we stood for thirty-five minutes in an icy wind, listening to the roar of the Drin, invisible in the black gulf 500 feet below. Horses slipped and fell at every instant, and every now and then one would go crashing into the abyss. It was a miracle that no human lives were lost.

It was 10 o'clock when, tired, hungry, and half frozen, we reached bivouac at Spas. Here we found that, though dinner had been ready since 4 o'clock in the afternoon, it could not be served because all the plates and spoons were on the pack animals, which had remained in the village below. Neither had the tents arrived, and as Spas contains only five or six peasant houses, accommodation was

at a premium. Colonel Mitrovitch, head of the mess, told us he had reserved a room for us in a farm house a quarter of a mile away.

The house really was two hours' distant, over fields feet deep in snow. When we got there at midnight we discovered that there was already nearly a score of occupants; but at least we were able to sleep in some straw near the fireside, instead of in the snow outside.

CLIMBING THROUGH SNOW

Next morning we set out at 6 so as to get ahead of the main body of the Headquarters Staff. The day was magnificent and we slowly climbed foot by foot to the cloud-capped summits of the mountains. Up and up we went, thousands and thousands of feet. Every few hundred yards we came on bodies of men frozen or starved to death. At one point there were four in a heap. They were convicts from Prisrend penitentiary who had been sent in chains across the mountains. They had been shot either for insubordination or because they were unable to proceed. Two other nearly naked bodies were evidently those of Serbian soldiers murdered by Albanians.

By midday we reached the summit of the mountain, a wind-swept plateau several thousand feet above the level of the sea. For fifty miles extended range upon range of snow-clad mountains, the crests of which had never been trodden by the foot of man. Nothing could be seen but an endless series of peaks, glittering like diamonds in the brilliant sunshine. The scene was one of indescribable grandeur and desolation.

DEAD AND DYING SOLDIERS

After traversing the plateau we began the descent, skirting the edge of the precipices of enormous height and traversing narrow gorges running between towering walls of black basalt. Every few hundred yards we would come on corpses of Serbian soldiers, sometimes singly, sometimes in groups. One man had evidently gone to sleep beside a wretched fire he had been able to light. The heat of it had melted the snow, and the water had flowed over his feet. In the night during his sleep this had frozen

and his feet were imprisoned in a solid block of ice. When I reached him he was still breathing. From time to time he moved feebly, as if trying to free his feet from their icy coverings. We were powerless to aid him, he was so far gone that nothing could have saved him. The only kindness one could have done him would have been to end his sufferings with a revolver bullet. But human life is sacred, and so there was nothing to do but pass on and leave him to breathe his last in these eternal solitudes.

On this part of the journey it was a matter of life and death to reach the end of the *étape* and find some shelter. If we had been surprised by darkness in the desolation of these windswept mountain gorges, where the narrow pathway ran alongside an abyss, our fate would have been sealed. In addition to the forces of nature we had also to reckon with the wild and lawless Albanian population. The hardy mountaineers who live among these fastnesses have many qualities, but the life of feud and strife of their savage clans does not make for the development of respect for human life.

We spent the night in an Albanian peasant's hut in the village of Fleti, a collection of half a score of houses, surrounded, like most Albanian villages, by a dry stone wall. The Albanian population refused to accept our Serbian silver money, and we were forced reluctantly to bring out our small store of ten and twenty franc gold pieces. In ordinary times one of these would represent a small fortune to the Albanian mountaineers, but they were evidently resolved to exploit the Serbian retreat commercially to the best of their ability.

KING PETER ON FOOT

We started next morning at dawn. Soon after midday we overtook King Peter and his staff. Despite his 76 years he marched on foot with a vigor a younger man might have envied. During all the four hours we marched with the Royal Staff his Majesty never once mounted his horse, which a soldier was leading behind him. When we stopped for the night at the village, Bredeti, the

King had a march of ten hours to his credit.

It was at this point that we came across the first gendarmes of Essad Pasha, the ruler of Albania, who eighteen months before had driven the Prince von Wied, the marionette King nominated by the great powers at the instigation of Germany and Austria, from his throne. These gendarmes had been sent out by their iron-handed master to protect the journey of King Peter and his staff. They were a picturesque lot, many of them going barefooted in the snow, but there was no doubt of the first-class quality of their rifles and revolvers. For the most part they wore Serbian uniforms—that is, when they wore any uniform at all—of which the Nish Government had some months before made Essad Pasha a present of several thousand.

The attitude of the Albanian population toward the Serbs could not be described as friendly, but at the same time they gave no outward signs of hostility. They rarely saluted the Serbian officers and showed no desire whatever to offer hospitality. In the case of the members of the Serbian Government, the King and his suite and the Headquarters Staff, Essad Pasha had requisitioned accommodation in the rare Albanian villages, but any one not belonging to one of these units had every chance of faring badly. All we had to depend on were the "hans" or wayside taverns.

These huge, barnlike structures consist of nothing but four walls with a shingle roof, the latter generally far from watertight. Here men and horses are quartered pell-mell. Everybody annexes as much space as he can and lights a fire for warmth and cooking. As the "hans" have no chimneys and the smoke is left to find its way through the open doors or through the roof, the condition of the atmosphere may be imagined.

A MISERABLE NIGHT

As du Bochet and I had pushed ahead of the Headquarters Staff we had naturally lost the advantage of being billeted in the farmhouses requisitioned by Essad's gendarmes. On arriving at Bredeti we had therefore to claim the

hospitality of the local "han." We lit our fire in the square yard or two of space we had been able to commandeer, but the atmosphere soon proved too much for us. I do not know by what means they arrive at it, but the eyes and lungs of the Serbian soldiers seem smoke-proof. They sit and converse cheerfully in a smoke cloud through which you cannot see a yard. As we had not acquired the smoke habit, in an hour's time we were driven to flight. Blindness and suffocation seemed the penalty of a more prolonged stay.

We therefore, in spite of the snow and freezing cold, fled to the exterior. Here, as some protection against the weather, we determined to put up a small tent we carried among our baggage. It was barely three feet high and open at one end, and was, in consequence, but an indifferent shelter against the inclement weather. However, having made Stanco build a blazing fire near the open end, we entered it and went to sleep.

Three hours later we awoke to find the wretched tent in a blaze. We struggled out with difficulty and managed to save most of our belongings from the flames; but the tent and sleeping-rugs were gone, and there was nothing for it but to remain seated around the camp fire till the advent of the dawn would allow us to resume our weary march.

NERVE-RACKING TRAVEL

On the next *étape* a new experience awaited us. The road ran for miles through a rocky gorge, through which a river flowed. The route lay along the bed of this, and the only means of travel was to step from one stone to another. There is nothing so nerve-racking as to have to keep one's eyes constantly glued to the ground, where each step presents a new problem. Of course, every now and then one of the stones would turn under our feet, and this meant a plunge up to the knees in the icy water of the stream.

As far as the eye could see there was nothing but this rocky stream winding for miles between towering basaltic cliffs. The task of transporting thousands of men and horses under such con-

ditions was almost superhuman. If the Albanians had been openly hostile not one man could have come out alive. When we reached the village where we stayed that night we had the greatest difficulty to obtain accommodation, until it became known we were not Serbians. Then every hospitality was shown us, but prices were enormous. The Albanian, like most peasants, is grasping and fond of money, but once you cross his threshold your person and property are sacred. I never had the slightest fear once I entered an Albanian house.

But on the road everything is possible. The tribes live at war with one another and respect for human life is nonexistent. It would have been as much as our lives were worth to travel an hour after darkness, but in daylight an armed party inspires a certain respect.

The men physically are probably the handsomest in Europe. I have never seen anywhere such beautiful children as those in Albania, and their parents seem extremely fond of them, but the little people seem to lead very serious lives. I never by any chance saw half a dozen playing together. They sat around in silence, looking at us with wondering eyes, especially when du Bochet and I spoke French together. Not one Albanian in a hundred knows how to read or write, or has ever been more than twenty miles from home. And it was through such a country the Serbians had to transport an army, and that with the Germans and the Bulgarians in close pursuit.

THE LAST STAGE

The last stages of the march were probably the hardest, as fodder for the animals and food for the men were practically unprocurable. Money difficulties also increased daily, the Albanians refusing to accept Serbian silver or notes at any rate of exchange. They would, however, give food and lodgings for articles of clothing, shirts, underwear, socks, and boots. On the last stage we had, therefore, to resort to the primitive system of barter, buying a night's lodging with a shirt and a meal with a pair of socks.

In the mountains just before Puka I discovered the first trace of wolves. The carcasses of dead horses, which were now numbered by scores, showed signs of having been torn by them. A part of the French Aviation Corps, which was preceding us, got lost in the snow and darkness here, and had to spend the night in the open without protection. A dozen were frostbitten, but there were no deaths. After six days we finally reached the Drin again, now a broad and swiftly flowing stream.

Thence the march to Scutari may be summed up in the word mud—mud of the deepest and most tenacious kind, sometimes only reaching to the ankles, sometimes to the knees, but it was always there.

The twenty-five miles between the Drin ferry and Scutari represents physical effort of no mean order. It was the finish for scores of unfortunate pack horses. During the last two days they got practically no food. On these days we found dead horses every hundred yards. When at last, at 4 in the afternoon, we came in sight of the towers and minarets of Scutari every one heaved a sigh of relief.

IN SIGHT OF SCUTARI

Never, I suppose, since the Children of Israel crossed the desert, was any "promised land" ever looked forward to with such yearning as that felt by the remnants of the Serbian Nation for the first sight of Scutari. During the final *étape*, the "Tarabosh," the fez-shaped mountain which dominates the town and lake, was for it what the "cloud of smoke by day and the pillar of fire by night" was for the followers of Moses. The sight of the score of minarets denoting the actual position of the town created the belief that in an hour or so our long anabasis would be at an end. But this was more or less an optical illusion. The flatness of the plain makes objects seem nearer than they really are, and it was a long seven hours' tramp from our last halting place till we reached the banks of the river on the other side of which were the outlying suburbs of the town.

Our final day's march was not the

least interesting one. After climbing our last hill and winding our way down a tunnel-like descent covered with immense boulders, we debouched on the plain of Scutari. Here we found grassy slopes covered with clumps of spreading trees, mostly walnut and oak. The miserable huts of the mountaineers had now given place to well-built houses. Instead of the poorly clad, half-starved inhabitants of the hills, we now met handsome, well-clothed men and tall and graceful women. We were in the country of the Myrdites.

We were again marching along the banks of the Drin, which is at this point a broad and imposing stream, pouring its meandering course toward the Lake of Scutari. As far as the eye could reach there was a succession of large, closely-wooded islands, canals, lakes and flooded prairies from which rose hundreds of poplar trees, bordered by immense banks of sand, over which we could see Serbian cavalry moving, reduced by the distance to little black dots.

AN ORIENTAL ATMOSPHERE

In the shops in the villages we now found tobacco, excellent coffee served à la Turque, and little bundles of smoked fish from the lake. The slow and soft language of the Turks made a curious contrast to the harsher and more nasal Albanian. Montenegrin soldiers, with their khaki-colored skullcaps and short cloaks à l'Italienne, had now replaced the truculent-looking gendarmes of Essad Pasha, with their belts full of revolvers and their general look of *brigands d'opérette*. We traversed the river in large boats with raised bows, reminding one of the gondolas of Venice or the caïques of Constantinople. After the rude and rich Serbia, the monotonous deserts of Macedonia, and the savage desolation of upper Albania we had now the Orient, with its curious charm.

Our final difficulty was getting across the river. The ferryman refused to accept Serbian paper money, and all our silver was gone. Fortunately at this moment a Montenegrin officer of gendarmerie rode up and to him we appealed. He settled the difficulty in summary fashion by a plentiful distribution of

blows from his heavy riding whip to the men manning the boat. The latter, it appeared, had orders to transport every one coming from Serbia free of charge, so that their effort to extort money from us was only a gentle attempt at a "hold up."

Our first visit in Scutari was to the hotel where we knew the French Aviation Corps was lodged. Here we were given details of the journey of the corps, which had fared even worse than ourselves. Seventeen of their horses had died en route, so that the 250 officers and men composing the party had none too much in the way of food during the final *étapes*. A section of the company had also lost its way in the marshes outside Scutari, and only reached the town after tramping without stopping for over twenty hours. Twelve men had frost-bitten feet and had to go into hospital, but all had recovered. At Scutari they found the six comrades who had come by airplane with the sick men from Pristina. The journey by air had been accomplished in one and a half hours; the men on foot had taken nearly eight days.

OBTAINING QUARTERS

After indulging in the unusual—and very expensive—luxury of a whisky-and-soda we had luncheon with the equally unaccustomed luxuries of tablecloths and serviettes, and then went in search of quarters. These were not easy to find, as the Serbians were now pouring by thousands into the town. But du Bochet, during his previous visit, had made the acquaintance of the Governor of Scutari, the Montenegrin Voivode Bozha Petrovitch. We paid a visit to him at his official residence and he sent a non-commissioned officer with us to requisition a lodging.

The latter found us a room in the house of a "notable" of the town, a young Turkish Albanian. It was a typical Turkish edifice of the better class. We were given a large room on the ground floor. Around the whole room ran a low divan on which we could sit by day and sleep by night. The windows, Turkish fashion, were closely barred. Every evening at 8 o'clock a little Turkish servant, always silent but always smiling, ar-

rived and, after carefully removing his shoes as a sign of respect, opened an immense cupboard, from which he took mattresses, pillows, and large and handsome silk quilts embroidered with large blue and yellow flowers, with which he proceeded to make up our beds. Our meals were sent to us from the staff headquarters, the Hôtel de Ville, by the ever-courteous but much-harassed Colonel Mitrovitch.

FUGITIVES POURING IN

The convoys which had struggled across the mountains were now pouring in. There were hundreds of Serbian oxen, with magnificent spreading horns, but starved and lame; thin-flanked pack horses, hardly able to drag themselves along under their heavy loads, and cavalry soldiers, tramping along on foot, leading their exhausted mounts.

Every barrack was full, all the private houses had been requisitioned, and still the flood of fugitives kept pouring into the town in a double stream, one arriving by the route we had followed, from Lioum-Koula, and the other by the Montenegrin road via Ipek and Andreyevitza. The placid Turks, the tall and sinewy Albanians and the Myrdite mountaineers in their barbaric costumes looked on in silence, but one felt that in them was rising a feeling of sullen rage mixed with fear.

This invasion had the same effect in Scutari that it had had everywhere else. Provisions began to run down and in a few days there was no more bread obtainable. Taken completely by surprise—for they had only two days' warning of the decision of the Serbians to retreat into Albania—the Montenegrin Government [which was keeping order in that part of Albania] had not had time to make preparations. Besides, what preparation could it have made? For months past Montenegro herself had been short of provisions. Time after time the inhabitants of the capital had been forced to look on helpless when, before their very eyes, Austrian torpedo boats "held up" and took off to the Bocche di Cattaro the ships laden with maize en route for Antivari.

BOMBED BY THE AUSTRIANS

In these circumstances it may readily be imagined that the inhabitants of Scutari were far from hailing the Serbian invasion with enthusiasm. The Austrians must have got wind of this, for every morning at 10, with clocklike punctuality, an airplane appeared over the town and began dropping bombs. The first day a number of people were killed and wounded. On the other visits the casualties were fewer, as everybody sought cover, but the material damage was considerable. The two points at which the bombs were aimed were the chief barracks and the Italian Consulate. These were about 150 yards from each other. As the house I was quartered in was exactly in the centre of this line, we got full advantage of all the bombs that missed. Fortunately, there was a stable with thick walls and strongly vaulted roof, which was practically bombproof, in which we could take refuge and from which we could watch the explosions in safety. As during the whole course of the war no aerial attacks had been made on Scutari, the object of the new departure was undoubtedly to render the Serbians unpopular with the inhabitants of Scutari, "Jonahs" whose presence had brought misfortune on the city.

WORK OF REORGANIZATION

As soon as the Headquarters Staff arrived in Scutari it began, with admirable energy, the work of reorganizing the wreck of the Serbian Army. It was without definite news of the various units, for the initiative regarding the operations of the retreat into Albania had been left in the hands of the individual commanders. The first necessity, however, was to collect provisions and arrange for their distribution. Then, as the debris of the army arrived, the men were placed in barracks, and, when these were full, in camps and bivouacs.

The guiding spirit of the Headquarters Staff was Colonel Zhivko Pavlovitch, an energetic and indefatigable Colossus, the Chief of Staff of Field Marshal Putnik. His influence was quickly apparent. Day by day the number of bivouacs on the hills behind Scutari became more nu-

merous. With the renaissance of order the morale of the troops improved. The hundreds of soldiers wandering aimlessly about the streets disappeared. The division of the Danube had, by a miracle of energy, succeeded in bringing over the mountains, by the Ipek route, a number of batteries of field and mountain guns. These, in the most difficult places, they had dragged along by ropes.

The troops which had marched by the Dibra-El Bassan route in the hope of reaching Monastir and proceeding thence by rail to Saloniki to join the Allies failed to reach the former town before the Bulgarians. In forty-eight hours Colonel Zhivko Pavlovitch had succeeded in getting in touch with them and had concentrated them around Kavaya, Tirana and El Bassan. These troops were later embarked at Durazzo for Corfu.

A few hours after the entry of the Serbians into Scutari the officers of the British Adriatic Mission arrived in the town. The object of this mission was to take measures for feeding, re-equipping and re-organizing the Serbian army in Albania. This was also the desire of the Headquarters Staff. Unfortunately, the Italian Government was opposed to the idea. It declared that it was not in a position to assure the safe passage of the transports with food, clothing, arms, &c., across the Adriatic.

That this was precarious was proved by the action of the Austrian fleet at Durazzo and San Giovanni di Medua, when a squadron of eight vessels suddenly appeared on Dec. 9 in those ports and sank all the shipping, steamships and sailing vessels, then in the roads.

AUSTRIAN NAVAL ATTACK

When I arrived at Durazzo some days afterward, M. Gavrilovitch, the Serbian Minister Plenipotentiary in that town, gave me a description of this incursion, which I cannot do better than give in his own words:

I was sitting working in my office, [he told me,] when one of my attachés came in and announced that a squadron of warships was in sight. I went out to the terrace of the legation, whence I had a view of the Adriatic. With my fieldglass I distinguished a squadron of eight ships, cruisers and destroyers, steaming toward Durazzo. When they came nearer I could distinguish the Austrian flag. As I was convinced they were going to seize that town I immediately got out the archives of the legation, the cipher, &c., and burned the whole in the courtyard. I fully expected to sleep that night in Ragusa as an Austrian prisoner.

Half an hour later the warships arrived in the roads and cast anchor. We expected to see a landing party put off every minute, but hesitation appeared to prevail. The Austrian Admiral was probably doubtful of the forces at the disposal of Essad Pasha, and the resistance he might encounter. The ships lay there inactive for two hours, and then suddenly opened fire on all the shipping in the harbor. They sank two steamers and a number of sailing vessels. You can still see their funnels and masts emerging from the water. After that they weighed anchor and went off to San Giovanni di Medua, where they repeated their exploit. They then quietly returned to the Bocche di Cattaro.

What renders this affair so mysterious is that Brindisi, where scores of Italian warships of all categories are lying, is only two and a half hours' steaming for the swiftest Italian destroyers under forced draft. I crossed from Durazzo to Brindisi a fortnight later on the Italian destroyer Ardito, and we covered the distance in about three hours with, I was told, ten knots in the period of our full speed. As the Italian Legation at Durazzo possessed a wireless station that was in constant communication with Brindisi, the Italian Admiral there must have had news of the approach of the Austrian squadron five minutes after it appeared above the line of the horizon. How, under these circumstances, it was possible for it to cruise undisturbed in the Adriatic for five hours and bombard two Albanian harbors remains a dark and fearful mystery.



Italy's Gains in Africa

Enlargement of Colonies

THE Treaty of London promised Italy "equitable compensations" in case the German colonies in that continent came under French and British rule. Early in 1920 negotiations were in progress to carry out that promise of 1915. Great Britain and France are about to add generously to Italian possessions in Africa under Article XIII. of the treaty in question, which says:

Should France and Great Britain augment their African colonial dominions at the expense of Germany, those two powers recognize in principle that Italy will be entitled to claim some equitable compensations, notably in the regulation in her favor of questions concerning the frontiers of the Italian colonies of Eritrea, of Somaliland, and of Libya, and of the neighboring colonies of France and Great Britain.

Fronting on the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, these three Italian colonies are destined to play an important part in the development of the African Continent. Libya is the largest and best known, including the ancient Tripoli and Cyrenaica. The former was originally a Phoenician colony and the latter was colonized by the Greeks, later coming under the dominion of the Ptolemies of Egypt. Tripoli was afterward dependent on Carthage. Both provinces fell to the Romans, were conquered by the Vandals in the fifth century, by the Byzantines in the sixth, and the Arabs in the seventh, when Christianity was displaced by Mohammedans, who ruled the country until the Spaniards took it in 1510. Eighteen years later they turned it over to the Knights of St. John, who were expelled by the Turks in 1553. Ahmed Karamanli in 1714 founded an independent dynasty, recognizing the sovereignty of the Porte, under which piracy flourished, tribute being paid by European Governments for exemption of their shipping from plunder.

Libya has a special interest for Americans because it was the scene of stirring incidents in our history. America's

tribute to the Pasha for exemption from piracy was \$83,000 a year and had been paid for five years when the Tripolitan Governor demanded an increase. War followed, the United States sending a fleet to blockade the capital. The frigate Philadelphia, one of the blockading squadron, was captured in 1803, and the next year Stephen Decatur led a daring expedition into the harbor, burned the vessel, and escaped under fire. Peace was made in 1805, the tribute being finally abolished for all countries—a debt which Europe owes to America.

Libya is bounded on the west by Tunis, a French protectorate since 1881; on the south by French Equatorial Africa, on the east by Egypt. The western boundary runs southwest from the Mediterranean at a point about ninety miles northwest of Tripoli, taking in the oasis of Ghadames. There it turns abruptly at right angles toward the southeast for 230 miles across the desert until nearly south of Tripoli, when it again bends at right angles toward the southwest and includes the oasis of Ghat, an important centre of the caravan trade between Nigeria and the Mediterranean. Then it turns east and northeast to the Egyptian boundary.

Direct communication for the southern portions of this region can be obtained only across French territory. To remedy this France has offered to cede all the intervening territory, making the border curve gently around to a convenient point on the caravan route. The Italian Government has accepted this offer, but still wants the Tibesti and Borku districts south of the Libyan Desert. France and Italy have also agreed upon a common colonial railway policy.

On the other hand the active and powerful Italian colonial party has much more extensive aims. The programs urged by the Naples Colonial Congress and the Geographical and Commercial Society of Milan would cut the French African possessions in two. They would



IT IS PROPOSED THAT THE SHADED PORTIONS ADJOINING LIBYA, ERITREA, AND ITALIAN SOMALILAND BE ANNEXED TO THE ITALIAN POSSESSIONS AS COMPENSATION FOR THE EX-GERMAN COLONIES ACQUIRED BY GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

extend the frontier more than 600 miles south to Lake Chad, taking in the caravan route on both sides, and then run the boundary through Borku to the Egyptian frontier and north to the Mediterranean, annexing part of the Libyan Desert and the whole oasis of Kufra. Their full demands, if granted, would more than double the size of Libya, adding about 600,000 square miles to its present area of 400,000.

The British negotiators, in arranging the eastern frontier, are willing to cede from Egypt the oasis of Jarabub, only 140 miles from the sea, which is the most sacred centre of the powerful Senussi sect, where its founder, the Sheik es Senussi, ruled, and where his tomb is located. The British expect to retain Kufra, another Senussi stronghold. Dur-

ing the war the Senussites attempted to invade Egypt, but were driven back west. The Italians are now at peace with the Senussi Sheik, but think it a matter of prudence to hold Jarabub.

With this territory in their possession the Italians will control the chief routes between the Mediterranean and trans-Saharan regions. One leads southwest to Timbuctu in the heart of the Sahara, the great exchange market for the products of North Africa and those of the fertile districts south and west of the Niger. Another goes directly south to Lake Chad, which is in the centre of a great game country, its shores being divided by treaty before the war between the British colony of Nigeria, the French Congo, and the German Cameroon. The latter is now administered by the Gov-

ernment of French Equatorial Africa, France regaining the districts ceded to Germany in 1911 as a result of the Algeiras conference, and the rest by the Government of Nigeria. A third important route is the old highway paralleling the coast from Tripoli to Egypt, which has been traversed by caravans since the days of the Romans. Camels, of course, are the chief means of transport.

Next in area to Libya is Italian Somaliland, which forms the eastern tip of Africa, facing the Indian Ocean, and is bounded by British East Africa, Abyssinia, and British Somaliland. Italy seeks to enlarge this colony on the south by annexing the province of Jubaland in British East Africa. The Juba River now forms the boundary of the two colonies, but Great Britain has offered to cede about a third of the province contiguous to the right bank of the Juba. This would give Italy the port of Kismayu, about ten miles south of the mouth of that river. Its harbor is not good, but is far superior to any in Italian Somaliland.

The rock-bound coast of the latter, which stretches for 1,200 miles along the Indian Ocean, does not contain a single good harbor. The acquisition of Kismayu would mean much to Italy, and British East Africa could afford to part with it, for that province has another harbor in Port Dunford, seventy miles further south. Italy has accepted the British offer, which more than doubles the value of her colony. She makes a reservation in favor of a greater extension of territory in Jubaland and a clause relating to railways similar to one concluded with France.

On the north, extending along the Red Sea to the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, is the Italian colony of Eritrea. Between it and her sister colony are French Somaliland and British Somaliland, completely shutting off Abyssinia from the sea. Italy would like to have both these regions, so as to join her two colonies. In addition some extremists have laid claim to the Farsan Islands in the centre

of the Red Sea and part of Yemen on the shore of Arabia, opposite Eritrea. This claim, however, has no official support from the Italian Government.

With regard to Abyssinia, Italy's aims are stated to be purely economic and to favor conserving the integrity of the Ethiopian Empire. The independence of Abyssinia is also the policy of France and Great Britain. The three powers concerned, by an agreement signed Dec. 13, 1906, undertake to respect and preserve the integrity of Abyssinia; to act so that industrial concessions granted to one may not injure the others, and to abstain from intervention in Abyssinia's internal affairs.

France has one port at Jibuti, connected by rail with Addis Abeba, the Abyssinian capital, while in British Somaliland there are two ports, Zeila and Berbera, giving access to Abyssinia. Neither power is likely to surrender its possessions here to Italy, especially as the latter possesses in Massowah, the commercial capital of Eritrea, what was for centuries the chief port of entry for Ethiopia and may again become so. It has been the policy of the French and British to allow free entry of goods for Abyssinia, but a discriminating tax is levied on goods passing through Massowah if not imported from Italy.

On the east of British Somaliland a small strip of territory has been offered to Italian Somaliland, rectifying the frontier. On the northwest of Eritrea the Italians have asked for part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, including Tokar, Kassala, and the right bank of the Atbara, which flows into the Nile at Berber. The stream, however, is not navigable, and Kassala is the headquarters of the Morgani family, whose head is the chief religious Sheik of the Sudan; on his account Great Britain has hesitated to cede the territory. But with the accessions granted in Libya and Somaliland, Italy will receive the equitable compensations agreed to in the Treaty of London and have plenty of opportunity to assist in the development of Northern Africa.

The coast lands at the foot of Mount Cameroon were formerly British. As long ago as 1837 a native chief ceded part of the district to the British, and there in 1848 the Baptist Missionary Society established a station. Ten years

later, on the expulsion of the Baptists from Fernando Po, Alfred Saker, the local head of the mission, founded in Ambas Bay a settlement for freed negroes which he named Victoria, and this has grown into a port of some consequence. And for three or four years

where he might plant the German Imperial flag, Nachtigal came in the Summer of 1884 to that old haunt of slavers, the Togo lagoon, where Bremen merchants had trading stations. It was the only spot between Cape Verde and the Niger not claimed by some European power, and it was jammed in between the Gold Coast and Dahomey.

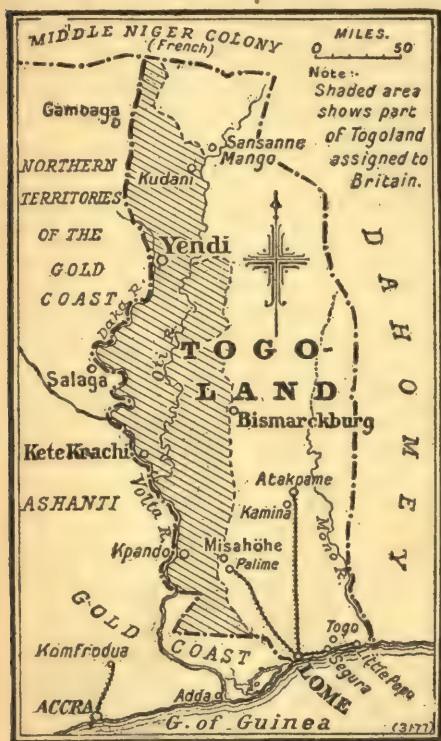
The Germans in consequence could only obtain for their new possession a coast line of thirty-two miles. They claimed a vast hinterland, but these claims were stoutly resisted by France and England and suffered a great reduction. Eventually an area about the size of Ireland was gained, a new port, Lome, was created, railways were built, and a fair trade was developed, though the good-will of the natives was never gained.

Conquered by Anglo-French forces in the first month of the war, Togoland now formally passes into their control. The colony has been divided between France and Great Britain in the manner shown on the map, something less than a third falling to Britain.

The lower Volta, part of the eastern bank of which was German, now becomes wholly British, together with the lower course of the Oti, while in the hinterland the new frontier gives to Britain that part of the once famous "neutral zone" which, after many disputes, was divided between Britain and Germany in 1899. The frontier now corresponds closely with tribal boundaries.

The French gain the whole of the coast of Togoland, with the ports of Lome (hitherto provisionally administered by the Gold Coast Government), Segura, and Little Popo (Anecho), the existing railways, and a new route to the Niger.

Togoland has a population of something over 1,000,000. The natives are, in the north, mainly pastoral; in the south, agriculturists and keen traders. Palm kernels, palm oil, and cocoa are the chief exports. Togoland already pays its way, and its prosperity seems assured.



SHADED AREA IS BRITAIN'S SHARE OF TOGOLAND, ADJOINING THE BRITISH GOLD COAST. THE REST PRACTICALLY BECOMES A PART OF FRENCH DAHOMEY

after German sovereignty had been recognized in Cameroon, Victoria continued under British protection. The people, whose common tongue is pidgin English, have never forgotten the British connection, says The London Times, and the attribution of their country to Britain is welcomed as a return to the happier days before the arrival of the Germans.

Togoland has a briefer history. Searching for a spot along the Guinea coast

Cairo to the Cape by Air

A Great British Enterprise

CECIL RHODES'S imperial dream of a Cape-to-Cairo railway traversing the whole length of Africa has not yet been realized, but with the dawn of the year 1920 the British Government, through its Air Ministry, stood ready to begin a regular aviation service from Cairo to Cape Town. The total flying distance is about 5,200 miles, most of it over the trackless jungle of equatorial Africa, yet the official announcement of the enterprise places the actual flying time at fifty-two hours, or, say, a week flying eight hours a day.

Throughout the year 1919 three British exploring parties were at work surveying and preparing the route, building aerodromes, acquiring landing fields from local chiefs—a year of hard and dangerous work of which the world knew little or nothing. Immediately after the armistice with Turkey in the Autumn of 1918 Sir J. M. Salmond of the Air Ministry seized the favorable opportunity to select parties to survey possible air routes across Africa. In December three parties, each consisting of six officers and the necessary assistants, went to work, each on a separate section of the route. The northern section, from Cairo to Nimule in the Sudan, about 1,500 miles, was in charge of a party under Major Long; the central section, from Nimule to Abercorn in Rhodesia, over 900 miles, was surveyed by Major Emmett, a well-known big game hunter from India; the southern stretch of 2,000 miles from Abercorn to Cape Town was covered by a party under Major Court-Treath, who had previously traveled through the Sahara to Timbuctu.

As a result of a year's hard work by these pioneers in the African wilderness, the most uninviting region for airmen in the whole world is now traversed by a fully equipped route, with aerodromes or landing grounds at intervals of 200 miles or less from the mouth of the Nile to the Cape of Good Hope.

The British Air Ministry, on Dec. 25, 1919, made known the results of the sur-

vey and some of its difficulties in a document which says in part:

The route follows the Nile from Cairo to Wady Halfa, thence the railway to Shereik, from which place it conforms to the course of the Nile to Khartum. From Khartum the course is to the west of the White Nile to Eleri, and then almost due south through the Uganda Protectorate to the northern shore of Lake Victoria. Partly owing to the extremely disturbed nature of the atmosphere above the lake the route skirts it on the eastern side, passes over what was formerly German East Africa to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, and thence across Northern Rhodesia to Livingstone, whence a southeasterly course is followed to Bulawayo. The next town of importance on the route is Pretoria, and so by Johannesburg and Bloemfontein across Cape Colony by Beaufort West to Cape Town.

The preparation of many of the landing grounds has involved a great deal of labor. In places it has been necessary to cut aerodromes out of dense jungle, to fell thousands of trees and dig up their roots, while the soil of innumerable ant hills has had to be removed by hand, being carried in native baskets, as practically no barrows or other equipment were available. Moreover, where tsetse-fly prevailed no cattle could be utilized for cartage purposes. In this region ant hills are often twenty-five feet in height and between thirty-five and forty-five feet in diameter. As one cubic yard of ant hill weighs about 2,670 pounds, some idea may be gathered of the labor necessary to clear the ground at such a place as, for instance, that at N'dola, in Northern Rhodesia, where 700 natives were working from April to August of this year, and roughly 25,000 tons were removed from the ground cleared. Blasting was tried, but was found to be unsuitable.

Now that the initial work of clearing has been completed it is not anticipated that the cost of maintenance will be heavy. Native labor is generally abundant and cheap, and it is estimated locally that even in the worst cases, i. e., those of landing grounds situated in the fast-growing bush and forest country, only small annual changes will be incurred. In practically every case land was provided free of cost or at purely nominal rent by local administrations, who have arranged to guard the stores deposited at the aerodromes, and to assist

in keeping the aerodromes and landing grounds cleared of bush.

In some cases landing grounds were prepared entirely by such local authorities. For instance, at Serowe, Chief Khama laid out such a ground at his own expense in order that his district should be linked up with the route. He also rendered considerable assistance in preparing that at Palapwe. It has been arranged for the survey parties to return shortly, and the intention is to organize the route into six areas, each under the personal supervision of a British official.

The first portion of the journey along the Nile Valley should present no partic-



ROUTE OF THE NEW BRITISH LINE FOR AIRPLANES OR DIRIGIBLES FROM CAIRO TO CAPE TOWN

ular difficulties to air traffic. Communications by telegraph, river, and railway are fairly good, and landing can be safely effected, if necessary, at many places apart from the prepared grounds. In the central zone, however, difficulties are more numerous. Most of this is covered with dense bush and tropical forest, and landings at other than the prepared grounds will be exceedingly dangerous, if not impossible. In some parts there is no land transport, with the resultant difficulty of providing the necessary stores at the aerodromes. Moreover, at some places

tsetse fly prevents the use of cattle, so that, failing the provision of light motor transport—for which special roads would have to be prepared over some sections—native bearers will have to be used for the carriage of stores. Shortage of water and the frequent occurrence of areas infested by mosquitos and white ants increase the difficulties. The fact that the survey parties have, in the face of such obstacles, completed their work within twelve months is worthy of notice.

For most of the southern section, with the exception of Northern Rhodesia, conditions are considerably better. Railway and telegraph facilities are good, and stores can be distributed without much difficulty. The climate, too, is healthful, and forced landings could be negotiated in many places without serious danger. There are wireless stations at various points within touch of the chain of grounds. Generally speaking, cable and land line communications are good, with the exception of those across certain sections, such as that between Abercorn and Ndola and others in Central Africa, where considerable delay may be experienced.

In view of the saving of time which will be effected by the opening of this air route it is of interest to compare the time hitherto required to complete the journey overland. The distances and method of overland journey, following as nearly as possible the suggested aerial route, are:

Cairo to Khartoum by rail and steamer, 1,342 miles, $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 days.

Khartoum to Lake Albert by steamer and ground transport, 1,411 miles, 21 to 24 days.

Lake Albert to Lake Victoria by steamer and ground transport, 350 miles, 5 to 12 days.

Lake Victoria and Lake Tanganyika by ground transport, rail, and steamer, 810 miles, 15 days.

Abercorn to Broken Hill, over a difficult trail, 475 miles, 10 to 15 days.

Broken Hill to Cape Town by rail, 1,336 miles, $4\frac{1}{2}$ days.

("Ground transport" may include motor, horse, or bullock wagon, or any form of local transport.)

Thus the total distance by previous methods of communication is 6,223 miles, for which 59 to 75 days were required. Against this the total flying distance of the aerial route should not exceed 5,200 miles, as the pilot will stop only at the main stations. Taking 100 miles an hour as fair average flying speed under favorable conditions, and when the route has become firmly established, only 52 hours'

actual flying time will be required to traverse the entire continent.

The survey parties everywhere met

with assistance and co-operation from the various local authorities, who evinced the utmost enthusiasm for the project.

Egypt and the Milner Mission

Demands of the Nationalists

THE nationalist movement in Egypt, like that of Ireland, aims at absolute independence from British rule. In the Spring of 1919 it developed into open revolt, and acts of violence continued until General Allenby checked them by firm military measures in the Autumn. Then a British commission under Lord Milner went to Cairo in November to undertake a peaceful adjustment with the native leaders. The nationalists, however, adopted the policy of boycotting the commission, and throughout the Winter this form of opposition continued, so that Lord Milner has been able to accomplish comparatively little.

The attitude of the nationalists was explained by Dr. Hafiz Bey Afifi, a member of the Egyptian delegation that advised the use of the boycott. In an interview in Cairo he declared that a protectorate is an inferior and humiliating form of government wholly incompatible with the degree of civilization Egypt has reached. The nominal suzerainty of Turkey, he said, was but a shadow when England imposed upon Egypt a *de facto* as well as *de jure* supremacy in the form of a protectorate, and Egyptians felt that instead of going forward they were going backward. He urged that the great war, by the victory of right over might, had furnished an honorable occasion for British evacuation, repeatedly promised by Great Britain between 1883 and 1905. The nationalist movement, he declared, was the spontaneous expression of a people conscious of its dawning individuality. Recognition of the protectorate by the other allies, he argued, ought to make it easier for Great Britain to acknowledge Egypt's independence, British prestige having been saved by her diplomatic victory.

A manifesto confirming this attitude

was issued by six Princes of the family of Mohammed Ali, the man who founded modern Egypt early in the last century. In it they say that different classes of the Egyptian Nation have expressed their desire for absolute independence; that the nation's acts are inspired solely by sentiment and patriotism, and that the signers of the manifesto are solidly with them in favor of the full independence of the country. Two generations of the house of Mohammed Ali are represented among the Princes who signed the manifesto. Prince Kamel-ed-Din, who heads the signers, is a son of the late Sultan Hussein Kamel, whom the British made Khédive on Dec. 19, 1914, deposing Abbas Hilmi after the latter had sided with Turkey in the war and fled from Egypt. Prince Kamel renounced the succession in October, 1917, when his father was on his deathbed, and the right passed to Sultan Ahmed Fuad, the present ruler. Prince Kamel was opposed to the policy of his father, who had been a lifelong friend of the British. Another signer was Prince Omar Toussoun, a great-grandson of Mohammed Ali. He is very wealthy, but was never a supporter of British control.

TWO FORMS OF UNREST

An Egyptian banker, H. A. Mackay, in a letter to The London Times, throws a flood of light on the situation when he explains that there are two forms of unrest in Egypt; one industrial, the other political. The former is due to the increasing cost of living and the indifference of the capitalists, both Egyptian and European, toward their employes. Tramway workers, bank clerks and store salesmen united to demand better wages from their employers, who were making

vast fortunes. The political unrest is due to fear of Western innovations and suspicion of changes in the Egyptian Constitution. Egypt did much toward securing the British victory in Palestine, but according to Mr. Mackay got no thanks for it. He says it is obvious that the Egyptians are not fit to govern their country unaided, and not one of their leaders has ever put forward any scheme for the future native government of the country.

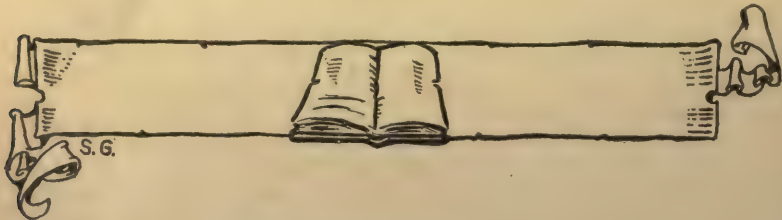
Regarding the Constitution, Lord Allenby, after the arrival of the Milner Commission in Cairo, declared that it had not come to inflict a Constitution upon Egypt, but to examine the views of all influential persons on what is best for the country. Everybody was invited to present his views freely and fully to the commission, and nobody would suffer in any way from so doing. In Lord Allenby's opinion the situation at the beginning of the new year was easier; time, tact and patience, he said, were all that was needed. Being charged with the preservation of order, he declared he would maintain martial law until it was unnecessary. There was no objection to any political opinions properly expressed and unaccompanied by violence.

At the time when the Milner Commission was first projected, in May, 1919, Earl Curzon announced its object in the House of Lords, and contended that, owing to Egypt's geographic position at the gate of Palestine, the doorway of Africa and the high road to India, Great Britain could not relinquish her control with safety to the empire. The work of the commission is merely preliminary. It is not authorized to impose a Constitution, and intends to consult all parties

before forming an opinion. To the suggestion that the mission should be delayed until after the signing of the Peace Treaty with Turkey, Lord Curzon stated that, whatever terms were imposed upon Turkey, recognition of the protectorate would be an inseparable feature of the treaty.

So the Milner Mission was formed and went to Egypt in November. Meanwhile lawlessness, which had been dormant during the Summer, increased; the Nationalists continued their propaganda, and their organ announced that it was useless for individuals to confer with the Commissioners. The Grand Mufti, or religious chief of the Mohammedans in Egypt, told Lord Milner that no Egyptian would enter into a discussion except on the basis of independence.

Lord Milner, on Jan. 3, issued a proclamation, stating that his mission was not intended to deprive the Egyptian people of any rights, and asking all who had the good of the country at heart to come forward and state their views. His appeal brought forth no satisfactory replies, and, as a matter of fact, the Nationalist spirit continued to grow. It is supported by all sections of the people. Opposition to British control was increased by an irruption of excited British soldiers, who, pursuing some Egyptian students, entered the sacred precincts of the mosque of El Azhar without removing their shoes and armed with clubs. This is the seat of the great Turkish university, and the event, announced on Jan. 7, hastened a demand by the university authorities that Great Britain "recognize the complete independence of a country distinguished by a glorious heritage and a peculiar predominance in the Orient."



New Republics in the Caucasus

Armenia, Azerbaidjan, and Georgia: Their Mutual Relations and Their Present Status

AMONG the most interesting of the new republics born from the wreckage of the great war are the three in the Transcaucasus region—Georgia, Azerbaidjan and Russian Armenia. The possibility of making this mountain region a permanent barrier against the military advance of Russian Bolshevism has focused the eyes of the world upon it at the present juncture. The three peoples in question, though differing in race, language and traditions, all broke away from Russia after the Bolshevik revolution of Nov. 7, 1917.

At first they tried uniting their fortunes by organizing at Tiflis a joint Parliament or Seim of 132 members, elected on a basis of universal suffrage, which, on April 22, 1918, declared the independence of Transcaucasia under the name of Federal Republic of Transcaucasia. This republic, however, lasted barely five weeks, as the three component peoples soon developed conflicting tendencies. The Tatars of Azerbaidjan were in sympathy with their coreligionists, the Turks, in the great war which was still raging; the Georgians were looking to Germany for aid, while the Armenians throughout remained loyal to the Entente cause. Therefore, on May 26, 1918, the Seim declared the termination of the Federal Republic and laid down its authority. The same day Georgia proclaimed her independence, organizing a separate republic, with its centre at Tiflis. On May 28, 1918, Azerbaidjan and the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus likewise declared their independence.

Boundary conflicts began almost at once among the three former partners, and the limits of all three still remain to be defined by the Entente powers. The claims of each were presented by duly appointed delegates to the Peace Conference at Paris, but, with the Turkish settlement still in suspense, no decision was reached. All three peoples aspire to

complete national reunion—that is, the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus desires to unite with the still larger Armenia that formerly belonged to Turkey; Caucasian Azerbaidjan wishes to unite with the adjoining Persian province of the same name and stock, while Georgia aspires to possession of Turkish Georgia.

The most serious friction arose between Armenia and Azerbaidjan. Mutual charges of territorial encroachment were followed by armed conflicts, until an important agreement was reached at Tiflis on Nov. 23, 1919, in which the Prime Ministers of these two States pledged themselves to cease all hostilities and to settle their differences by arbitration. About the same time Georgia and Armenia reached an agreement whereby the former withdrew its restrictions on railway traffic into Armenia. Both agreements were in part due to the efforts of Mr. Wardrop, the British High Commissioner in Transcaucasia. A small force of British and Indian troops occupied the Georgian port of Batum until the middle of February, 1920.

REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIDJAN

Of the three Caucasus republics the least widely known is Azerbaidjan. Occupying 94,000 square kilometers in Eastern Caucasia, in the "twilight zone" between Armenia and Russia, and bounded on the south and east by Persia and the Caspian Sea, Azerbaidjan, the "Land of Eternal Fires" of the ancient Persians, was independent for many centuries, then for nearly a century (from 1825 to 1917) was crushed under the iron yoke of the Czars. In an elaborate statement presented to the Peace Conference this young republic declares that its natural boundaries extend all the way across the Caucasus to Batum on the Black Sea, and that its population, under the law of self-determination, would amount to nearly



MAP SHOWING TENTATIVE BOUNDARIES OF GEORGIA, AZERBAIDJAN, AND THE ARMENIAN REPUBLIC OF THE CAUCASUS, WHICH IS ULTIMATELY TO BE UNITED WITH TURKISH ARMENIA

5,000,000, its territory to 150,000 square kilometers. Its spokesmen also express the hope that the day will come when the adjoining province of Northwest Persia of the same name, and of practically the same racial stock, will be allowed to add its 2,000,000 inhabitants to the Azerbaidjan Republic.

This part of ancient Azerbaidjan, overcome by the pressure of circumstances, recognized the sovereignty of the Shahs in the seventeenth century. Both here, however, and in the former Russian province, the Azerbaidjanians, a people of Iranian stock, related to the ancient Babylonians, neither Mongolian nor Semitic, have preserved their language and their national spirit despite their taking of the Mohammedan religion and their absorption by the Persians, Turks and Russians; they have always and especially resented the Russian Government's classification of them as "Caucasian Tatars" and the unenlightened public impression that they are Turks.

REDS DRIVEN FROM BAKU

After the breakup of the Caucasus Federation in 1918 a Ministry of twelve members was created by the new Government of Azerbaidjan, located provisionally at Elizabetopol, and immediate action was taken to clear the capital and great oil port, Baku, of the Russian Bolsheviks. Early in the Spring there had been clashes in Baku between the Bolsheviks and the Azerbaidjanians, and on March 17 a four-day struggle began which resulted in the killing of about 12,000 persons, many of them women and children, and in the total defeat of the Caucasians by the Bolsheviks. According to the statements of the Azerbaidjan representatives, the Bolsheviks were helped to win this victory by Armenians, eager to annihilate their old enemies and to seize their territory. The Azerbaidjan Government then asked aid from Georgia, but vainly, as the latter country was fully taken up with the task of driving back the Bolsheviks from its borders, so the Elizabetopol Ministry appealed to

the Turks as coreligionists; with Turkish aid the Bolshevik army advancing upon Elizabethpol was driven back and Baku was retaken after a two-months' siege.

In firm possession of the capital the Azerbaijan Government sent a mission to the Persian town of Engeli to invite General Thomson, the British commander of the allied troops in that territory, to enter Baku. On Nov. 17, 1918, the allied forces entered the port; they were received with great ceremony and public acclaim. Shortly afterward General Thomson issued a statement to the inhabitants assuring them of the friendly intentions of the Allies and urging them to give their support to the Azerbaijan Government. The British occupation of Baku lasted until the end of the year 1919, when the British troops evacuated all the Caucasus, leaving only a diplomatic mission to represent British interests in this region.

NEW GOVERNMENT FORMED

The Azerbaijan Parliament was composed of 120 members elected by universal suffrage, including Moslem women. Among the Deputies were 21 Armenians, 10 Russians, and representatives of the Poles and Jews, as well as of various other races within the republic. One of the tasks prescribed for the Parliament was to arrange for a Constituent Assembly. The procedure adopted was as follows: The President chooses the Premier, who in turn picks his Ministers, all of whom are responsible to the Parliament. It was provided that at least one Russian and one Armenian should be members of the Cabinet. The national budget for 1919 was put at 665,000,000 rubles, with expenditures and receipts evenly balanced. The principal source of income was expected to be the taxes on the output of petroleum. The Azerbaijan Army was estimated at 50,000 well drilled men.

REPUBLIC OF GEORGIA

On the dissolution of the Caucasus Federation, the Georgian National Council, elected by the National Assembly, adopted an Act of Independence at the Georgian capital, Tiflis, on May 26, 1918, which read in part as follows:

For centuries past Georgia has existed as a free and independent State. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, being hard pressed by enemies on every side, she voluntarily allied herself with Russia, on condition that the latter undertook to protect her against her former enemies. During the great Russian revolution, interior troubles brought the dissolution of the whole Russian military front, and the Russian Army withdrew from Transcaucasia. Thus left to their own devices, Georgia and with her the whole of Transcaucasia undertook by themselves the direction of their country, and as a consequence they have begun to create the necessary State organization. Owing to pressure brought to bear upon them by external forces, the ties which united the people of Transcaucasia have been severed and political unity dissolved.* The present conditions imperatively dictate that Georgia should organize herself in order to escape enslavement to foreign forces, and lay a solid foundation for her free development.

The act further declared Georgia's right of independence, adopted a democratic form of government, a policy of strict neutrality in all international conflicts, and the maintenance of friendly relations with all nations, especially the neighboring peoples and States; equality of civil and political rights to all citizens, irrespective of nationality or religion, and free opportunity for development to all.

This Act of Independence was ratified by the Constituent Assembly of Georgia on March 12, 1919, at its first session, held in Tiflis that day. The session was attended by all the Ministry, the Patriarch of Georgia, and representatives of all the allied and many neutral Governments, including the Ukraine, Persia, Azerbaijan and Armenia. M. N. Tchkhéidze, former member of the Fourth Duma of the former Russian Empire and President of the Russian Duma

*The Bolsheviks, after initiating peace negotiations with Germany, invited the Georgians to participate in the discussions at Brest-Litovsk. The latter refused to consider this, on the ground that it would constitute treachery toward the allied and associated powers. In revenge for this refusal the Bolsheviks ceded to Turkey two Georgian provinces, Batum and Ardagh. Georgia's rejection of this cession and her announced intention to resist the occupation of these provinces by the Turks were the main causes of Georgia's defection from the Caucasus Federation, as her hostile attitude toward Turkey was unacceptable to the Azerbaijanians, co-religionists of the Moslem invaders.

after the first revolution of March, 1917, till the Bolshevik coup d'état, and President of the All-Russian National Assembly at Moscow in the Summer of 1917, was unanimously elected President of the Assembly.

THE GEORGIAN GOVERNMENT

The Government of the republic as then composed was as follows:

1. President of the Council—N. Jordania.
2. Vice President, Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Justice—E. Gueguetchkori.
3. Minister of the Interior, of War and Education—N. Ramishvili.

Under Secretary for War—General Guedevanishvili.

Chief of General Staff—General Odishelidze.

4. Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industry—C. Candelaki.

5. Minister of Agriculture, of Ways of Communications and of Labor—H. Khomeiriki.

The promises of the Act of Independence were fulfilled by the act of the new Parliament, and new reforms were instituted, including the establishment of an eight-hour working day, the nationalization of mines and forests and the creation of a Georgian University, long refused by the Russian Government. Georgian professors dispersed in various universities of Russia returned to offer their services to their native land. The Georgian University now possesses a Faculty of thirty-five professors and 1,000 students. The People's University of Tiflis was also reorganized, and a system of extension teaching adopted for its thirty-five local branches. The Georgian Army, which had consisted of 200,000 men mobilized in the Russian Army, was reorganized on an independent basis, a national guard was formed on the principle of voluntary service, and a regular army on that of obligatory service, applicable to all young men of military age. This system was adopted temporarily, pending the recognition of Georgia by the great powers and the guarantee of its neutrality under international law. The majority of Georgians belong to the Greek Catholic Church.

PROBLEMS OF NEW STATE

The first serious problem of the Georgian State was to defend itself against the encroachments of the Turks.

Georgia, being completely cut off from the Allies and defeated by Turkey, which had already invaded the western district of Ozourgheti, was faced by an ultimatum which threatened the occupation of the whole country by Turkish forces. In this critical position Georgia was compelled to accept the offer of help which came to her from the Germans, who proposed to stop the advancing Turks and to oblige them to retreat within the borders assigned by the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This object, with German aid, was accomplished at the cost of heavy concessions to Germany.

The next problem was the defense of the new republic against Bolshevism. Riots had been fomented by soldiers returning from the Russian front and by Turkish-Bolshevist emissaries, but were easily put down, owing to the fact that they found no support among the Georgian people. Bolshevik armed bands, which came from the north and endeavored to enter Georgia, were also thrown back. But, though herself resisting the encroachments of the Bolsheviks, Georgia maintained her attitude of strict neutrality between the former and the anti-Bolshevik forces of General Denikin. In consequence hostility arose between Denikin and the Georgian Government, a hostility based on Georgia's fears of Denikin's design to occupy and annex Georgia to his domain and on the attitude of Denikin's military representatives in the Turko-Georgian district of Batum, the desire of whose inhabitants to ally themselves with the Christian Georgians was contested by the Russian military commander there.

DEFENSIVE LEAGUE WITH AZERBAIDJAN

With the crushing of Denikin's power the great menace to independence in Georgia and Azerbaijan is that presented by Bolshevism. It was this ever-growing danger which the delegates from both republics emphasized at Paris, urging military assistance against the Russian Reds.

The community of interests between Azerbaijan and Georgia, in respect to the repulse of Bolshevism from its borders, as well as in other respects, finan-

cial and economic, linking the two countries from Baku to Batum, has shown itself repeatedly. M. Gobetchia, the Georgian delegate, appeared with the delegate from Azerbaidjan before the Supreme Council on Jan. 19 and presented a strong plea for the integrity of their territory and its eventual defense against attacks by the Bolsheviks. On the following day M. Gobetchia expressed himself as follows:

Any attempt on the part of the Bolsheviks to force an entry into our countries, which are leagued together by ties of strong friendship, will undoubtedly be resisted to the utmost of our power. Our armies are not numerous, but they are well-trained. If the Allies send the necessary supplies, munitions and material we shall be able, with the help of the mountainous country in Northern Georgia, where two or three strategic points are strongly held, to command large areas and to hold our own against a possible Bolshevik advance.

To accomplish this purpose more effectually Azerbaidjan and Georgia had negotiated and ratified a treaty of mutual defense and protection covering the wide scope of "all attacks menacing the independence or the territorial integrity of one or both of the contracting parties." Not merely the Bolsheviks but also the Armenians were aimed at in the further proviso: "If any of the neighboring States in the course of hostilities begun in accordance with Paragraph 1, attack either or both of the allies for the purpose of settling the question of the disputed frontiers by means of arms, such State or States are to be considered as belligerents." At the time this treaty was drawn Georgia feared occupation by the military forces of General Denikin; now only the Bolshevik menace is feared. Azerbaidjan, on her part, feared the territorial ambitions of the new Republic of Armenia, between which country and Azerbaidjan bad feeling had long existed.

FRICION WITH ARMENIA

A report received in Paris by the American Red Cross on Sept. 25, 1919, said that Colonel William Haskell, High Commissioner in Armenia for the four great powers, had negotiated with the Secretary of State of the Azerbaidjan Republic with the view of submitting to

the Armenian Parliament a treaty transferring some Armenian territory to Azerbaidjan in return for the withdrawal of Kurdish and Tatar troops from the eastern and southern fronts of Armenia.

In a statement issued on Sept. 17 by the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, headed by James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, urging American aid to prevent further outrages upon the Armenians, it was asserted that "3,000,000" Azerbaidjan Tatars, tools of the Turks," were working hand in hand with 2,000,000 Georgians to help the Russian Bolsheviks and the Turks. In their statement published in Paris last Summer, the representatives of Azerbaidjan pointed out, on the contrary, that they had fought the Bolsheviks and driven them from Baku, with the aid of Turkish regulars, and accused the Armenians of playing the rôle of Bolsheviks for the purpose of seizing territory naturally belonging to the Azerbaidjanians. The Armenian territorial claims, it should be stated, reach far into Azerbaidjanian territory, but there have been no indications that these maximum demands will be granted by the great powers when they come to settle the whole question of Caucasian boundaries.

Meanwhile the national aspirations of two of these young republics were gratified on Jan. 13, 1920, when the Supreme Council, in the name of the allied Governments, conceded a de facto recognition to both Azerbaidjan and Georgia.

REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

Armenia before the war consisted of two distinct sections—Turkish Armenia and Russian Armenia—being parts, respectively, of the Ottoman and Russian Empires. Since the armistice each section has organized separately as a republic though both aim at union as early as possible. Turkish Armenia at this writing is still in the formative stages, but the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus is a fully organized State, which has its seat of Government at Erivan, and which was formally recognized by the United States Government on Jan. 26, 1920. The republic as yet

has no written Constitution and no President, but its Ministry is as follows:

Premier and Foreign Minister—Dr. Alexander Khatissian.

Minister of Justice and the Interior—A. Gulhandanian.

Public Instruction and Fine Arts—N. Ahballian.

Minister of Finance—S. Araratian.

Relief and Repatriation—A. Sahakian.

Minister of War—General Araratian.

The drawing up of a Constitution is reserved for the future Constituent Assembly, which is to be called when both portions of Armenia shall have joined in one State. Pending that event the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus is operating under modern democratic methods through an elected Parliament and an Executive Cabinet, the powers of the President being exercised in part by each of these bodies.

NATURE OF THE GOVERNMENT

The following information regarding the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus was furnished to *CURRENT HISTORY* by Arshag Mahdesian, editor of *The New Armenian*, New York:

"Sovereignty resides in a Parliament of one house. The Parliament consists of Deputies elected by the entire people. The right to vote and to hold office is common and equal to all the people. Every citizen of Armenia of full age has an equal right to participate in all elections, without regard to sex, race or religion. The method of voting is direct and secret, and the elections are based on the proportional principle. The Parliament now in session, composed of eighty members, was elected in June, 1919, and commenced its session in August, 1919.

"The Cabinet is composed of eight Ministries: (1) Foreign Affairs, (2) Interior, including public health; (3) Public Works, (4) Posts and Telegraphs, (5) Army, (6) Finance, including commerce and industry; (7) Education, (8) Relief and Repatriation, this last being of a temporary nature.

"The Prime Minister is at the head of the Government and is the President of the Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister is elected by Parliament. He designates the Ministers, and presents

their names, as well as the platform of his Ministry, to the approval of the Parliament. Approval of the platform by Parliament acts also as approval of the proposed Ministers.

"The Government (the Cabinet) is responsible to Parliament. If Parliament, by a majority vote, should pass a resolution of lack of confidence, the Cabinet must submit its resignation to Parliament, which then commits the formation of a new Government to some other person.

"The present Prime Minister and President of the Council of Ministers is Dr. Alexander Khatissian, who for many years was the Mayor of Tiflis, the capital of Transcaucasia. The other Ministers are men of university education, and prominent in the public and political life of Transcaucasia.

"The language of the republic is Armenian, but citizens not acquainted with this language are permitted to use their mother tongue or the Russian language. All religions enjoy entire freedom and equal rights under the republic.

"The system of Russian jurisprudence and administration of justice is temporarily continued in force, except in so far as it is modified or repealed by acts of Parliament or is in conflict with the spirit and order of a democratic-republican system of government. During its life of fourteen months the Parliament has enacted a number of special statutes, supplementing the body of Russian laws in force at the birth of the republic.

AN ARMY OF 18,000

"The Army of the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus is formed on the Russian system, and is administered according to the regulations of the Russian Army. The officers have been educated in the technical schools of Russia, and the greater part of the soldiers have received their training in the Russian Army. The troops, like the people, remained unaffected by the Bolshevik movements in Russia. Discipline in the army is satisfactory, and the morale of Armenian soldiers is exemplary.

"The army is composed of all branches of the service. The number of troops under arms in July, 1919, was 18,000.

The country needs and has the capacity of raising double that number, but the lack of equipment, arms, clothing, food, supplies, &c., prevents enlargement of the army. Even the equipment of the troops now under arms is inadequate, and is tolerable only because the Armenian is a hardy and sturdy soldier.

"For political reasons military service is not obligatory upon Mohammedans; this was also true under the former Russian régime. There are no Mohammedans in the Armenian Army.

"The Commander in Chief is Lieut. Gen. F. Nazarbekian, formerly one of the most brilliant officers of the Russian Army, well known for his deeds of military valor in the Russo-Japanese war and on the Caucasian front in the late war. Major Gen. Araratian, the Minister of War, was also one of the learned and experienced officers of the Russian Army and is very popular with the Armenian troops. The General Staff and the commanders of the line are disciplined officers, many of whom have high military decorations from the Government of Russia.

PROBLEMS OF FINANCE

"The sources of revenue of the republic are the direct and indirect taxes and income from the properties and enterprises of the State and from monopolies. Income taxes are now imposed at lower rates than in normal times, particularly on incomes from agricultural pursuits. As the country is in great need of manufactured articles, no duty is imposed on imported goods.

"In addition to the ordinary disbursements the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus has been confronted with extraordinary disbursements due to the existence of a state of war and the ravages caused by the war. These are for the relief of sufferers and for the reconstruction of the economic life of the people. Food, clothing, and shelter must be provided for orphans and those unable to work, the deported and exiled people must be repatriated, ruined villages must be rebuilt, and seed and agricultural implements must be furnished to the despoiled farmers.

"The average monthly gross income of the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus during the first five months of 1919 was 1,950,000 francs; the average monthly ordinary disbursements in the same period also amounted to 1,950,000 francs, so that all ordinary expenses were met by the regular revenues. On the other hand, in the same period of five months the extraordinary disbursements amounted on an average to 4,650,000 francs per month. These were met by the issuance of Transcaucasian bonds of that amount. The bonds are issued and guaranteed by the Armenian, Georgian and Azerbaidjan Republics. This large use of bonds caused a depreciation of their rate of exchange, but there was no other available means for meeting those disbursements.

"The people have cheerfully paid all taxes without any compulsory measures. On June 1, 1919, 90 per cent. of all taxes then due had been paid. Taxes are imposed only by acts of Parliament. No money can be paid out of the Treasury except in pursuance of an act of appropriation passed by the Parliament upon estimates submitted by the Government. There is a Board of State Control which exercises supervision over the legality of the acts and the disbursements of the Government. This board is under the Presidency of the State Controller, who is elected by Parliament and is accountable only to Parliament direct. All revenues must pass to the State Treasury and all disbursements must be made through the Treasury."

TERRITORY AND PHYSIOGRAPHY

The extreme territorial claims of the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus include the following parts of Transcaucasia, using the names of the former Russian administrative divisions:

- (A) The Province of Erivan, in its entirety;
- (B) The Province of Kars, excepting the northern section of the district of Ardahan;
- (C) The southern part of the Province of Tiflis, comprising the entire district of Akhalkalaki and the southern section of the district of Borchalou;
- (D) Those parts of the Province of Elizabetopol (Gantzag) comprising the southern section of the districts of Cossak and Elizabetopol, the entire district of Zangezür, and the upland regions of the districts of

Jivanshir, Shousha and Kariakin (Jibrail), known as the Armenian Karabagh.

The boundaries of the republic are not definitely settled. Certain outlying regions are involved in disputes, Georgia claiming certain regions lying within the former province of Tiflis, and Azerbaidjan claiming a large portion of the former province of Elizabetopol. The territory described above contains 67,000 square kilometers, or about 26,130 square miles.

According to Russian official statistics, the number of people inhabiting the territory of the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus in 1917 was approximately 2,159,000, of whom 1,293,000, or 60 per cent., are Armenians; 670,000, or 31 per cent., are Mohammedans, and 73,000, or 3 per cent., are people of unclassified religions.

About 85 per cent. of the people in the Armenian Republic of the Caucasus are engaged in agricultural pursuits, such as the cultivation of grain, cotton, garden produce, vines and the breeding of cattle and other animals, and the production of milk. There is also manufacturing on a small scale. The mineral resources are largely undeveloped. Large cities and large industrial establishments, with few exceptions, do not exist. Armenian mercantile and manufacturing houses of considerable magnitude have their central locations outside the limits of Armenia, at Tiflis, Baku, Rostov, Moscow and Petrograd.

TURKISH ARMENIA

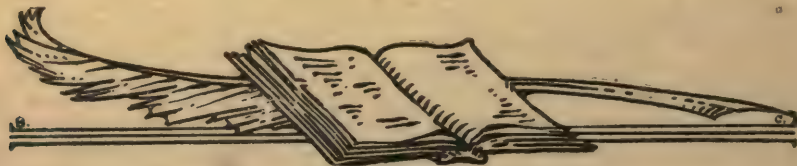
The Armenians in the former Ottoman Empire are still fighting their ancient enemies, the Turks, and are trying to help themselves, despite the long delay of America and the Allies in solving their problem. An Armenian military mission, headed by Captain Jacques Pakradooni

and the famous General Antranik recently arrived in the United States to raise Armenian troops here for the struggle toward independence. The whole question of Armenia's ultimate fate remains to be settled. On Jan. 8, 1920, the British Armenia Committee, through Viscount Bryce, presented to the British Government a memorandum in which the two main propositions are thus expressed:

The committee ask that the whole of ex-Ottoman Armenia be finally and completely separated from the Ottoman Empire, and that, failing an American mandate over the entire country, the Ottoman Armenian provinces which border on the Erivan Republic be at once united with that republic, together with a port on the Black Sea. The Government's reaffirmation of their previous assurances gives the committee confidence that these ends, which in their opinion are the minimum demanded by considerations of humanity as well as by the interests of the British Empire, will be attained in the peace settlement.

In Turkish Armenia the Armenians will be in the minority, even after the repatriation of the refugees—because the Turks have destroyed a million or more of the inhabitants—but with the union of Russian Armenia with Turkish Armenia the Armenians will constitute the majority population. Armenia will require considerable economic aid during her reconstruction period. The Armenians suffered terrible losses because of their fidelity to the powers of the Entente, and they rendered considerable military services to the winning of the war.

Sentiment in the United States, as indicated by the press, is unfavorable to assuming the burden of a mandate over Armenia. The drift of events is toward inclusion of Armenia in the French or Italian sphere of influence.



The Partition of Turkey

Secret Anglo-French-Italian Agreement of 1916-17, Now Made Public, Divided Up the Near East

TURKEY'S entry into the war on the side of the Central Powers at once opened up the possibility of the partition of that country among the Allies in case the latter were victorious. This fact was formally recognized in Article IX. of the secret treaty of London, negotiated with Italy on April 26, 1915. But it was not until early in 1916 that Great Britain and France got together to arrange their differences in the Levant and to divide the Sultan's domains between themselves in the event of victory. That they did make such a partition, and that all Turkey had been carved up and served out two or three years before the Peace Conference met, has only recently become fully known to the world. The invitation to the United States to become involved in the Near Eastern situation by accepting a mandate over Armenia takes on a new aspect in the light of the map and the agreements presented herewith.

SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT

The first result of the British and French decision to get together was the secret treaty known as the Sykes-Picot agreement, drafted in February or March, 1916, and concluded on May 9 and 16 of that year. The text is as follows:

The French and British Governments, having acquired from information at their disposal the conviction that the Arab populations of the Arab peninsula, as well as of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, are strongly opposed to Turkish domination, and that it would be actually possible to establish an Arab State, or a confederation, both hostile to the Turkish Government and favorable to the Entente powers, have opened negotiations and have examined the question in common. As a result of these discussions they have agreed upon the following principles:

1. France and Great Britain are prepared to accord recognition and protection to an independent Arab State or a Confederation of Arab States in the Zones "A" and "B" marked on the annexed map, under the suzerainty of an Arab chief. In the Zone

"A" France and in the Zone "B" Great Britain shall have a right of priority in regard to enterprises and local loans. In the Zone "A" France and in the Zone "B" Great Britain shall have the exclusive right to provide advisers or foreign officials at the request of the Arab State or Confederation of Arab States.

2. In the blue zone France and in the red zone Great Britain shall be authorized to establish such administration, direct or indirect, or such control as they desire or as they shall judge convenient to establish after agreement with the State or Confederation of Arab States.

3. There shall be established in the brown zone an international administration of which the form shall be determined after consultation with Russia, and later in agreement with the other Allies and with representatives of the Sherif of Mecca.

4. There shall be accorded to Great Britain:

(1) The ports of Haifa and Acre;

(2) The guarantee of a definite quantity of water from the Tigris and Euphrates in the Zone "A" for Zone "B."

His Majesty's Government on its part undertakes never to enter into negotiations with a view to the cession of Cyprus to a third power without the previous consent of the French Government.

5. Alexandretta shall be a free port in so far as concerns the commerce of the British Empire, and there shall be no differential treatment in port dues, and no special advantages shall be refused to British ships or merchandise; there shall be free transit for British merchandise via Alexandretta and on the railways traversing the blue zone, whether such merchandise be destined for or originate from the red zone, Zone "B," or Zone "A"; and no differential treatment, direct or indirect, shall be established against British merchandise on any railway, or against British merchandise or ships in any port serving the above-mentioned zones.

Haifa shall be a free port as regards the commerce of France, her colonies, and her protectorates, and there shall be no differential treatment or advantage in port dues refused to French ships and merchandise. There shall be free transit for French merchandise via Haifa and the British railway across the brown zone, whether such merchandise originate from or is destined for the blue zone, Zone "A," or Zone "B"; and there shall be no differential treatment, direct or indirect, against French merchandise on any railway or against French mer-

chandise or ships in any port serving the above-mentioned zones.

6. In the Zone "A" the Bagdad Railway shall not be prolonged southward beyond Mosul, and in Zone "B" northward beyond Samara, until a railway joining Bagdad and Aleppo by the valley of the Euphrates has been completed, and that only with the co-operation of the two Governments.*

7. Great Britain shall have the right to construct, administer and be the sole proprietor of a railway joining Haifa to Zone "B." Further, she shall have a right in perpetuity to transport troops at any time along the railway. It is understood by the two Governments that this railway is to facilitate the junction of Bagdad and Haifa, and it is further understood that if technical difficulties or the cost of maintaining this line of junction in the brown zone render its construction impracticable, the French Government will agree to consider that the line may traverse the polygon Barries-Kels-Maril-Silbrad - Tel - Hotsda - Mesuire before reaching Zone "B."

8. For a period of twenty years the Turkish customs' tariff shall remain in force throughout the blue and red zones as well as in Zones "A" and "B," and no increase in rates or alteration of ad valorem into specific duties shall be made except with the consent of the two powers.

There shall be no internal customs between any of the above-mentioned zones. Customs duties leviable shall be levied at the ports of entry, and shall be transmitted to the administration of the zone for which the goods are destined.

9. It is understood that the French Government will never enter upon any negotiations for the cession of its rights and will never cede its rights in the blue zone to any third power other than the State or Confederation of Arab States, without the previous consent of his Majesty's Government, which on its part shall give a similar assurance with regard to the red zone.

10. The British and French Governments, as protectors of the Arab State, agree not to acquire, and will not consent to a third power acquiring, territorial possessions in the Arabian peninsula, nor to construct a naval base in the islands off the east coast of the Red Sea; but this shall not prevent such rectification of the frontier of Aden as may be considered necessary in view of the recent aggression of the Turks.

11. The negotiations with the Arabs in regard to the frontiers of the Arab State or Confederation of States shall proceed in the

same way as before in the name of the two powers.

12. It is further understood that measures for controlling the importation of arms into Arab territory shall be considered by the two Governments.

An early draft of this document was submitted to the Russian Government at Petrograd on March 10, 1916, and has recently been found in the archives there and published.

The key map so frequently mentioned in the foregoing agreement did not become public until it was reproduced by The Manchester Guardian on Jan. 8, 1920. In its original form the map showed only the regions assigned to British and French influence, but later it was further elaborated by the addition of the sphere allotted to Italy. In its later and more complete form it is reproduced in the present pages.

THE ITALIAN AGREEMENT

Italy thus far had no part in this division of prospective spoils, and the fact was soon reflected in the manner of Baron Sonnino toward the Allies. On Sept. 30, 1916, the danger of this situation was pointed out by M. Barrère, French Ambassador at Rome, in a letter to M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister. He said that Sonnino was in a delicate situation, being attacked by the whole opposition press because he had failed to secure for Italy a share of Asia Minor. France and England therefore took the necessary steps a few months later to include Italy in the plan for the partition of Turkey in accordance with a principle already admitted in the pact of London. As a result the Sykes-Picot agreement was supplemented by another equally secret, which assigned to Italy a broad zone in the south of Asia Minor and centring at Adalia. The text of this agreement is as follows:

Memorandum on the result of the negotiations between the Governments of France, Great Britain and Italy at St. Jean de Maurienne and of the subsequent conferences concerning Asia Minor. [Date lacking.]

Subject to the consent of the Russian Government:

1. The Italian Government gives its assent to the provisions contained in Articles 1 and 2 of the Franco-British agreements of May 9 and 16, 1916. On their part the French and

*The draft submitted to Russia added a note to Article VI: "This article has been included to prevent the completion and the organization of the German railroad to Bagdad." The projected British line up the Euphrates Valley was completed as far northward as Bagdad on Jan. 15, 1920, when the first train from Basra arrived there.



Reproduction of the original map attached to the Anglo-French-Italian agreement concerning the partition of Asia Minor, as it finally stood after Italy had entered the secret pact. The shaded zones were to belong to the nations indicated in the key at the top of the map, and the lettered zones were to be further "spheres of influence" for the same nations. The green zone referred to in the treaty is the Italian zone, the red is British, the blue is French, and the brown is international.

British Governments recognize Italy's rights—on an identical basis as to conditions of administration and interest—to the green and the "C" zones indicated in the map attached hereto.

2. Italy undertakes to make of Smyrna a free port in so far as the trade of France, her colonies and her protectorates, as well as that of the British Empire and its dependencies, is concerned. Italy will enjoy the rights and privileges which France and Great Britain have reciprocally guaranteed each other in the ports of Alexandretta, Haifa and of Saint Jean d'Acre [Akka] by Article 5 of the agreements mentioned heretofore. Mersina shall be a free port with regard to the trade of Italy, her colonies and her protectorates, and there shall be no difference of treatment nor any advantages in port duties which may be refused to Italian ships or goods. Italian goods destined to or coming from the Italian zone shall obtain free transit through Mersina and on the railway crossing the vilayet of Adana. There shall be no difference of treatment, direct or indirect, as against Italian goods on any railway line nor in any port along the Cilician coast and serving the Italian zone at the expense of Italian ships or merchandise.

3. The form of the international administra-

tion in the brown zone, which forms the object of Article 3 of the said arrangements of May 9 and 16, 1916, shall be decided in agreement with Italy.

4. On her part Italy adheres to the provisions concerning the ports of Haifa and Akka contained in Article 4 of the same agreements.

5. Italy adheres, in so far as the green and (C) zones are concerned, to the two paragraphs of Article 8 of the Anglo-French agreements referring to the customs system to be maintained in the blue and red zones, as well as in the zones "A" and "B."

6. It is understood that the interests possessed by each power in the zones falling to the lot of the other powers shall be scrupulously respected, but that the powers concerned in such interests shall not make use of them for political action.

7. The provisions contained in Articles 10, 11 and 12 of the Anglo-French agreements concerning the Arabian Peninsula and the Red Sea are considered as equally applicable to Italy as if that power were named in those articles together with France and Great Britain as one of the contracting parties.

8. It is understood that, in case it should not be possible at the conclusion of the war to secure to one or more of the said powers

the whole of the advantages contemplated in the agreements concluded by the allied powers concerning the allotment to each of them of a portion of the Ottoman Empire, the maintenance of the Mediterranean equilibrium shall be fairly taken into consideration, in conformity with Article 9 of the Pact of London of April 26, 1915, in any change or arrangement affecting the provinces of the Ottoman Empire as a consequence of the war.

9. It is understood that the present memorandum shall be communicated to the Russian Government in order to enable it to express its opinion.

INSTRUCTIONS TO M. PICOT

Along with the foregoing secret agreements The Manchester Guardian published the text of the instructions sent by the French Foreign Minister to F. Georges Picot, the French Commissary in Syria and Palestine. M. Picot was to have a small contingent of troops, and his mission was to leave the French trade mark, so to speak, alongside the British trade mark throughout the newly conquered territory. The text of this document is as follows:

Paris, April 2, 1917.

The victorious advance which has taken the British army beyond the boundaries of Palestine on the way to Jerusalem called for some step on the part of the power which has always possessed a preponderant position in the Ottoman Empire, and whose special rights in Armenia and Syria have just found confirmation in the agreements recently concluded with England and Russia. The Government of the republic has not overlooked this, although intensely engaged in other directions by the urgent duty of defending the French soil. It has therefore notified the Cabinet of St. James's of its decision to dispatch to the occupied territories a representative, with a small contingent of troops, whose functions shall be to show the populations the complete agreement existing between the Allies, as well as to establish the joint character of the action pursued in those regions.

Your designation as Commissary of the republic in the occupied territories of Palestine and Syria and the placing at your disposal of a military contingent which shall carry our flag are prompted by that preoccupation. The task intrusted to you is thereby clearly defined. You will have, on the one hand, to organize the occupied territories so as to insure to France a situation equal to that of England in all relations with the native populations. On the other hand, while our troops will join the English army in attacking the Turks, you will have to endeavor, by all the means for propaganda among Arabs which you may possess, to facilitate the advance of the allied forces by

creating diversions threatening to the enemy army, and thereby shaking its morale.

SIGN OF PERFECT AGREEMENT

The presence of our flag side by side with that of Britain will be a sign not to be overlooked, which should impress upon all the perfect agreement existing between France and England. Wherever, therefore, occupation may follow from the achievement of one or the other contingent, you will have to see that the colors of both countries shall be immediately flown. In that way will be made manifest the agreement which exists between our allies and ourselves in this as in all other war zones, and which has made possible precisely in the East the settlement of questions hitherto seemingly unsolvable.

Since you are come to deliver the populations of Palestine and Syria from the oppression of the Turks and to call them to a life of liberty, you will have to resort for the organization of the occupied territories exclusively to native elements, and respect as fully as possible local customs and traditions. For nothing could more clearly establish the spirit in which we intend to carry out our action than such disinterested conduct. For the rest, the country will supply you with all the elements necessary, whose assistance you will have no difficulty in enlisting, always striving, in making your choice, to take into account in each particular case the racial and religious elements whose government will be in question.

You are to put yourself into touch for that purpose with the political officer which the Royal Government will have sent to Palestine, keeping in mind that there is for the time being no question of creating a final situation, but merely of insuring the good administration of the conquered territories while preparing the ground, however, for the application of recent agreements upon the conclusion of peace. In this respect you will have to distinguish between the various regions affected by these agreements. While it will be right to allow your colleague greater freedom of action in the Zone "B," which is to come one day within the English sphere of influence, he ought to grant us equally favorable treatment in the Zone "A," which is to be subjected to our supervision. Finally, in the coastal zone, which one day will be placed under our protectorate, your direction should have a more exclusive character, so as to give the populations clear intimation of the future which is in store for them.

During the advance of the French corps you will have to face problems of a more special character. A long tradition has given France everywhere in the East, and especially in Palestine, a unique position which carries, together with certain privileges, imperative duties. The war with Turkey has with one stroke put an end to the past. You should after your arrival at once resume

the interrupted customs, and insure the protection of the establishments which have always been connected with our country. You should specially endeavor to secure, in so far as possible, the reopening of our schools and of our hospitals, so that the first result to be derived by the local populations from the advance of our soldiers shall be the revival of the civilizing and beneficent work of France interrupted for a while by the war.

POLICY IN PALESTINE

In entering Palestine you will come into contact with numerous Jewish colonies. It is desirable to grant them from the outset a large measure of protection and to mark the new situation by intrusting them with the administration of their communities and with a share in the government of the country. For you are no doubt aware that the policy pursued toward them is destined to create a profound impression, not only among their co-religionists residing in allied and neutral countries, but even among those living in enemy countries. It would therefore be in our interest to inspire them with the greatest expectations concerning that which the Allies intend to do for them on the soil to which they are attached by a millennial past, and to which some of them desire to return in order to establish settlements.

However important this part of the task intrusted to you, an altogether different significance attaches to the activity which you will have to develop among the Mohammedan Arab elements with a view to inducing them openly to declare in our favor. In fact, it has to facilitate in the most effective way the northward advance of the allied troops and to attach to us energetic populations whom old sentiments as well as recent events in the East cause to turn their eyes more willingly toward England. The recent allied operations against Turkey, considered in the East as formidable failures, and, so far as France is concerned, not yet made good by victories such as those of Bagdad and Gaza, have seriously affected the prestige of our country in the eyes of these populations; while opposition to the Christians, our old protégés, has always caused Mohammedan Arabs to regard us with suspicion. Since the beginning of the war their delegates have often pressed upon the French representatives the fact that a unique opportunity was offered us to appear in their eyes as liberators. It is incumbent upon us not to neglect it.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ARABS

Lacking the immediate dispatch of a somewhat strong contingent, allowing our flag to appear before the eyes as it should, you must endeavor to invest our present action with all the importance and impressiveness of which it is capable. For the rest, the agreements recently signed will indicate to you in broad

lines the policy to be followed toward the Arabs. What we want to do is to liberate a people long subjected by the Turks and render it the privileges to which it is entitled. Our action must tend to restore its brilliance to a civilization which has not been without greatness, differing in that from the policy of the rulers at Constantinople, who persecuted the most illustrious of the Arabs and tried to exclude their language even from sacred books. You are to emphasize these sentiments in the proclamation which you will have to address to them.

You will lay weight especially on the point that there is no intention of imposing upon them foreign Governors, but solely of assisting them to create national institutions capable of insuring ordered government. For the purpose of inducing the Arabs actively to operate against the Turks, with a view to cutting their communications and disorganizing their army, you will have, moreover, various other means at your disposal. You will reward with money the desertions they may cause, and the raids against railways or lines of supply. You will create bands capable of harassing our enemies and of keeping the mountain by distributing arms and ammunition to the tribes which shall have expressed sentiments favorable to our cause. You will direct and co-ordinate their movements by an intelligent service, keeping in close contact with the Arabs. Finally, you will direct their aspirations by forming at your headquarters a council composed of delegates of the various chiefs.

These general lines once laid down, it will rest with you to settle details of execution and the difficulties which you may have to face. I leave it to you, especially, to settle with General Murray on your arrival in Egypt the conditions under which the troops at your disposal are to be employed, with a view to giving our co-operation the greatest possible importance in the eyes of the populations.

The task hereby intrusted to you is a complement to the work you carried out in the course of the negotiations with which you were charged last year in London and Petrograd. You will have, therefore, constantly to refer to the text of the signed arrangements, in order to follow out their spirit in every circumstance and thereby prepare the early realization of our agreements. The Government of the republic relies upon your tact to achieve this work and harmony in the common action with our allies, as well as upon your energy to safeguard the interests with the defense of which you are hereby intrusted.

A more blunt and businesslike memorandum on the same subject was submitted to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 10, 1917, by Count Vitalis, head of the Department of Pub-

lic Works. It outlined some very definite claims which France ought to make and threw further light on the intimate connection between foreign colonial policy and financial interests in the minds of the Allies.

SMYRNA GIVEN TO ITALY

The final division of Asia Minor among the Allies was arranged nearly five months after the United States entered the war, yet our Government was not consulted; on the contrary, it was carefully prevented from learning what was going on. Nor is there any evidence that the Kerensky Government in Russia, which, like ours, was an advocate of self-determination of nationalities, was ever communicated with on the subject, though the document given below contains a provision for such action. The most striking feature of this further elaboration of the secret treaty is that it gives Smyrna to Italy. At present this port is in the hands of the Greeks. The Italian Government claimed it at Versailles and is claiming it now. The authority on which it bases this claim was made public for the first time by a correspondent of *The New York Globe* and *Chicago Daily News* on Feb. 9, 1920. It is a letter from Arthur Balfour, British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to the French Government, and reads as follows:

Foreign Office, Aug. 18, 1917, Sir:—I have the honor to inform you that in reply to a note addressed to me on the 18th inst. by the Italian Ambassador in London, I have officially notified his Excellency that his Majesty's Government agree that the following provisions embody the results of the conversation between the Governments of France, Great Britain, and Italy at St. Jean de Maurienne and of subsequent conferences concerning Asia Minor.

I have at the same time informed Marquis Imperiali that these provisions should remain secret.

"Subject to Russia's assent.

"1. The Italian Government adheres to the stipulations contained in Articles 1 and 2 of the Franco-British agreements of May 9 and 16, 1916. On their side the Governments of France and of Great Britain recognize for Italy, under the same conditions of administration and of interests, the green zones and 'C.'

"2. Italy pledges herself to make Smyrna a free port as far as concerns

the commerce of France, her colonies and her protectorates, and also the commerce of the British Empire and dependencies. Italy will enjoy the rights and privileges that France and Great Britain have reciprocally assured to themselves in the ports of Alexandretta, of Haifa, and of St. Jean d'Acre, as per Article 5 of the said provisions. Mersina will be a free port as far as concerns the commerce of Italy, her colonies and protectorates, and there will be no difference of treatment nor advantages in the rights of port, which are not to be refused to the navy or merchandise of Italy. There will be free transit through Mersina and by railroad across the vilayet of Adana for Italian merchandise bound to and from the Italian zone. There will be no difference of treatment, direct or indirect, at the expense of Italian merchandise or ships in any port along the coast of Galicia, in supplying the Italian zone.

"3. The form of international administration in the brown zone mentioned in Article 3 of the said agreements of May 9 and 16, 1916, will be decided together with Italy.

"4. Italy, as far as she is concerned, consents to the dispositions relative to the ports of Haifa and of Acre contained in Article 4 of the same provisions.

"5. Concerning the green zone and zone 'C,' Italy adheres to the two paragraphs of Article 8 of the Franco-British agreements regarding the customs system which shall be maintained in the blue and red zones, as well as in zones 'A' and 'B.'

"6. It is understood that the interests which each power possesses in the zones controlled by the other powers shall be scrupulously respected, but that the powers controlling these interests will not use them as means for political action.

"7. The dispositions contained in Articles 10, 11 and 12 of the Franco-English agreements, concerning the Arabic peninsula and the Red Sea, will be considered as equally applicable to Italy as if that power were named in these articles with France and Great Britain with the title of a contracting party.

"8. It is understood that if, at the conclusion of peace, the advantages embodied in the agreements contracted among the allied powers as to the handing over to each of them a part of the Ottoman Empire could not be entirely assured to one or more of the said powers, then in whatever alterations or arrangement of provinces of the Ottoman Empire made as a consequence of the war, the maintenance of the equilibrium in the Mediterranean will be given equitable consideration, in conformity with Article 9 of the London agreement of April 26, 1915.

"9. It has been agreed that the present memorandum will be communicated to the

Russian Government, so as to allow it to make known its views."

I have the honor, &c., BALFOUR.

This communication was addressed to M. de Fleuriau, French Chargé d'Affaires at London, who transmitted it to Foreign Minister Ribot in Paris on Aug. 24, 1917, with injunctions as to its secrecy. The memorandum contained in Mr. Balfour's letter had been drawn up in London on Aug. 8, and had already been communicated to the Italian Ambassador at Paris. On Aug. 22 M. Ribot wrote to the Italian Ambassador acknowledging the receipt of the text and map in question, and adding: "I agree with his Excellency, Baron Sonnino, on the terms of the said memorandum, which must remain secret."

It is along the lines of these secret agreements that events have been moving in Asia Minor ever since the war; in fact, the subjoined map throws a flood of clarifying light on the medley of annexationist activities in that region. With the additional element of a Greek force at Smyrna edging its way into the territory originally assigned to Italy, the whole situation is made clear; each nation is proceeding to occupy as large a portion as possible of the region mapped out for it in the secret agreement. The map likewise contributes to an understanding of the long delay in deciding what is to become of Anatolian Armenia and of the remnants of Turkey.

Japan and China

China, Still Hostile to Shantung Clauses of Peace Treaty, Rejects Japan's Overtures

[PERIOD ENDED FEB. 15, 1920]

THE strained situation between Japan and China over the rights acquired by the Japanese in Shantung Peninsula through the peace settlement was not relieved during January and February by the unceasing utterances of Japanese publicists and statesmen insisting that it was Japan's irrevocable intention to restore Shantung in full sovereignty to China, and that she intended to retain only the economic concessions which she had taken over from Germany. China continued its determined boycott of all Japanese commodities, though it entailed enormous loss to Japanese and Chinese merchants alike. This boycott was considered by the Japanese authorities to threaten the gravest economic consequences.

The firmness of the new attitude of the Chinese Government toward Japan was brought into strong relief by disorders at Fuchow on Nov. 16, in which many Chinese were attacked, killed or wounded by Japanese residents. The Chinese Foreign Ministry on Dec. 1 presented a note to the Japanese Legation dealing

with these assaults, and making the following demands: That the Japanese Consul at Fuchow be removed; that the Japanese pay an indemnity for the loss of all Chinese lives at this port as the result of the attacks, and also pay the cost of all medical expenses incurred by the Chinese wounded; that adequate punishment be meted out to all the Japanese ringleaders; and that the Japanese Consul at Fuchow make an apology to the Chinese authorities of that city.

Meanwhile it was reported at Peking on Dec. 2 that the whole of China was aflame over the Fuchow incident. Keen resentment was expressed by the Chinese press over the arrival of four Japanese warships at Fuchow, following the disorders. The Japanese marines, after landing and parading in the Foreign Concession, attempted to enter the native city, but were prevented by the local authorities. Charges were made that the Japanese aggression at Fuchow heralded Japan's intention to seize Fukien, which territory she was said to covet as much as she did Shantung. Many protests

poured in at Peking, including that of seventy-two guilds in Canton, and public feeling, reflected in the tone and in the demands of the Chinese Government's note to Japan, was at white heat. A conciliatory spirit was shown in an official announcement issued by the Japanese Legation at Peking on Dec. 31, which said that the Japanese warships stationed at Fuchow would be withdrawn, as order had been restored. This note continued:

In co-relation with this voluntary step, the Japanese Government hopes the Chinese authorities will further exert their utmost efforts to insure protection to Japanese, as well as preservation of peace and order throughout China, with a view to avoiding a recurrence of such unpleasant events.

As a consequence of the presence of the Japanese warships at Fuchow the economic boycott had been universally intensified. The Japanese announcement of the ships' withdrawal, therefore, was interpreted in Chinese quarters as a proof of the effectiveness of this boycott, as well as of the firm stand taken by the Chinese Government in its official note, and the Chinese attitude of hostility underwent no visible change.

JAPANESE DENIAL

The Japanese, however, both in Japan and abroad, continued to insist that their intentions toward China were grossly misunderstood. Viscount Y. Uchida, for instance, in an article called "Plain Facts on Shantung," which appeared in *The Independent* on Jan. 1, reiterated Japan's intentions to act in good faith in restoring Shantung to China, and added:

If the people of America would consider this question in its true light, if they would delete the specious argument of the active propagandist in America, they should have no difficulty in finding safe ground for assurance that for every reason Japan must keep faith with her friends, and that in fact China will benefit by the decision with regard to Shantung as reached by the conferees in Paris.

Before the ink was dry upon the signatures of the representatives of the Emperor of Japan to the Treaty of Peace, the cry was raised against the Shantung award in that treaty. A widespread and suspicious propaganda was built upon the hypothesis that Japan entered the war

without a scintilla of the better or higher motives of her allies, solely for the purpose of self-aggrandizement, and that finally the representatives of the Emperor of Japan signed the treaty with their tongues in their cheeks, intending to carry out their part in letter, perhaps, but not in spirit. In other words, the logical conclusion would be that the Japanese Government was a treacherous conspirator against the peace of the world at the very moment she signed and ratified the Treaty of Peace.

Impossible! The assertion is false; it is dangerous. It is being urged by press agents for an ulterior purpose, but there can be but one fair conclusion, based upon all the facts. That conclusion was reached by the conference in Paris, namely, that Japan as one of the five main powers signatory will keep faith and abide by the treaty as she always has kept faith with other nations. * * *

Japan is determined to restore Tsing-tao to China in full sovereignty. What Japan intends to retain are only the economic privileges granted to Germany, which she will share with China, and she has no intention to hold or demand any right whatsoever which is likely to affect China's territorial sovereignty.

Japan is ready and will not hesitate to enter upon negotiations with the Government of China as to arrangements for the restitution of Tsing-tao as soon as possible after the Treaty of Versailles comes into force.

In an address delivered at the opening of the Japanese Diet on Jan. 21 the Japanese Premier, Mr. Hara, similarly insisted on Japan's intention to fulfill exactly the clauses of the Peace Treaty affecting Shantung, and further announced that the Japanese Government was already taking active steps to translate this intention into reality. Kiao-Chau and Tsing-tao, he declared, would be returned to China, and the Shantung Railway would be operated in union with China, in accordance with the terms of the Chino-Japanese agreement of 1918.

NEGOTIATIONS BEGUN

Yukichi Obata, the Japanese Minister to China, on Jan. 19 notified the Peking Government that Japan, having succeeded to Germany's rights in Shantung on Jan. 10 in accordance with the provisions of the treaty, was ready to negotiate with China at any time for their return, and for the retrocession of the leased territory. When arrangements were completed, it was further stated,

Japan, granting the existence of normal conditions, would withdraw her railroad guards from Shantung. The full offer, given out officially by the Tokio Foreign Office on Jan. 25, contained the following provisions:

1. The Japanese Government desires to open negotiations regarding the retrocession of Kiao-Chau Bay and other measures with the view of effecting a sincere and speedy settlement, and hopes that the Chinese Government will make necessary preparations.

2. With regard to troops along the Shantung Railway, Japan intends to withdraw them as soon as possible, even before reaching an agreement with China, unless the absence of other railway guards affects the security of communications and the interests both of Japan and China, her partner, in which case the Japanese will garrison the railway until the Chinese Government has organized a railway police force. Since, however, Japan desires to withdraw even before a Japanese-Chinese agreement has been reached, Japan hopes for the earliest organization of Chinese railway police.

CHINA REFUSES PARLEY

An unexpected development arose when the Chinese Cabinet, at a meeting held on Jan. 26, decided to refuse to negotiate with Japan on the ground that such action would be equivalent to acceptance of the Peace Treaty with Germany, which China had refused to sign. This decision was referred to the Foreign Office. Numerous telegrams were received from the provinces opposing any discussion favoring the submission of the question to the League of Nations, and condemning any action equivalent to recognition of the German treaty. These telegrams were still pouring in on Jan. 30; even the hostile Canton Government had joined in the universal protest and appeal. Practically every district in Shantung had telegraphed the Government to stand by the original policy and refuse to comply with the wish for parley which Japan had expressed. Up to the time when CURRENT HISTORY went to press, however, no official refusal to negotiate had been sent to the Japanese Government by China.

CHINA LOAN CONSORTIUM

The obstacles in the way of an international and interallied loan to China,

which was in sore financial need, were at least provisionally smoothed away, and discussions between the representatives of Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States continued. The great stumbling block had been Japan's insistence on the exclusion of Southern Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia from the application of the consortium and the refusal of the United States to permit the withdrawal of any such special spheres of influence from the scope of the projected international loan.

The American attitude had been clearly stated by the Washington Government on Nov. 22, when it maintained that all legitimate interests would be conserved if it were shown that there was no intention on the part of the consortium to encroach upon established industrial enterprises or to compel the pooling of existing Japanese options for their continuation. On Nov. 29 Mr. Lansing sent to the British Foreign Office an explanation of the firm resolution of the United States to stand for the maintenance of the "open door" policy and the rejection of all claims for special spheres of interest.

JAPAN CAUSES DEADLOCK

Japan's refusal to waive her special claims brought the whole question to a deadlock, which continued through the Winter, with Great Britain using her good offices to bring about an understanding between the two opposing elements. The attempt of a group of Chicago bankers, meanwhile, to negotiate a Chinese loan independently proved futile owing to a dispute over security, and the prospect of China's receiving financial assistance grew ever fainter, owing to the inability of Japan and the United States to agree on the consortium. On Feb. 12 Thomas W. Lamont and other American financiers left New York for a trip to Japan and China with the object of persuading Japan to recede from its present position in regard to our financing China.

Meanwhile, as announced in Washington on Jan. 29, the diplomatic representatives in Peking of the four nations involved had been authorized by their

respective Governments to proceed with negotiations with the Chinese Foreign Office on the question of an emergency loan of £5,000,000, normally about \$25,000,000. It was stated at this time that by a series of such emergency loans, instead of one large loan, China's pressing needs would be satisfied, and neither Japan nor the United States would be compelled to abandon its official stand regarding the "open door." It was understood that the United States and Japan would carry the quota of Great Britain and France in this first emergency loan, in view of the depletion of the treasury of both of the last-named countries, and that Italy, Belgium and Russia might be admitted to the consortium later on. The completion of negotiations anticipatory to delivering the £5,000,000 of the first loan was expected within two months.

BRITISH-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

The Anglo-Japanese alliance will expire in July, 1921, and the subject of its renewal was widely discussed in Japan during the closing months of 1919. Viscount Kato, who was the Japanese Ambassador to the Court of St. James's when the alliance first originated, said in an article in the *Jiji Shimpō* of Dec. 2:

There can be no doubt that the alliance has for some twenty years had a great influence, both direct and indirect, on the relations between the two nations, and it is not advisable that the alliance which has this great history should be abolished as a mere relic of the past. It is practicable to continue the alliance if both contracting powers desire it. Even if it became merely an agreement or a mutual declaration, it would be better than nothing. I believe it is of vital necessity and opportune that our Government should lay great stress on the question, and at once exchange views with the British Government. Not only I but the whole nation desires to know what the Government intends to do.

The Japanese press, as a whole, was similarly in favor of a renewal of the alliance. One exception was the *Niroku*, which openly declared that the Anglo-Japanese combination was unnatural, and that Japan should go to China to form a yellow-race alliance as against the white races.

The discussion brought out a distinct

note of hostility to the United States, based on the anti-Japanese utterances in the Senate during the discussion of the Shantung settlement; this feeling had been intensified by proposals of anti-Japanese legislation in California and by the discussion of Federal legislation against Japanese immigration to the United States. New sparks were added to the fire by publication of the Japanese budget estimates, which include excessively large sums for the army and navy, particularly for the latter, the United States being blamed for this new burden on the Japanese Nation. Various papers have published articles intended to show that the United States is determined to block Japan's path in various directions.

The most virulent article was published by the *Osaka Mainichi*, which categorically enumerated sixteen points to show that the United States had been inimical to Japan ever since the latter country entered into relations with the West.

JAPAN'S INTERNAL POLICY

A campaign to reduce Government expenses and the high cost of living was undertaken by the Japanese Government at the initiation of the Emperor toward the end of November. The annual cherry blossom and chrysanthemum parties were curtailed of the customary banquets. The cotton speculators were pursued by law, but no effective result was obtained either in this case or in that of other profiteering, which had aroused a great public clamor. The Tokio Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution asking the Government to deflate currency as the only effective measure, to remove restrictions on the import of certain useful commodities, and to put an absolute embargo on necessary staples and material.

Premier Hara, on the eve of the formal opening of the Diet on Dec. 23, asserted that "many problems exist, some of them not easy of solution." Among these he cited extension of the franchise,* "the eternal food problem," and foreign diplomacy, especially with reference to China. Regarding the first, the Japanese Gov-

*The Japanese franchise has hitherto been extended to male subjects of not less than twenty-five years of age, qualified by residential and tax-paying requisites.

ernment, he said, was ready to meet the will of the people.

One aspect of foreign policy which came into prominence at this time was Japan's raising of the question of racial equality at the Peace Conference as affecting the Japanese right of immigration to former German islands in the Pacific which had been allotted to the British. A delay asked by Baron Matsui in order to consult his Government before agreeing to the allocation plan was granted by the Supreme Council on Dec. 24. Regarding Siberian policy, Japan's firm resolve to keep the Bolshevik armies west of Lake Baikal was expressed by Premier Hara on Dec. 26. The Japanese Premier on this occasion specifically denied rumors that Japan was negotiating with the purpose of acquiring special territories in Mexico, and on Jan. 22 Viscount Uchida, the Foreign Minister, stated that Japanese immigration to Mexico was being prohibited in accordance with an agreement with the United States.

In Seoul, Korea, on Dec. 5, the Supreme Court confirmed the decision of the Court of Appeals, convicting the Rev. Eli Miller Mowry, a Presbyterian missionary from Mansfield, Ohio, of sheltering Korean agitators during the suppressed Korean revolt. He was sentenced to pay a fine of 100 yen or go to prison for twenty days, and was given thirty days to decide which alternative he preferred.

Official dispatches received in Washington on Feb. 9 announced the beginning of active rebellion in Korea, fostered by Russian Bolsheviks. A clash between 2,000 Koreans and a Japanese army post of 700 men in Northern Korea, the message said, had resulted in defeat of the Japanese, 300 of whom were killed and the remainder routed. Details of the fight were not reported.

DEVELOPMENTS IN CHINA

A new commercial relationship was inaugurated between China and the United States in December, 1919, by the establishment of a Chinese-American Industrial Bank, with many branches, and with Peking as the head office. The undertaking was capitalized at \$10,000,000,

subscribed for equally by Chinese and American groups. Of the directors, six are Chinese and five are Americans. Among the Americans interested are E. P. Bruce, President of the Pacific Development Company; G. F. Stone, President of Hayden, Stone & Co., and A. H. Wiggins of the Chase National Bank, New York. Among the Chinese group are the President of the republic, Hsu Shih-chang; Marshal Tuan Chi-jui, former Prime Minister Chien Nun-hsum, former Presidents Li Yuan-hung and Feng Kwo-chang; also the Military Governors of Kiangsu, Kiangsi and Hupeh.

In a note presented by the British Minister to the Chinese Government toward the end of December it was recommended that China discontinue the use of sycee silver (pure uncoined bullion used as currency) and establish a uniform dollar standard of currency, with subsidiary silver and copper coins, in order to overcome the disadvantages resulting from currency depreciation and the discredited status of Chinese bank notes. The Chinese Government had considered these recommendations favorably, and was planning the opening of a central mint in Shanghai for the free coinage of silver. Chow Tsu-chi, former Minister of Finance, was appointed Director General of Currency about the middle of January, and was charged to place Chinese exchange on a sound and uniform basis.

A new Cabinet was formed at this time with General Chin Yun-peng, formerly Acting President, as Prime Minister and Minister of War. The other members were:

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lou Tseng-shiang.

Minister of the Interior and Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, Tien We-lioh.

Minister of Finance, Li Hsu-ho.

Minister of the Navy, Admiral Sah Cheng-ping.

Minister of Justice, Chu Shen.

Minister of Communications, Tseng Yuchun.

The organization of a permanent Cabinet marked the end of a long period of political strife between factions in Peking and demonstrated the ascendancy of Tuan Chi-jui, one-time Premier and

considered the most powerful politician in North China. General Chin, according to Far Eastern experts, owed his accession to the permanent Premiership to Tuan. With the establishment of this permanent Cabinet it was believed that the way toward a resumption of negotiations between the warring Governments of North and South China, and the conclusion of domestic peace, had been definitely opened.

Under orders of Yang Tien-fu, a

notorious outlaw who, with some 5,000 followers, had been operating in the Kochin Mountains, Dr. R. A. Shelton, an American missionary, was seized by bandits near Yunnan-fu on Jan. 3 and held for ransom. The American Legation at Peking was instructed by the Washington Government on Jan. 12 to request the co-operation of the French Consul at Yunnan-fu, and of the Governor of the Province of Yunnan, in efforts to obtain Dr. Shelton's release.

Japan's Policy in China

By MARQUIS OKUMA*

[FORMER PREMIER OF JAPAN]

OF course, we cannot deny that Japan's policy in China is likely to be misunderstood by the United States. The American people are all the more disposed toward a misunderstanding because of their desire always to sympathize with the weaker party to a dispute. It has long been a feature of American policy to oppose the strong in favor of the weak. * * * It is a noble spirit, this; and we cannot find any fault with it. But what if it may prove misplaced?

As all the world knows, China is now in rather a bad state, having lost her central authority and thrown her people into confusion. Entertaining doubts as to whether Japan is not trying to take advantage of China's weakness and disorder to gain her own ends, and making unjust demands on China, America, with characteristic spirit, is sympathizing with China and not afraid to snub Japan and ask her to stand back a bit.

In addition, there is the menace of unscrupulous merchants and traders in China, who, in their race for favors and concessions, want to drive Japan out of the country, so that they may have a free hand. They are jealous of her as a dangerous rival in the commerce of China. The Americans are a fine people; but all Americans are not good; they all do not love justice, any more than all

Japanese do. Too many of these are operating in China, and they engage in propaganda calculated to injure international relations. Exaggerated rumors and insinuations are circulated in China and sent back to America and over to Japan, and do a lot of harm.

As for the Chinese, they know not what to make of it all; and they take advantage of every small difficulty to excite international interest and suspicion, often making mountains out of molehills. They go to British and American merchants with their complaints and try to induce them to act against Japan.

Japan certainly has no designs on any territory of China. On the contrary, it is Japan's main desire and policy to preserve the territorial integrity of China. If Japan has no desire to menace the territory of China she just as certainly does not desire to see any other country menace it. She does not intend to permit others to do in China what she would not do herself. This is the duty of one neighbor to another, to say the least.

While thus guarding the safety of our big neighbor, for our own sakes as well as for the sake of China, we do not deem it improper to desire the economic and commercial development of China, which would mean mutual profit to all. Japan has always had this ambition for China, but it is only since Japan revealed her greatness in the wars with China and Russia that western nations began to

*From the Japanese Magazine for December, 1919.

entertain suspicions as to our motives in China. Recently the West has been casting jealous eyes on Japan. The unduly suspicious West forgets the reason of Japan's war with China and now connects it with some ulterior motives on our part. Some even dare to dub Japan a second Germany, ready to practice atrocities on the weaker peoples of Asia; while the Chinese, quick to seize on these slanders, strive to provide foreigners with further ground for apprehension. But Japan, being aware of this disposition, should carefully guard her actions in China, so as to give no ground for misunderstanding. The anti-Japanese propaganda thus carried on is very disadvantageous to this country.

Unlike the English and Americans, Japan is not clever at carrying on propaganda in her own defense, and certainly she does not spend as much money on it as they, which must be put down to our inefficient diplomacy. Japan is no match for the West in diplomacy. She understands none of the arts by which a thing at one time may mean one thing and at another time another thing. At the Portsmouth conference Japan lost a great deal just because she would not spend vast sums on propaganda; and at Versailles she had the same experience. In this device China easily scored over Japan. China not only dispatched men of eloquence and learning to the Peace Conference, but backed them up with all the usual forces for powerful propaganda, while Japan was satisfied simply to send gentlemen to represent her. It is all very well to be represented by gentlemen, but if the gentlemen's notion of their duty is to refrain from saying and proclaiming even what they ought, it is a futile policy. * * *

It cannot be denied that there are some Japanese in China who do not behave toward the Chinese as they ought; and, though two wrongs do not make a right, we cannot refrain from asking whether all the British and Americans in China behave properly? As for looking after number one and obtaining the spoils wherever possible, the Japanese in China have nothing on their British and American rivals. If Japan is misunder-

stood because of her nationals in China, how is it the other nations are not misunderstood in the same way? Is this due to more careful propaganda, or what? Japan does not condone the ill-behavior of any of her people who offend in China. She constantly warns them against besmirching the character of their country by ill deeds. In this matter Japan would be greatly obliged if the English and Americans, who are from Christian countries, would show the Japanese a better example. People of Christian countries should be the last to force themselves on others. It is Christian, no doubt, to recommend good things, but is it Christian to force others to accept them?

No one can wonder that all the world now has its eyes on China, because China has an area as large as all Europe, awaiting development of vast and wealthy resources. It is right that the various nations of the world should desire to participate in developing China, but there is no need to bite and devour one another over it. Can they not agree to co-operate in assisting China and bringing her into line with modern progress? How can Japan, which is not as powerful as her rivals, be suspected of trying to get the lion's share of profit out of China? And as for her attempting to play the tyrant in China, the idea is too absurd for honest consideration!

With the conclusion of peace the League of Nations has been established, and now surely all international bickerings and feuds will be at an end. It is to be hoped that the League will justify our expectations. But suppose China should take advantage of the League to propose something absurd or unreasonable; it would make more trouble than peace. Japan has been proclaimed one of the five great powers fathering the League of Nations; but Japan has no great power. China is always disposed to despise Japan as a country with no great influence in the world. Thus she pretends to rely on England and America, who have more power than Japan. What China cannot forget is the fact that for long ages she regarded Japan as an inferior nation of no great significance in

the world. But so long as China is led to believe, because England and America are so powerful, that she can take refuge under their wings while defying and insulting Japan, there will be trouble.

There is no need that the habits and condition of China should be allowed to create bad feeling between Japan and America. If such a feeling is fomented it is the work of unscrupulous persons who are anxious to make trouble for us. Any difference of opinion between America and Japan in regard to China can only lead to the injury of all concerned, and, most of all, to China herself.

There is really too much of a disposition in America to agree with China that since Japan is a small country of no great power she may be ignored or despised. For instance, when Japan appeared in the south seas America was much excited, and even raised objections, yet nothing at all was said when the Germans occupied these islands. If it is a crime for Japan

to be there, why was it a virtue for Germany to be there? Thus Japan is left to infer that America did not oppose Germany because that country was thought to be powerful, but she opposes Japan because she thinks Japan is not powerful.

With the labor movement producing increasing unrest in America, that country ought to have its hands full in dealing with domestic problems for the present. Japan, too, has her social and industrial problems to solve. The two countries should treat each other fairly and squarely in all their relations, so that justice may inevitably be expected and received on both sides. Revolution is in the air, as may be seen from conditions in Russia and Germany, with echoes in more settled lands. It therefore becomes even the most powerful countries to look to themselves and see that their own affairs are in order, seeing that even the most powerful are not exempt from the dangers that threaten the present age!

To the Senate

By FRED W. BENTLEY

[The author of this poem is the father of Fred W. Bentley, Jr., of Chicago, the first American soldier to lose his life in France. The poem was written on Jan. 10, 1920, the day when all the allied and associated powers, except the United States, exchanged final ratifications at Paris. It was sent to CURRENT HISTORY by the author's friend, S. C. Herren of Chicago.]

I took from my window the flag today,
The flag of the bleeding heart,
And folded it up and laid it away,
While my Country stands apart.

I have laid it away in the black steel box,
With his cross and record won,
While the wily spoliator coolly blocks
The road he died upon.

He had volunteered, and died, to save,
In the Summer of Seventeen;
But they have dug him out of his battle grave—
Ah, the ghoul of war is lean!

And I think I see the gold-star eyes,
And the eyes of friendly States,
Gaze with wonder, distress—surprise,
As my Country hesitates.

We painfully left the flag in the sun
Till the treaties were exchanged;
That day is here—Peace has begun,
Yet my Country stands estranged.

So we have laid it away with his childhood locks,
(The blue star turned to gold,)
With the other things in the black steel box—
Ah, the ghoul of war is old!

Chicago, Jan. 10, 1920.

Bernstorff on the Witness Stand

German ex-Ambassador's Testimony on Why President Wilson's Peace Efforts Failed

BY virtue of Article 34 of the new German Constitution the Reichstag passed a resolution on Aug. 21, 1919, creating "A Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry Into Responsibility in and for the War." This commission is divided into four sub-committees; the first to deal with responsibility for bringing on the war, the second with neglect of opportunities to end it sooner, the third with acts of disloyalty, and the fourth with acts of cruelty or atrocity in the conduct of the war. Only the second of these sub-committees has thus far held sittings. Its work in examining prominent witnesses, from Ludendorff and Hindenburg down to minor officials, has been summarized in the news dispatches; but some of the testimony, as printed verbatim in *Vorwärts* of Berlin, deserves to be presented to American readers more fully—notably that of Count von Bernstorff, former German Ambassador, giving his version of the inside of events at Washington before the entry of the United States into the war.

The Reichstag sub-committee, which is not empowered to punish anybody, but can call witnesses and examine them on oath, consists of seven members: Warmuth (National Party), President, until he resigned when the majority insisted on fining Dr. Helfferich for contempt of court; Gothein (Democrat), Vice President and later President; Joos (Centre), Secretary; Sinzheimer (Majority Socialist), Reporter; Cohn (Independent Socialist); Frau Pfülf (Majority Socialist); Professor Schücking (Democrat). The expert advisers include Dr. Spahn, Dr. Quarck, Professor Bonn, Professor Otto Hoetsch and Professor Schäfer. All parties are represented.

For a proper understanding of the evidence it is necessary to remember these dates: May 7, 1915, the *Lusitania* torpedoed; Aug. 27, 1916, Rumania

enters the war; Dec. 12, 1916, the German peace offer; Dec. 18, President Wilson's peace note; Dec. 25, Germany's answer; Dec. 30, Entente answer to German peace offer; Jan. 9, 1917, decision at Pless to announce unrestricted submarine warfare; Jan. 10, Entente's answer to Wilson; Jan. 22, Wilson's peace message to the United States Senate; Feb. 1, unrestricted submarine warfare begins; April 5, 1917, America declares war on Germany.

FIRST EFFORTS FOR PEACE

Count Bernstorff's testimony on Oct. 22 and 23, 1919, as reported in *Vorwärts* and translated by The Contemporary Review of London, was in part as follows:

Immediately after the outbreak of war, at the beginning of 1914, Wilson made his first attempt at peace mediation. In September he caused a second attempt to be made, which failed because, as I know, the Entente never answered at all. In August Wilson issued a proclamation to the American people in which he suggested that they should remain neutral; this was in consequence of the state of public excitement prevailing, which was threatening the relations of private individuals. In this proclamation he already declared the American people to be the sole people able to end the war, granted that it stood out from the quarrel; it was the only great power possessed of sufficient means and influence to be able to bring this consummation about. Such was Wilson's policy. When the second peace offer came to nothing, he thought it necessary to show a greater reserve. However, he sent Colonel House during the Winter of 1914-15 to Paris, London, and Berlin, which latter city he visited in March. He was to prepare Wilson's peace mediation. On his return from Berlin he said that the moment was not yet come. Nobody was as yet prepared to consider peace; but he would later return to Europe to see whether anything could be done.

Wilson first mentioned peace to me when I had an audience with him after the *Lusitania* affair; the danger of war with Germany was extremely threatening. On that occasion he said we ought to make an appeal to moral forces by giving way about the submarine war, as the war could only finally be decided by means of a mutual understand

ing, and no longer by the arbitrament of arms. If we would agree to give up the submarine war, he for his part would urge on England the giving up of the starving of Germany, the English Cabinet would agree, and he hoped that this would be the beginning of peace action on a great scale. This was on June 2, 1915.

After the first exchange of telegrams about the Lusitania, war seemed inevitable. I went to Wilson and agreed with him, with the object of gaining time, that Herr Meyer-Gerhard should go to Berlin. Wilson consented and promised that, until this mission should have resulted in something, he would defer all steps likely to lead to a breach. The exchange of notes about the Lusitania continued, but meanwhile another English ship was torpedoed and it all but came to war a second time. Our side gave way by admitting that passenger steamers should not be torpedoed without previous warning.

On Nov. 5 there followed a note to England, in which the English blockade was declared to be indefensible. For the third time the Lusitania negotiations brought us to the brink of war, as we were asked to admit that the torpedoing had been a breach of faith. We categorically refused to admit this expression. Finally Wilson gave way. He said he would be satisfied with our admission that such reprisals must not inflict injury on neutrals. His declaration was already drawn up and was to be exchanged, when a more intense submarine war was declared at Berlin; nothing came of this solution. Soon afterward the Sussex was torpedoed. Thereupon a permanent agreement was established; the submarine war was to be carried on on the principles of a cruiser war.

COLONEL HOUSE'S ROLE

In January, 1916, House paid his second visit to Berlin. On his return he told me that the chief opposition to peace was at present in Paris; in England he had found a certain willingness. In Berlin, too, he had been told: "We would be ready to respond to an American peace mediation at a suitable opportunity." The first I heard of the intentions of the German Imperial Government to respond to Wilson's wishes was a telegram which Ambassador Gerard sent to Washington after the Sussex affair had been settled. This telegram stated that the German Government was now prepared to accept peace mediation by Wilson. I thereupon inquired from Berlin whether this was correct, and was answered to the effect that a certain amount of time must be allowed to lapse on account of the state of public opinion in Germany, but, generally speaking, it was desired to accept Wilson's peace mediation; however, a condition would be that Wilson should first call England to book.

It is perhaps a cause for remark that I should have negotiated about these matters with a private person like Colonel House.

It would have been impossible to keep any Washington negotiations secret; the White House there was besieged by journalists. Therefore it was Wilson's wish that I should carry on these absolutely confidential negotiations with his intimate friend House at New York. House told me Wilson no longer had the power to oblige England to obey the practices of international law; American trade was so intimately tied up with the Entente that Wilson could not possibly disturb these trade relations without evoking a terrific storm. On the other hand, he was in a position to obtain a peace without victory, and he intended to do so as soon as an opportunity offered itself. But seeing that such a step would now universally be called pro-German in America, he could only do it when public opinion about relations with Germany had somewhat calmed down. He proposed a pause, and hoped without fail to be able to make a beginning of peace mediation toward the end of the Summer. Then Rumania entered the war.

EFFECT OF RUMANIA'S ENTRY

The instructions communicated to the Ambassador on Aug. 18 were then read, to the effect that the German Government declared itself ready to accept mediation by President Wilson, and urged that definite encouragement be given to such activity on the part of the President, but stated that it could not as yet bind itself to any kind of concrete conditions. Count Bernstorff continued:

After I had communicated the gist of these instructions to Colonel House, he told me that any mediation by Wilson was now impossible, and must be deferred because, in consequence of Rumania's entry into the war, the Entente was now quite sure of victory and would therefore refuse Wilson. * * * I can only repeat that Colonel House told me Wilson's peace mediation must be deferred because the Entente was sure of its victory now that Rumania had come into the war. This declaration of Colonel House's, even at a later date, always seemed to me to be a particularly important one, because, when Wilson did take some real peace steps, I believed he must now be frankly persuaded that they would be accepted by the Entente. Otherwise there would have been no sense in Wilson's previous declaration that mediation seemed to him to have no prospect of success. * * *

In this connection a memorandum also seems to me important, written by the Kaiser himself, and brought by Gerard to America when he came on leave. * * * In my recollection this memorandum made the deepest impression in America. It is dated Oct. 9, and was the outcome of an interview which Mr. Gerard had with the Kaiser in Charle-

ville. This memorandum, which is addressed to Gerard, runs:

"Your Excellency has informed the Kaiser at an interview at headquarters in Charleville that President Wilson would be ready to offer us his good services to obtain peace toward the end of the Summer. The German Government has no information as to whether the President still entertains this idea, or as to the date at which he will take this step. Meanwhile, the conduct of the war has assumed such a form that the German Government believes it to be its duty to inform your Excellency that it would consider it essential to hasten the President's proposed action so that it should not take place too late in the year."

IMPORTANCE OF MEMORANDUM

Dr. Cohn—In what way did this memorandum make so great an impression in America?

Count Bernstorff—Naturally, the American public knew nothing of this memorandum; but it made a great impression on the American Government in this way: from now onward a firm conviction grew up in America that the German Government would be willing to accept a peace mediation by Wilson. The Presidential election took place on Nov. 7. It took a very long time to establish the final result. This delay explains why President Wilson could not initiate his peace step until a considerable time had elapsed. Later, I learned the peace note which Wilson dispatched on Dec. 18 had been composed as far back as the middle of November, but had been thrust by Wilson into his writing table, because another wave of anti-German feeling swept through the country on account of the Belgian deportations. Colonel House told me that the peace offer which was already drawn up by the middle of November was not sent off by Wilson because he could not be responsible for it in the state of public feeling. * * *

Dr. Sinzheimer—Your telegram, reaching here Dec. 4, is also important. "Lansing spoke to me with most particular emphasis about the American protest against the Belgian deportations; they are imperiling the whole system of Belgian relief. Thus the temper of the public is again being poisoned just at the moment when it seemed as though peace negotiations might begin."

* * * Finally, there is a private letter from Secretary of State Jagow to you, dated Nov. 20, saying that now, as before, we were in sympathy with the efforts toward peace of President Wilson; of course, such efforts must not go as far as concrete conditions, because these could not be favorable to us. To this you answered, in a telegram of Nov. 24, as follows: "Wilson has commissioned Colonel House to tell me in the strictest confidence that he would undertake an effort for peace as soon as possible, presumably between now and the New Year. But meanwhile he made it a condition that we should discuss peace as little as possible, and that

we should allow no new submarine controversies to spring up, in order to prevent a premature refusal by our enemies." So that was just before our peace action of Dec. 12. * * *

BERLIN'S ACTION A HINDRANCE

Katzenstein—Did the American Government regard the German peace offer of Dec. 12 as a help or a hindrance to its own peace action?

Count Bernstorff—It was regarded as a hindrance. Colonel House was commissioned by the President to tell me so, because it was interpreted as a sign of weakness on our side. * * *

Professor Bonn—When did you receive information that peace action would be undertaken from our side?

Count Bernstorff—The documents include two telegrams, one dated Nov. 18.

Professor Bonn—So you had no time to draw the attention of Berlin to the fact that a peace offer from us would be felt as a great hindrance to the American step?

Count Bernstorff—As far as I remember I had not time to telegraph. * * * It is clear also from other reports and telegrams of mine that the Americans always took the view that any peace action could only succeed at a moment when Germany was strong. Thus I had always to influence things to prevent both the home press and my home Government from discussing peace at all, as that would invariably be to hamper any steps taken by Wilson.

Katzenstein—Up till now the opinion has always been that the German peace offers, with their enumeration of German victories, had frightened off the enemy. Apparently the American reception was the exact opposite of this.

Count Bernstorff—I can remember with exactness how, in a conversation I had with House, he regretted our having taken any action for peace. He was afraid it would interfere with Wilson's efforts. All the same, Wilson would perhaps take other steps. * * *

Dr. Cohn—Did you receive the impression that the Americans were annoyed about the Dec. 12 peace offer for reasons of prestige?

Count Bernstorff—I received the impression that the Americans were pretty disappointed because it robbed them of the chance of taking the first step.

Professor Bonn—Colonel House told you that a German peace offer would be taken as a sign of weakness?

Count Bernstorff—House once told me that Wilson's peace action was being interfered with, because among the Entente the idea was that we should not have made this peace offer had we not stood in such need of peace. (Excitement.) * * *

Dr. Sinzheimer—In the course of today's evidence we have reached the date of Dec. 12. I now sum up as the outcome of that evidence: Did you interpret your instructions as instructions to encourage or in-

fluence President Wilson or Colonel House to undertake a peace action in our favor?

Count Bernstorff—Yes. (Excitement.)

Dr. Sinzheimer—Was Wilson prepared to take account of these wishes?

Count Bernstorff—Yes.

Dr. Sinzheimer—Was Wilson prepared, within the limits which were imposed on you, to agree to a peace conference on an international basis, even without concrete conditions being proposed by us?

Count Bernstorff—Yes. (Excitement.)

[From Vorwärts, Oct. 22, morning edition.]

PRESIDENT WILSON'S NOTE

The President—We now come to the period beginning with the American peace offer.

Count Bernstorff—In spite of our peace offer Wilson stood by his peace mediation. The reason why the Wilson peace offer caused so much excitement in America was because it followed directly on our own offer, so that color was given to the idea that we had encouraged Wilson. It was in consequence of this that Wilson had stated in his note that his offer had nothing to do with the German offer, that, on the contrary, it had been intended a long time back. Public opinion in America looked on Wilson's step as absolutely pro-German. The entire press expressed itself to this effect, and the feeling at Washington was the same.

I then asked Lansing in what form he conceived further methods of procedure. I had an exhaustive conversation with him on this point. As I now know things, I believe that there was a contradiction between the German answer to Wilson's note and my reading of it. At that time I assumed that the German answer conveyed our readiness for a peace mediation to the extent of the calling of a conference which might negotiate; but I did not conceive that therewith an end was to be put to the Wilsonian peace action. Now I am obliged to assume that our answer of Dec. 26 was intended completely to put an end to the Wilson peace mediation. My present assumptions are due above all to a telegram of the Kaiser to the Foreign Office asking why I still went on speaking about Wilson's peace mediation, seeing that no such mediation now exists.

The President—From what do you infer that the German Government did not want to know anything of a peace mediation by Wilson? It is stated quite expressly in the Wilson peace offer that no peace is to be proposed, that he was not even offering mediation, but that he only wanted to take soundings. If that was so, then the German Government was not obliged to interpret this step as an offer of mediation. How do you come to impute to the German Government an intention of being averse to a peace mediation?

Count Bernstorff—I can only repeat that my opinion at that time was that our note of Dec. 25 implied no alteration in the attitude of our Government, and that all it conveyed was that we did not desire any

interference from Wilson on territorial questions; but today I am of another opinion.

The President—Wilson did not greatly stress communication of the terms of peace; so that the German refusal to communicate terms could not be any hindrance to peace?

Count Bernstorff—But, of course, Wilson believed that we should in the end communicate our terms.

Dr. Sinzheimer—In reply to the President, I beg to draw attention to the fact that the heart of the Wilson note of Dec. 18 to all belligerents is the request to communicate concrete terms of peace. In the German note, which was an answer to this, there is no mention at all of this request of Wilson's for communication of peace terms. Thereupon Count Bernstorff telegraphed that Lansing had begged him at any rate to communicate our peace terms to him in confidence.

Count Bernstorff—That is so.

Dr. Sinzheimer—When this request of Lansing's was conveyed, Secretary of State Zimmermann answered on Jan. 31,* that is, two days before the submarine war, that Count Bernstorff was to drag the matter out.

Count Bernstorff—I directly inferred from that answer that everything was to remain as before.

KAISER RATTLES THE SWORD

Dr. Sinzheimer—You mentioned a telegram from the Kaiser. This telegram is dated Jan. 16, and addressed to Secretary of State Zimmermann. It runs: "His Majesty thanks you for the information. In regard to the contents of the telegram, his Majesty observes that he puts no value at all in Wilson's peace offer. If a breach with America is unavoidable, it cannot be helped; we proceed." (Excitement.) It is on the basis of this telegram and of disclosures now being made that you have come to the conclusion that Wilson's peace mediation was to be thrust aside by us?

Count Bernstorff—Undoubtedly. * * *

Professor Bonn—Were the concrete peace terms of Jan. 20† communicated to you?

Count Bernstorff—No.

Professor Bonn—Were the German peace terms communicated to you not in a concrete form?

Count Bernstorff—No, except for the telegram which said that Belgium was not to be annexed.

The President—It has always been said the peace terms were very moderate compared with the senseless demands made by the Entente.

Count Bernstorff—They were very moderate. In America people asked why the peace terms were not published; I answered that as they

*The German text has "Jan. 1," which is an obvious mistake.

†There were two sets of German peace terms, those in connection with the Dec. 12 peace offer, and those formulated when the unrestricted submarine war was to start.

were so moderate they would, in contrast with the enemy, cause an impression of weakness. Lansing answered me that he was unable to understand why we did not ask as much as the others; then a middle line compromise could be arranged. * * *

Dr. Cohn—When were the Dec. 12 peace terms communicated?

Count Bernstorff—At the same time as the unrestricted submarine war was declared.

Dr. Cohn—Did Lansing's statement about the peace terms, that they were too moderate, and that there ought to be a compromise along a middle line, refer to Belgium?

Count Bernstorff—No. An American peace mediation which should not include the restoration of Belgium was wholly excluded.

DISCREPANCY IN PEACE TERMS

[Dr. Sinzheimer here proved that the peace terms which were communicated to President Wilson on Jan. 28, and which referred to the peace offer of Dec. 12, did not correspond with the Foreign Office records.]

Dr. Cohn—Were you informed on your return to Germany that the terms which you were to have communicated to Wilson were other than those which were agreed upon on Dec. 12?

Count Bernstorff—This is the very first I heard of that. In any case, the peace terms had no longer any effect, as the same day that I got them I also got the declaration of the unrestricted submarine war, and this meant the breaking off of diplomatic relations.

Dr. Cohn—Did the terms communicated appear to be moderate?

Count Bernstorff—I considered them moderate. But I put no further value on them as I knew that diplomatic relations must be broken off. * * *

The President—Did not Wilson always pass as the man who stood for humanity and justice? Did Wilson express himself as to these purely human questions?

Count Bernstorff—I often discussed this question, for example in connection with the Lusitania and the Sussex affairs. He thought the starvation blockade illegal.

Dr. Sinzheimer—Do you believe in Wilson's true intention to mediate for peace?

Count Bernstorff—Yes.

Dr. Sinzheimer—Was it to be a peace favoring the Entente?

Count Bernstorff—On Jan. 22 Wilson said that a peace without victory should be concluded; I understood this to mean that Germany was to retain her world position undiminished. I held Wilson to be an honest broker. * * * (Questioned by Dr. Sinzheimer) Not once did the Americans discuss a peace with me in which even the smallest surrender of territory was suggested to us. * * * (Questioned by Professor Bonn) My point of view is that Wilson's peace action of 1918 had nothing whatever to do with his peace action of 1917. Nor has this anything to do with Wilson's failure at Ver-

sailles. These undertakings were quite separate ones, and no inference can be made from one to the other. * * * It must always be remembered that on Jan. 31, 1917, Wilson's whole attitude underwent a change. Until Jan. 31 Wilson believed us to be wishing for a peace by agreement; after Jan. 31 he was convinced we would only accept the so-called German peace. * * * Such is the psychological explanation of this change.

[From Vorwärts, Oct. 23, 1919, morning and evening editions.]

GERMAN PEACE TERMS OF DEC. 12, 1916

The German peace terms were read to the sub-committee by Dr. Sinzheimer in his capacity as reporter to the sub-committee. They were as follows:

Recovery of those parts of Upper Alsace occupied by France.

Delimitation of a frontier securing Germany and Poland, strategically and economically, against Russia.

Colonial restitution in the form of an agreement which secures to Germany such colonial possessions as correspond with her population and the importance of her economic interests.

Restoration of French territory occupied by Germany, with a reserve as to strategic and economic frontier rectifications and as to financial compensations.

Restoration of Belgium accompanied by definite guarantees securing Germany, to be agreed upon by negotiation with the Belgian Government.

Adjustment of economic and financial claims on the principle of mutual exchange of territories conquered and restored at the conclusion of peace.

Compensation to German businesses and German nationals for losses occasioned by the war.

Renunciation of all economic compacts and measures which would prove an obstruction to the normal course of trade or of communications after the conclusion of peace, and conclusion of commercial treaties on these principles.

Guarantees for the freedom of the seas.

The peace terms of our allies were set between similarly moderate limits in harmony with our own point of view.

[From Vorwärts, Oct. 24, 1919, morning edition.]

TESTIMONY ON SUBMARINES

In sessions reported by Vorwärts Nov. 7-12, 1919, the failure of the submarines was thrashed out. Dr. Struve, attacking the Admiralty, said that in March, 1916, there were 23 submarines in commission, of which 11 were in the North Sea. In January, 1917, Germany still had only 20 U-boats fit for use, though the num-

ber on paper was 152. Later the proportion was 54 fit for service out of 208. "When the unrestricted submarine warfare was determined upon," said Dr. Struve, "Secretary of State von Capelle told the Main Committee that we had 160 submarines, * * * but only 20 were fit for the front. This contrast is so great that Herr von Capelle ought to have drawn attention to it."

Later the number of submarines fit for service rose to 36, 43, 47, and even higher in the course of 1917 and 1918, said Dr. Struve, but under Herr von Capelle the situation did not develop as it should. When the latter was sharply criticised by members of the Main Committee he had declared that Germany then had nearly 400 submarines. "This figure was incorrect," said Dr. Struve. "Even counting in all lost submarines and all submarines not yet built, it was never 400, but at most 300." The witness went on to accuse the Admiralty of continued neglect of submarine building in favor of cruiser building.

Herr von Capelle appeared before the committee to answer both charges—that he had not built enough submarines and that he had deceived the Main Committee. He said in part:

I have obtained from the Admiralty the latest figures relating to the number of submarines built during the war and immediately before the war. This Admiralty report, which is dated May, 1919, proves that 810 submarines in all were built during and before the war. Of these 810, 45 date from the period preceding the outbreak of war. One hundred and eighty-six submarines were placed by the orders of Admiral Tirpitz, and 579 were placed by my orders during my two and a half years' tenure of office. I should think that these figures tell their own story.

After further details on this subject and a review of the delays in submarine construction due to exchange of peace notes with America, Herr von Capelle added:

I have been reproached with having deceived the Reichstag. It is said I gave the number of completed submarines as 160, concealing the fact that a smaller number only were in commission. The idea that as the number of submarines rises, the number of submarines in commission rises, too, is quite topsy-turvy. The only thing that matters is the tonnage figure of vessels sunk; I made that quite clear in the Reichstag. It's

not my fault if some gentlemen have been incapable of assimilating facts foreign to them. We guaranteed 600,000 tons and reached 750,000 in February. How can it then be said that I deceived the Reichstag? I hope Dr. Struve will withdraw this harsh reproach. * * *

RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE

The discussion then turned to the question why the whole submarine campaign had failed. The nearest that the committee came to getting any definite statements on this subject was in the following portion of the proceedings:

Deputy Schücking—Wasn't it notorious that, in spite of the unrestricted submarine war, these (English munition) transports crossed the Channel without the slightest interference?

Admiral Koch—No, not without the slightest interference, only at the narrowest point. Small steamers there kept on carrying munitions across at night.

Dr. Sinzheimer—How was it that the big American troop transports were not hindered?

Admiral Koch—Each submarine had her range and had to take everything that came along, whether transport or not.

Dr. Sinzheimer—But this is a crucial point. Capelle said we need have no fear of American transports; they would be a very welcome booty for the submarines.

Deputy Gothein—One American troop transport and one only was sunk. Surely this contradicts the prospects which were opened up. Apart from the climax of the month of April or May, there was a continual decline of the amount of tonnage sunk. What is the cause of this failure of the submarines?

Admiral Koch—We are still in ignorance of what was the real trend of affairs. In the first place we must consider the English countermeasures, their different inventions, such as boats of increased speed, which forced the submarines to keep under water all the time, then the convoy system and the continued change of harbor for arrival and departure. The submarines never slackened. * * *

Deputy Dr. Cohn * * * (in the Reichstag Main Committee)—Herr von Capelle was of opinion that hundreds of ships would be needed to bring an American army over to France, and that, further, it would be difficult for America to put her hand on 100,000 volunteers, seeing that war enthusiasm had died down in England. Again, this army would have to be trained and finally transported. No better booty could be imagined for our submarines than such a transport fleet. The danger from America amounted to zero.

Admiral Koch—The Admiralty Staff never underestimated the military importance of a war with America.

Deputy Dr. Cohn—Do you know the figures

o. the man power transported by America?

Admiral Koch—No.

Deputy Dr. Cohn—The English quote them at 1,800,000.

Admiral Koch—I had estimated them higher.

Von Capelle—The naval command was throughout of opinion that the unrestricted submarine war would bring the war to an end within five or six months. This thought is like a red thread drawn through all memoranda, statements, and even through the negotiations in the Reichstag committee. What I said about America referred to this limited period only, not to what America might be able to do in a period of eighteen months or two years. My words have not been proved wrong for a limited period. We did not discuss in the Reichstag Committee what America might be able to do in case the war were to last another two years. Nor did anybody seriously consider such a possibility. As regards the sinking of the transports, I am credited with saying that not a ship would get across. That is not true. If I said that they would require

roughly 100 boats, and where were they to get them considering the cry for tonnage, and that there could be no better booty for our submarines to hunt down on the high seas, I meant that out of these 100 vessels we should be able to torpedo a great many. Everybody must have thought the same. Only the naval command can answer the question why we never attained these results.

President Warmuth—I will now ask Admiral Koch to tell us what were the reasons which justified the naval authorities in holding the opinion that an unrestricted submarine war begun on Feb. 1 must, after a period of five months, force England to surrender.

Admiral Koch—We did not get the results we had hoped for from the submarine war; but from the purely technical point of view the results were, nevertheless, greater than we had expected. I cannot find that the work of the navy in any way failed to come up to standard; the leadership of, and self-sacrifice of, the crews are beyond all question. The causes of the final balance must be sought elsewhere.

Austria's Peace Offer in 1917

Hitherto Unpublished Details of the Prince Sixtus Episode —A Chapter of Secret Diplomacy

ONE of the dramatic moments of the war was that of the lightning-swift and crushing reply of Premier Clemenceau to the charge made by Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, in an address delivered in Vienna on April 2, 1918, that France had made peace overtures to Austria shortly before beginning the new offensive in the west. The net result of Czernin's statement, when shorn of diplomatic verbiage, had been to place France in the light of having made a secret and unsuccessful petition to the enemy for peace.

To this charge Premier Clemenceau made a characteristic and historic rejoinder: "Count Czernin lies!" There followed a somewhat extended controversy on the subject, in the course of which the French Government gave official evidence of the continuous peace intrigues conducted by Austria, notably by Count Revertata, a personal friend of Emperor Charles, with Commandant

Armand of the French General Staff, in Switzerland. Charges and counter-charges as to who was the initiator in these negotiations prolonged the dispute. Finally, on April 8, in a reply to Count Czernin, M. Clemenceau disclosed the fact that the Austrian Emperor himself had put such overtures in writing on March 24, 1917, in a letter (the first) which the French Premier gave out for publication on April 12, 1918. This letter, written by Emperor Charles to Prince Sixtus of Bourbon on March 24, 1917, proved conclusively that overtures of peace had been made by Austria, not by France—overtures which had never been accepted. As a result of this revelation the political career of Count Czernin was brought to an abrupt end. Before his fall he obstinately denied the authenticity of this letter, and on Dec. 11, 1918, he declared that he would never have concluded a separate peace, and that such a peace was a physical impossibility. In his published

memoirs he treats this whole episode with great reticence.

The Austrian Emperor, on his part, at once sent a formal denial of the authenticity of these documents to Emperor William, saying that the charges were "too low" for refutation, and declaring: "My cannon in the west will be our best reply." To this message the German Emperor sent a cordial expression of thanks, embodying assurance of his complete belief in the Austrian Emperor's repudiation of the French charges.

In the issue of Jan. 3, 1920, of the French review, *L'Illustration*, are published the positive and visible proofs of the Austrian offer, proofs which M. Clemenceau himself, when, in defending France, he stigmatized the false-speaking of Count Czernin, did not possess in their entirety. Facsimile reproductions are given by *L'Illustration* of the two letters written (in French) by Emperor Charles to Prince Sixtus and of the note (in German) in the handwriting of Count Czernin, appended to the second imperial letter, as well as of passports issued by the French and Belgian Governments to allow Prince Sixtus to proceed to Switzerland, where the secret negotiations were initiated, and finally of the *note verbale* written by Prince Sixtus and read by him to Jules Cambon on April 22, 1917. From the accompanying text explaining these reproduced documents is extracted for *CURRENT HISTORY* the following translation and summary of this historic episode:

WHY SIXTUS WAS CHOSEN

If the notes written by Prince Sixtus of Bourbon-Parma to Emperor Charles of Austria, and his repeated negotiations with the highest representatives of the French and British Governments during the year 1917 had been crowned with success, it has been said, the whole face of Europe would have been changed. The reasons which impelled Emperor Charles to select this young Prince to act as his intermediary in the opening and conducting of negotiations with France and later England were by no means remote. The Prince's personality, his family ties with Austria, his love for France, were all factors in the making of this choice.

Sons of the reigning Duke of Parma, who had been dispossessed of his estates in Italy, Prince Sixtus and his brother Xavier had of their own volition left Austria, where the family had taken refuge, while still mere youths, and had taken up their residence in France, which they considered as their fatherland. When the war broke out they were staying temporarily in Austria. They resolved to flee and to regain France in order to perform their military duty. The Archduke Charles, their brother-in-law, helped the two brothers to escape by automobile beyond the Austrian frontier. Unable to gain admission either to the French or British Army, they enlisted in the army of Belgium.

While performing their military duties in Belgium, they received in December, 1916, a letter from their mother, transmitted by diplomatic channels from the Duchy of Luxemburg. In this letter the Duchess asked her sons to come to Switzerland, as she had important matters to confide to them. Bearing the authorization of King Albert and a diplomatic passport of the French Government, they arrived in Switzerland on Jan. 23, 1917. There Prince Sixtus learned that his brother-in-law, Emperor Charles, wishing to give peace to his people and thus fulfill his promises made on his accession to the Austrian throne, asked him to act as mediator in negotiations with France, first of all, and later with the Entente. A letter from his sister Zita, the Austrian Empress, confirmed the Emperor's desire for peace.

THE FIRST OVERTURES

The Prince declared at once that he could not undertake such a mission without the authority of the French Government, and without the certainty that the demands of France would be fully met, including the right of France to Alsace and Lorraine, the neutralization of the left bank of the Rhine, and the complete restoration of Belgium. He then informed the French Government of the proposals that had been made to him, and received permission to continue the discussions.

Meanwhile, Count Erdoedy, one of the oldest and most devoted servitors of Em-

peror Charles, brought to Switzerland a *note verbale* dictated by Count Czernin, with an addendum of the Emperor. A letter from the Empress, addressed to her brother, implored him to make every effort to end the martyrdom of millions of combatants. Orally Count Erdoedy described the formal desire of the Emperor to bring to an end the sombre drama that was bathing Europe in blood.

This meeting with Count Erdoedy was the object of a memorandum which Prince Sixtus, on his return to Paris, read to M. Poincaré on March 5, in the first interview which he had with the Chief of State. The President of the republic also took cognizance of the Czernin note and of the Emperor's commentaries. The first did not seem to him worthy of consideration, but the latter seemed to indicate in the Emperor a sincere desire for peace. Such was also the opinion of M. Briand, President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs, whom M. Poincaré consulted. They both, however, expressed the need of receiving something more formal, more explicit, which could be conveyed officially to France's allies.

At this juncture the Russian revolution broke out. Prince Sixtus wrote to his imperial brother-in-law a letter in which he begged him to prove his good-will by making great concessions. To his letter he joined a possible plan of peace. Both letter and plan were placed in the hands of Count Erdoedy, whom he met again in Geneva. The Count, however, begged Prince Sixtus and his brother Xavier to come at once to Vienna, where the Emperor was awaiting them. The latter he reported as saying: "An hour's conversation will accomplish more than ten journeys." Count Czernin also insisted on meeting the Prince personally. All was ready; absolute secrecy would be maintained; orders had been given at the frontier to eliminate all obstacles. The Princes allowed themselves to be persuaded.

JOURNEY TO VIENNA

This journey to Vienna (says the writer in *l'Illustration*) is one of the most interesting pages of the Prince's notes.

The Emperor appears to us in his castle of Laxenburg. We hear him express, with moving sincerity, his desire for peace. He suffers physically from the massacres caused by this war, which he did not initiate, and which his duty to God and man orders him to terminate. The Empress joins him in the same pathetic plea. Suddenly Count Czernin appears, embarrassed, reticent, displaying the simulated coldness and all the conventional traits and maladroitness of the would-be diplomat in whom all is calculation, and who wishes to play the rôle of Machiavelli.

To show his good-will the Emperor hands his brother-in-law a letter written in his own hand—the same letter which M. Clemenceau, wishing to unmask the impudence of Count Czernin, was destined to publish on April 12, 1918.

Prince Sixtus, feeling that the negotiations had made considerable progress, returned to Switzerland on March 25, 1917, and from there went to France. M. Poincaré, on March 31, received him for the third time. He read the Emperor's letter, and also an explanatory note drawn up by the Prince the day before.

EMPEROR'S FIRST LETTER

The text of the Emperor's letter is given in translation herewith:

(March 24, 1917,
at Laxenburg.)

My dear Sixtus:

The end of the third year of this war, which has brought so many deaths and so much sorrow to the world, approaches. All the people of my empire are united more closely than ever in the common wish to safeguard the integrity of the monarchy, even at the cost of the greatest sacrifices. Thanks to their participation in the generous emulation of all the nationalities of my empire, the monarchy has been able to resist now going on three years the most formidable onslaughts. No one can contest the military successes won by my troops, especially on the Balkan front.

France, on her part, has shown a splendid power of resistance and a magnificent spirit. We all unreservedly admire the traditional gallantry of her army, and the spirit of sacrifice of the whole French people. It is, therefore, especially agreeable to me to see that, though temporarily adversaries, no real divergence of views or aspirations separates my empire from France, and I am, therefore, justly

fied in hoping that my deep sympathy for France, joined to that which prevails throughout all my realm, will forever preclude a return to that state of war for which I personally have no responsibility. To this end and in order to demonstrate concretely the sincerity of these sentiments I beg you to transmit secretly and unofficially to M. Poincaré, President of the French Republic, my assurance that I will support in every way and by the use of all my personal influence with my allies the just claims of France concerning Alsace-Lorraine.

As for Belgium, she must be restored to full sovereignty and retain all her African possessions without prejudice to the reparations she may receive for the losses she has endured. Serbia must also be restored to full sovereignty, and as a pledge of our good-will we are ready to assure her a fair and natural outlet on the Adriatic, as well as wide economic concessions. On her part Austria-Hungary will ask as a fundamental and absolute condition that the Kingdom of Serbia shall cease in future from all relations with—and shall suppress—all societies or groups whose political object tends to the dissolution of the monarchy, especially the Narodna Obrana; that it shall loyally prohibit by all means in its power all kinds of political agitation in Serbia or beyond its frontiers tending to the same end, and that it shall give this assurance under the guarantee of the Entente Powers.

The events that have occurred in Russia compel me to reserve my ideas on this subject until the day when a legal and stable Government shall have been established there.

After this explanation of my views I will ask you to inform me in your turn, after having discussed the matter with these two Powers, of the opinions, first of all, of France and England, so that a basis of agreement may be reached and official negotiations may begin and end to the satisfaction of all.

Hoping that by our mutual efforts we may put an end to the sufferings of so many million men and so many families in sadness and anxiety, I beg you to receive the expression of my deep and fraternal affection.

(Signed) CHARLES.

THE PROBLEM OF ITALY

With the concessions yielded in the Emperor's letter there remained only the question of Italy and that of Rumania. On April 6 Jules Cambon, delegated by M. Ribot, who had succeeded M. Briand as Premier, discussed the claims of these two countries with the Prince. Subsequently M. Ribot, in a visit to Folkestone,

explained the situation to Mr. Lloyd George. On his return the Prince was again summoned, and in the presence of M. Poincaré and M. Ribot, the question of Italy was specially discussed. M. Ribot stated that in agreement with Lloyd George he held the view that the negotiations for peace could no longer be concealed from Italy. The Prince warned him to be prudent, saying that he would not guarantee the Emperor's life a week if Berlin learned of the negotiations. M. Ribot promised to present the matter to Foreign Minister Sonnino in the light of overtures made by the Austrian Embassy in Switzerland.

Meanwhile, however, there occurred the famous meeting between Emperor William and Emperor Charles at Homburg. The German press gave the interview great publicity, declaring that there had been perfect harmony between the two monarchs and declaring their intention to open negotiations with the Russian Revolutionary Government. Believing that Emperor Charles was playing a double game, President Poincaré was very much irritated by these reports. Nevertheless the projected conference with Sonnino was arranged at St. Jean-de-Maurienne on April 19. On his way to this conference Lloyd George saw Prince Sixtus in Paris. The interview was most cordial, and the English Premier showed plainly his eagerness to separate Austria from Germany. "We have nothing against Austria," he said, "and France also has no fundamental hostility toward her. To conquer Germany is our only aim. But what will Italy demand? The demands of our allies are by no means inconsiderable."

SONNINO INFLEXIBLE

On April 20 Mr. Lloyd George, on his return from the conference, with visible regret informed the Prince that he had found Italy inflexible; Sonnino refused to yield any of Italy's ambitions. But Lloyd George urged the Prince to continue his efforts and to come directly to him in London if there were any new developments. Encouraged by the British Premier's attitude, the Prince again saw M. Cambon and read to him the following *note verbale*:

I will transmit the results of my mission to the Emperor. I will urge him strongly to consider the friendly spirit shown him by France and England. But it is for him to decide what he can and should do.

My personal mission is purely in the interest of France, and only for her advantage. It is for this reason that I have insisted on having very clear expressions regarding Alsace-Lorraine, of capital importance to us as a tangible and irrefutable argument that Austria was acting independently of Germany. These I obtained.

I understand how delicate and difficult the Italian question is. I have no knowledge as to how the Emperor may solve it taking account of the opinion and the desires of his country. The great difficulty will lie in this direction.

It is a question which depends on the inner situation of Austria, which we do not know. I can have no personal opinion on this subject myself.

Paris, Quai de Bethune, April 22, 1917.

In addition to the presentation of this *note verbale*, Prince Sixtus dispatched a letter to Emperor Charles urging him to make the most supreme concessions to attain the end proposed.

SECOND VISIT TO VIENNA

Informed by Count Erdoedy at Zug that the Emperor again wished his presence in Vienna, Prince Sixtus paid his second visit to the Castle of Laxenburg. The Emperor showed himself extremely optimistic; Italy had made overtures of peace through General Cadorna on condition of the cession to her of the Italian-speaking Trentino. The Emperor declared that he would not treat directly with Italy, but only through the Entente. In regard to other matters Charles was ready to satisfy all demands. Count Czernin also showed a strong desire for peace, a shift of attitude occasioned by the Emperor's report of a virtual rupture between himself and Emperor William at Homburg after Charles had declared that Austria could not follow Germany after the coming of Autumn.

EMPEROR'S SECOND LETTER

Prince Sixtus again departed for Paris, bearing a second letter from Charles, dated May 9, and a note in German, written by the hand of Czernin. Charles's second letter (hitherto unpublished) is here translated:

May 9, 1917.

My Dear Sixtus:

I note with satisfaction that France and England share my views regarding what I consider as the essential basis of the peace of Europe. They state, however, that they will not conclude peace unless Italy participates therein. Italy has just expressed her desire to make peace with the monarchy and has abandoned all the inadmissible aspirations of conquest which she had hitherto manifested regarding the Slavic countries of the Adriatic. She now reduces her demands to the Italian-speaking portion of the Tyrol. I have deferred examination of this request until I know through you of the response of France and England to my offers of peace. Count Erdoedy will transmit to you my own views and those of my Minister concerning these different points.

The harmony between the Monarchy and France and England on so many essential points will, we are convinced, make it possible to overcome the last obstacles to an honorable peace.

I thank you for the aid which you are giving me now in this work of peace conceived by me in the common interest of my country. This war has imposed on you, as you told me on your departure, the duty of remaining faithful to your name and the great past of your house, first of all in succoring the wounded heroes on the field of battle, and, secondly, in fighting for France. I have understood the motives of your action, and although we have been separated by events for which I have no personal responsibility, my affection for you has not been shaken. With your permission I wish to reserve the privilege of communicating to France and England, through you as my only intermediary, my direct and personal opinions. Believe me, affectionately and fraternally yours,

(Signed) CHARLES.

COUNT CZERNIN'S NOTE

The German note written by Count Czernin is given herewith in the form in which it was translated, according to L'Illustration, by Prince Sixtus himself, and as reproduced in the body of L'Illustration article:

I. Austria-Hungary cannot consent to any cession of territory without compensation. In case of compensation it must be borne in mind that no territory will ever have for the Monarchy the value of a land watered by the blood of its soldiers.

II. Outside of this rectification of the projected frontier the integrity of the Monarchy must, from now on, be guaranteed by the Entente, so that it shall be

assured when the general peace conference is opened.

III. As soon as the two above-mentioned conditions (compensation in the rectification of frontier and guarantee of the integrity of the Monarchy) have been accepted by the Entente, Austria-Hungary will be able to make a separate peace with the Entente. Then only will it inform its allies of the situation.

IV. In all cases Austria-Hungary is ready to pursue, as in the past, negotiations with a view to concluding with the Entente an honorable peace, and subsequently to prepare the way for a general and definite peace.

NEGOTIATIONS FAIL

All obstacles to the conclusion of a separate peace with Austria seemed to have been overcome. Prince Sixtus hoped to persuade M. Poincaré of Charles's sincerity, his belief in which had been shaken by the Homburg interview, and to overcome the incurable skepticism of M. Ribot. But the French Premier showed more and more hesitation. The views of Rumania, Italy, and Poland seemed to him important. Interviews with the King of Italy, King George, and M. Poincaré were suggested. Prince Sixtus went to London. He saw Mr. Lloyd George and the King of England. A meeting of the three heads of States was arranged.

And then—silence. All negotiations were brought to an abrupt end. No answer was made by the Entente to the Austrian request for peace; and the speech of M. Ribot on Oct. 12, 1917, by its resolute and categorical refusal of peace until victory, threw Vienna again into the arms of Germany. The war went on, Italy triumphed over Austria, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed; the rest is known. The motives that led the Entente statesmen to reject the Austrian peace offer still remain officially unpublished, but the strongest implication was given at the time that there was lacking a belief in the sincerity of the Austrian Emperor's overtures, and that a suspicion of trickery lurking behind the offer existed in the minds of the Entente diplomats concerned.

CZERNIN'S LATEST DENIAL

A new chapter in the whole controversy was added by Count Czernin in a statement given by him to the Vienna press on Jan. 13, 1920, in which, replying to the article in *L'Illustration* just reviewed, he first admitted that the oral negotiations with Prince Sixtus had taken place under his responsible direction, but declared that "their object was the preparation of a general peace for our entire group." He then pointed out that the French translation given by *L'Illustration* of the aide-mémoire in German written by himself, and accompanying the second letter of Emperor Charles, was incorrect in Article III, which in the original German read as follows:

Thirdly, a definite answer cannot be given before the foregoing two points are replied to, *as only then can Austria-Hungary enter into pourparlers with her allies.*

The statement further denied that the responsible Austrian Government had any intention of making a separate peace, and pointed out that the aide-mémoire betrayed no such intention in its correct translation. The obtaining of tolerable peace terms, said Count Czernin, would have made it possible for Austria-Hungary to work with more success in Berlin for a general peace settlement. Count Czernin further denied that during his term of office he had ever received a peace offer from the Italian Government, and also declared that the responsible Government was absolutely unaware of any of the Imperial letters and notes now published, in proof of which he referred to his possession of two documents, one a record of a conversation with the Emperor on April 10, 1918, in Bucharest, and the second a letter written him by the Emperor on April 12, 1918, reiterating Charles's denials to the Kaiser of ever having promised the Allies in any peace negotiations the independence of Alsace-Lorraine. Both of these documents, declared Count Czernin, showed clearly that he had no knowledge of the existence of the letters which *L'Illustration* had published.

The Kaiser's Letters to the Czar

German Emperor's Portion of the Famous "Willy-Nicky"
Correspondence Throws Light on the War's Causes

FOR twenty years preceding the world war the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar carried on a private correspondence, which, by some imperial whim, was written always in English, and which discussed especially such events as the Boer war, the Russo-Japanese war, Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the German Emperor's trips to Jerusalem and the Mediterranean. The Czar's letters in reply to the Kaiser were left in the palace at Potsdam when Wilhelm fled to Holland, and there they were destroyed—so it is now stated—by ex-Empress Augusta and Prince Eitel, who burned all papers before the palace could be searched. The Kaiser's letters, however, seventy-five in all, were found in the Czar's secret archives at Petrograd after the first Russian revolution in 1917, and have recently been published in full in England, France, Italy, Scandinavia, Germany, and the United States.

This series of letters, beginning in November, 1894, and ending in February, 1914, furnishes a new key to the mind and character of the German Emperor and to the Hohenzollern ambitions that led to the war. M. Hanotaux, former French Minister for Foreign Affairs, is authority for the statement that a knowledge of the existence of this secret correspondence contributed to the suspicion of German policy which prevailed in European Chancelleries in the years preceding the conflict. The publication of the Kaiser's letters in full now throws new light on the forces that led to the creation of the Triple Entente, as well as on the whole trend of the Kaiser's European policy, long a matter of shrewd surmise.

That policy, as revealed by these letters, was one involving a persistent effort to detach the Czar from his French allies, and to induce him to mistrust, despise and hate them; to excite his

animus against "perfidious Albion"; to persuade him to constitute himself the champion of the West against the "Yellow Peril," and to embroil him with all three of the Kaiser's chief enemies, England, France and Japan, with the inevitable result of weakening Russia herself and leaving the Kaiser paramount over land and sea. In nearly every letter of the series the Kaiser's mania for "sabre-rattling" and his self-conceived mission as military and political arbiter of the affairs of Europe are apparent.

ATTACKS ON FRANCE

In Letter No. 6 (Sept. 26, 1895), taking some suggested reforms in French Army organization as his text, the Kaiser admonishes his royal cousin on the danger of his association with the French, whom he characterizes as "damned rascals." In Letter No. 18 (Nov. 9, 1898), written from Damascus, he is horrified at the ignominious retreat of the French from Fashoda, and charges the French Nation, especially the army, with "co-optio", lying and dishonor."

"One fine day," he warns the Czar, "you will find yourself, nolens volens, suddenly embroiled in the most horrible of wars Europe ever saw." This warning proved to be prophetic, but not in the sense in which the Kaiser understood his prophecy. The hatred of the English, he declares, is growing ever stronger in the East.

In this letter the German rapprochement with Turkey is already apparent. Turkey, he declares, is not dead, but very much alive. Discussing the Koweit incident, in which Sheik Mabarak, summoned to appear before the Sultan in Constantinople, appealed to Great Britain to support his independence, and in which a British gunboat commander hauled down the Turkish flag hoisted over the recalcitrant Sheik's home, the

4.
 figures of Russia & Germany
 as sentinels at the Yellow Sea
 for the proclaiming of the Gospel
 of Truth & light in the East.
 I saw the sketch in the Xmas
 week under the blaze of the
 lights of the Xmas trees.
 Also an album of photographs
 representing the review on your
 birthday at Wiesbaden before
 the new Standard of your Russian
 Regiment & the swearing in
 of the recruits of your fine
 Alexander Regimentals as well as
 a scene from its barrackyard.



Kaiser's Table
 4
 1896

Dearest Nicky

The new year has just
 opened or the old year has
 closed. But I cannot let
 it close without a glance
 at those lovely or brilliant
 days of August, when I was
 able to embrace you & Alix,
 & without thanking you for
 your kind, splendid everlasting
 hospitality to Victoria & me.
 With deep feelings of gratitude
 do I remember the pleasant

FACSIMILE OF FIRST AND LAST PAGE OF ONE OF THE EARLIEST OF THE KAISER'S LETTERS TO THE CZAR IN THE "WILLY-NICKY" CORRESPONDENCE

Kaiser congratulates the Czar on the arrival in this region of the Russian warship Variag, and hints that Great Britain intended by this action to remain permanently in Persia, "which would have meant paramount rule of all the trade routes of Persia leading to the Gulf, by this of Persia itself, and by that 'ta-ta' to your proposed establishment of Russian commerce, which is very ably begun by the conclusion of the 'Zollverein' with Persia by you."

POLICY TOWARD JAPAN

The first example of the Kaiser's policy with regard to Japan occurs in Letter 4 of the series (April 26, 1895), in which, referring to the protest of Russia, France and Germany against the Sino-Japanese treaty of April 24, which forced Japan to give up the Liao-tung Peninsula and Port Arthur, he expresses himself as follows:

I thank you sincerely for the excellent way in which you initiated the combined action of Europe for the sake of its interests against Japan. It was high time

that energetic steps were taken and will make an excellent impression in Japan as elsewhere. * * * I shall certainly do all in my power to keep Europe quiet, and also guard the rear of Russia so that nobody shall hamper your action toward the Far East! For that is clearly the great task of the future, for Russia to cultivate the Asian Continent, and to defend Europe from the inroads of the Great Yellow race. You have well understood the call of Providence. * * * I hope that, just as I will gladly help you to settle the question of eventual annexations of portions of territory for Russia, you will kindly see that Germany may also be able to acquire a port somewhere were [sic] it does not grieve you.*

In Letter No. 5 (July 10, 1895) the Kaiser again sounds this note of a Christian crusade to be headed by Russia, predestined to this end by Divine Providence for "the cultivation of Asia and the defense of the cross and the old Christian European culture against the inroads of the Mongols and Buddhism." He then

*The annexations referred to eventually resulted in Germany taking Kiao-Chau, Russia Port Arthur, and England Wei-hai-Wei in 1898.

repeats and emphasizes his promise to support Russia while engaged in this great task, and to see that she should suffer no attack from the rear. In this connection he says:

It was natural that if Russia was engaged in this tremendous work you wished to have Europe quiet and your back free; and * * * it was natural and without doubt that this would be my task and that I would let nobody try to interfere with you and attack from behind in Europe during the time you were fulfilling the great mission which Heaven has shaped for you. That was as sure as Amen in Church.

A SYMBOLIC DRAWING

In Letter No. 6 (Sept. 26, 1895) the Kaiser, pursuing ever this fixed idea of the defense of Christianity against the pagan forces of the yellow races, describes a symbolical drawing he has made which embodies this conception in concrete form. On this subject he says:

The development of the Far East, especially its danger to Europe and our Christian faith, has been greatly on my mind ever since we made our first move together in Spring. At last my thoughts developed into a certain form and this I sketched on paper. I worked it out with an artist—a first-class draftsman—and after it was finished had it engraved for public use. * * * It shows the powers of Europe represented by their respective Genii called together by the Archangel Michael—sent from Heaven—to unite in resisting the inroad of Buddhism, heathenism and barbarism for the Defense of the Cross.*

In Letter No. 26 (Sept. 2, 1902) the Kaiser suggests the naval combination of Russia and Germany with a view of curbing Japanese ambitions in the East. As evidence of this naval solidarity he mentions the fact that the secret plans of his latest ships had been handed over to the Russian naval authorities. An interesting sidelight on this alleged revelation of Germany's naval secrets is contained in the memoirs of Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, who states that the "secret" plans made over to the Russian Admiralty were not the original plans, but quite useless ones, an admission made to counteract German criticism. Referring to the appointment of the Japanese General Yamai to train the Chinese Army, the Kaiser says:

Twenty to thirty millions of trained

Chinese helped by half a dozen Jap. Divisions and led by fine undaunted Christian-hating Jap. Officers, is a future to be contemplated not without anxiety; and not impossible. In fact it is the coming into reality of the "Yellow Peril" which I depicted some years ago, and for which engraving I was laughed at by the greater mass of the People.

In Letter No. 29 the Kaiser sends the Czar certain information which he has received about the clandestine arming of Chinese forces by the Japanese—information which he describes as "signals" from the Admiral of the Atlantic to the Admiral of the Pacific. In Letter No. 30 (Jan. 3, 1904) he further, and in the most emphatic way, encourages the Czar in the belief that Russia must annex Korea, though the Russian note of Oct. 3, 1903, had recognized Japan's preponderating interests in that province; he takes occasion to attack the British press for "fanning the flames" (of Japanese resistance) and expresses the hope (Letter 31, Jan. 1, 1904) that "the Japs" may listen to reason, "notwithstanding the frantic efforts of the vile press of a certain country" (England). In anticipation of the coming conflict, finally, which he himself has done so much to bring about, he sends to the Czar (Letter No. 31) "confidential" plans of two

*On a plateau of rock bathed in light radiating from the Cross stand allegorical figures of the civilized nations. In the foreground is France, shading her eyes with her left hand. She cannot altogether believe in the proximity of danger, but Germany, armed with shield and sword, follows with attentive eye the approach of calamity. Russia, a beautiful woman with a wealth of hair, leans her arm as if in close friendship on the shoulder of her martial companion. Beside this group Austria stands in resolute pose. She extends her right hand in an attitude of invitation as if to win the co-operation of still somewhat reluctant England in the common task. * * * In front of this martial group of many figures stands unmailled the winged Archangel Michael, holding in his right hand a flaming sword. At the foot of the rocky plateau stands the vast plain of civilized Europe. In the foreground is the Castle of Hohenzollern, but over these peaceful landscapes clouds of calamity are rolling up. The path trodden by Asiatic hordes in their onward career is marked by a sea of flame proceeding from a burning city. Dense clouds of smoke twisting into the form of hellish distorted faces ascend from the conflagration. The threatening danger in the form of Buddha is enthroned in this sombre framework. A Chinese dragon, which at the same time represents the demon of destruction, carries this heathen idol. In an awful onset the Powers of Darkness draw nearer to the banks of the protecting stream. Only a little while and that stream is no longer a barrier. (North German Gazette: Berlin Correspondent, Morning Post, Nov. 11, 1895.)

preparations & even learnt your language
 & will in no way be of any hindrance to
 your generals, as he is a quiet man, as the
 army is large & powerful I think that it does
 not matter if he goes, so I venture again to ask
 whether you can permit him to go.
 With excuses for bothering you with all these
 matters, but they are little arranged between us.
 & best love to Alia

Frederick

Ever your most aff^{ate} - cousin & friend

Willy

Berlin $\frac{15}{I}$ 1905



Dearest Willy.

The widow of old Prince Antoine
 Rostkill, Princess Marie, is going to Potsdam
 to beg for your approval of her late husband's
 will. Prince Antoine was not only a cherished
 & trusted servant of my deceased grandfather
 as his Adjutant or Lieutenant General, but also
 a faithful & beloved personal friend to him
 as well as to my late beloved father & to me.
 His winning ways & his gay nature as well
 as his chivalrous character won him friends
 wherever he was & your grandfather & father
 have both always cherished him. His
 wife is the intimate long-life friend of my
 late mother, & has been made testamentary
 by her husband for his will. The whole future
 of her children & family rests on the fact
 of your kind approval of the will, & I venture

FACSIMILE OF TWO PAGES OF ONE OF THE KAISER'S LATER LETTERS IN THE SERIES
 KNOWN AS THE "WILLY-NICKY" CORRESPONDENCE

warships, the Rivadavia and the Moreno,
 built originally by England for Argen-
 tina, and ultimately given to Japan.

The war between Russia and Japan,
 which the German Kaiser had done so
 much to foment, at last broke out; the
 Japanese Government severed diplomatic
 relations with Russia on Feb. 5, 1904;
 Admiral Togo attacked the Russian fleet
 outside Port Arthur on Feb. 8, and the
 Mikado formally declared war against
 Russia on Feb. 10. The day after the
 Japanese declaration of war the Kaiser
 wrote the Czar a letter of sympathy on
 his first naval defeat, congratulating
 him, however, on the possession of a
 good conscience—Letter No. 32 (Feb. 11,
 1904). In this connection he says:

The outbreak of hostilities has had sad
 consequences for your brave navy,
 which have deeply moved me! How could
 it be otherwise, seeing that I am a Rus-
 sian Admiral and proud of this rank,
 too! Evidently the serious events show
 that the warning news I could send you
 through my ciphers was absolutely cor-
 rect and that since long the Japanese
 Government was in the utter earnest and
 decided to have

In Letter No. 33 (March 29, 1904) the
 Kaiser, switching suddenly from light
 chatter about "lovely and bewitching
 Naples," which he has just visited in the
 course of the Mediterranean cruise, vir-
 tually demands the speedy conclusion of
 the famous Treaty of Commerce which
 was to place Russia economically at the
 mercy of Germany, suggesting that "a
 promise of a nice picnic in Siberia"
 would hurry the reluctant Russian nego-
 tiators. This scarcely veiled ultimatum
 had its effect, and the treaty was signed
 on July 28, 1904. Thus, at a time when
 Russia was plunged in war with a for-
 midable opponent, the Kaiser extorted
 concessions of the greatest economic ad-
 vantage to Germany, and took the first
 step in his project of the commercial and
 economic subjugation of his Slavic
 "ally."

UNDERMINING FRANCE

In Letter No. 34 (June 6, 1904) the
 Kaiser sows seeds of distrust in the
 Czar's mind regarding his ally, France,
 by intimating his discovery that the rea-

son why France had not sent her fleet down to keep Port Arthur open until the Russian Baltic fleet arrived was the existence of an Anglo-French agreement, which had prevented France from moving to aid Russia. He also seizes the opportunity to put a spoke in the wheels of England, in her project of mediation between Russia and Japan, already revealed. This attempt, he declares, "is most presuming on her part, seeing that the war has only just begun—she is afraid for her money, and wants to get Tibet cheaply." He further says that he will try to dissuade "Uncle Bertie" (King Edward) from "harrassing" the Czar with any more such proposals. The whole tone of this letter indicates his reluctance to have Russia bring the war with Japan to a close.

In Letter No. 35 (Aug. 19, 1904) the Kaiser discusses the course of the war with Japan. He admits the seriousness of the situation; but assures the Czar that he must conquer eventually, though it will cost both money and men. He sketches a plan of amateur strategy for the Czar to follow. By no means averse to weakening Russia's naval power, he strongly advises the Czar (Oct. 10, 1904) to send his Black Sea fleet out to meet the Japanese Navy in conjunction with the Baltic fleet; to prepare it secretly, and "then at the moment you think right, calmly and proudly steam through the Dardanelles." The Sultan, he declares, will offer no resistance; as to England, he says:

I have not the slightest doubt that England will accept it, too, though the press may fume and rage and their squadrons steam about a little, as they often do in the Mediterranean. But they won't [sic] stir in earnest when they see that the rest of the powers remain quiet.

THE SECRET TREATY

In Letter No. 36 (Oct. 30, 1904) the Kaiser, for the first time in this correspondence, mentions the momentous subject of the secret treaty between Russia and Germany, the ultimate object of which was the isolation of England. This secret treaty was ultimately signed by the two Emperors at Björkö on July 24, 1905. This portion of the "Willy-Nicky" correspondence, notably the

series of telegrams bearing on the secret treaty, was published by The New York Herald in September, 1917. The treaty was modified from its original draft form, to tone down the obviousness of its intention to isolate England, but even as drawn it was incompatible with the Franco-Russian Alliance, a fact which explains the Kaiser's eagerness to conclude it before its contents were revealed to France. The treaty was not countersigned by the Russian Foreign Minister, but only by Admiral Birilev, Minister of Marine, who is said to have admitted that he signed it at the Czar's request without any idea of its contents. The Russian statesman, Count Witte, who died in March, 1915, asserted that the treaty was annulled at his instigation. It was long believed that the Wilhelmstrasse had no share in it, but in Letter No. 37 the Kaiser declares that the work of drafting this treaty was done by himself and von Bülow personally.

THE KAISER'S TELEGRAM

The first conception of such a secret alliance is found in a telegram of the Czar in answer to one sent by the Kaiser on Oct. 27, 1904, the text of which is given herewith:

For some time the English press has been threatening Germany that she must on no account allow coals to be sent to the Baltic fleet, now on its way out. It is not impossible that the Japanese and British Governments may launch joint protests against our coaling your ships, coupled with a summons to stop further work. The result aimed at by such a threat of war would be the absolute immobility of your fleet and its inability to proceed for want of fuel. This new danger would have to be faced in common by Russia and Germany together, who would both have to remind your ally France of the obligations she took over in the treaty of the Dual Alliance with you in the case of a *casus foederis* arising. It is out of the question that France on such invitation would try to shirk her implicit duty toward her ally. Though Delcassé is Anglophile and would be enraged, he would be wise enough to understand that the British fleet is utterly unable to save Paris. In this way a powerful combination of the three strongest Continental powers would be formed, to attack which the Anglo-Saxons would think twice. Before acting you ought not to forget to order new ships, so as to be

ready with some of them when the war is over. They will be excellent persuaders during the peace negotiations. Our private firms would be most glad to receive contracts.

THE CZAR'S REPLY

The Czar telegraphed back on Oct. 30, 1904. In his reply, a copy of which was found in the Petrograd archives, he referred indignantly to the famous Dogger Bank episode, in which Admiral Rozhdestvensky had fired on English trawlers on the ground that enemy ships were screened among them. The outcry caused by this action was finally appeased by the Czar's referring the matter to The Hague tribunal. In his telegram the Czar says:

Of course, you know the first details of the North Sea incident from our Admiral's telegram. Naturally, it completely alters the situation. I have no words to express my indignation with England's conduct. I agree fully with your complaints about England's behavior concerning the coaling of our ships by German steamers. Whereas she understands the rules of keeping neutrality in her own fashion, it is certainly high time to put a stop to this. The only way, as you say, would be that Germany, Russia, and France should at once unite upon arrangements to abolish English and Japanese arrogance and insolence. Would you like to lay down and frame the outlines of such a treaty? As soon as it is accepted by us France is bound to join her ally.

The Kaiser replied to the Czar on Oct. 30, stating that he had sent the draft of the proposed treaty together with a letter (No. 37). In this letter the Kaiser discusses the probable effect of the treaty on America and France. Roosevelt, he declares, owing to the innate American dislike to all colored races, has no special partiality for Japan, despite England's attempts to work upon American feeling in favor of Japan; furthermore, a powerful Japanese fleet is a menace to the Philippines. England, he adds, counts on France's remaining passive, the radical and anti-Christian parties favoring England, but being opposed to war "because a victorious General would mean certain destruction to this republic of miserable civilians." As usual, the Kaiser loses no opportunity to inspire the Czar's distrust of his French ally. "I positively know," he

says, "that as far back as December last the French Minister of Finance, Bouvier, from his own accord told the financial agent of another power that on no account whatever would France join you in a Russo-Japanese war, even if England should take sides with Japan." France's attitude, declares the Kaiser, was what gave English policy "its present unwonted brutal assurance." Germany and Russia must stand shoulder to shoulder; that consummation reached, the Kaiser says, "I expect to be able to maintain peace and you will be left a free and undisturbed hand to deal with Japan."

DRAFTS OF TREATY

The draft of the treaty sent by the Kaiser to the Czar bore two forms. The first had three provisions; the later form three provisions and a secret article. In the first form the purpose of the treaty is laid down as being "to localize as much as possible the Russo-Japanese war." Article I. in both drafts, providing that if either contracting party should be attacked by a European power the other party would give support with all its land and sea forces, and that France would be reminded of her duty as Russia's ally, is virtually identical. The same applies to Article II., which provides that neither party would make a separate peace with any common adversary. Article III. in the first draft, however, dealing with support in the case of acts—such as delivering coal to a belligerent—which might give rise to complaints after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war, is replaced in part by a "secret article" which embodies a clause to the effect that "Germany will not associate herself with any action whatsoever which might imply hostile tendencies toward Russia."

The meaning and interpretation of the two drafts were explained by the Kaiser in Letter 40 (Nov. 17, 1904); in this letter the psychology of the German Emperor is brought out in strong relief; his first view that the projected treaty could be revealed to France was changed with the conclusion of the Anglo-French agreement, on which the entente cordiale was based, which eventually became the Kaiser's undoing, and on the

Czar's telegraphing for permission to show the treaty to France, the Kaiser withheld his consent, hinted darkly of the terrible consequences that would ensue if the treaty became known, and urged insistently (Letter 41, Dec. 7, 1904) that Russia should agree to the coaling clause. To this the Czar did not agree, and the matter was dropped until the Björkö meeting of July 24, 1905, when the treaty, stripped of this provision, was ultimately signed by the two Emperors. It never became effective.

In Letter No. 43 (Jan. 2, 1905) the Kaiser, who had prophesied Russia's victory, offers his condolences over the fall of Port Arthur and expresses the hope that in rebuilding the Russian fleet the

Czar's advisers will not forget "our great firms of Stettin, Kiel, &c." So the great Russo-Asiatic war drama which the Kaiser had helped to stage was brought to an end, and the series of letters in which the German Machiavelli had revealed his persistent purpose to embroil his Russian cousin with the latter's ally, France, and with Great Britain and Japan, found here the logical close of its first stage. The other letters of the series deal with events up to the beginning of the year that brought with it the world war, but they merely add new details to the foregoing self-revelation of the German Kaiser and his disquieting machinations as a secret diplomatist.

The Rumanian Minorities Treaty

Text of Rumania's Pact With the Allies Guaranteeing Liberty to All Classes of Citizens

WHEN the Allies gave national independence to Poland, Czechoslovakia and other new countries, and when they practically re-created Rumania with enlarged boundaries that included Transylvania and a part of the Banat of Temesvar, they exacted as the price of this service a promise that these countries would give all the privileges of individual freedom to every citizen within their boundaries, regardless of race, religion, or language.

The promise took the form of a treaty with the Allies, which bound the new States to maintain the institutions of modern political liberty under the aegis of the League of Nations. Poland signed such a treaty when she signed the peace with Germany, and Rumania was told that she must subscribe to a similar one before she could be allowed to sign the Austrian peace of St. Germain. When the Austrian Treaty was signed by the other powers in September, however, Rumania held back, both because she refused to guarantee the rights of minorities and because she was still defying the Allies by keeping troops in Hungary.

For three months Rumania maintained this recalcitrant attitude; finally, on Dec. 9, 1919, after receiving an ultimatum from the Paris Peace Conference, the Rumanian delegate, General Coanda, affixed his name to the minorities treaty and to that of St. Germain.

The full text of the Rumanian instrument promising equal rights to Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Saxon, Czechler and Rumanian is as follows:

TEXT OF THE TREATY

The United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, the principal allied and associated powers, on the one hand, and Rumania on the other hand:

Whereas, Under treaties to which the principal allied and associated powers are parties large accessions of territory are being and will be made to the Kingdom of Rumania, and

Whereas, Rumania desires of her own free will to give full guarantees of liberty and justice to all inhabitants both of the old Kingdom of Rumania and of the territory added thereto, to whatever race, language or religion they may belong;

Have, after examining the question together agreed to conclude the present treaty, and for this purpose have appointed as their

plenipotentiaries the following, reserving the right of substituting others to sign the treaty:

The President of the United States of America:

The Hon. Frank Lyon Polk, Under Secretary of State; the Hon. Henry White, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris; General Tasker H. Bliss, Military Representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council;

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India:

Sir Eyre Crowe, K. C. B., K. C. M. G., Minister Plenipotentiary, Assistant Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and for the Dominion of Canada: The Hon. Sir George Halsey Perley, K. C. M. G., High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom; for the Commonwealth of Australia: The Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, High Commissioner for Australia in the United Kingdom; for the Dominion of New Zealand: The Hon. Sir Thomas Mackenzie, K. C. M. G., High Commissioner for New Zealand in the United Kingdom; for the Union of South Africa: Reginald Andrew Blankenberg, O. B. E., Acting High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in the United Kingdom; for India: Sir Eyre Crowe, K. C. B., K. C. M. G.;

The President of the French Republic: M. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War; Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs; Louis-Lucien Klotz, Minister of Finance; André Tardieu, Minister for the Liberated Regions; Jules Cambon, Ambassador of France;

His Majesty the King of Italy: Sir Giacomo de Martino, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan: K. Matsui, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of H. M. the Emperor of Japan at Paris;

His Majesty the King of Rumania: General Constantin Coanda, Corps Commander, A. D. C. to the King, formerly President of the Council of Ministers;

Who have agreed as follows:

CHAPTER I.

ARTICLE 1—Rumania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2—Rumania undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Rumania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Rumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.

ARTICLE 3—Subject to the special provisions of the treaties mentioned below, Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty within the whole territory of Rumania, including the extensions made by the treaties of peace with Austria and Hungary, or any other extensions which may hereafter be made, if such persons are not at that date nationals of a foreign State other than Austria or Hungary.

Nevertheless, Austrian and Hungarian nationals who are over 18 years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must within the succeeding twelve months transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Rumanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

ARTICLE 4—Rumania admits and declares to be Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality persons of Austrian or Hungarian nationality who were born in the territory transferred to Rumania by the treaties of peace with Austria and Hungary, or subsequently transferred to her, of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Rumanian authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Rumanian nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Rumanian nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under 18 years of age.

ARTICLE 5—Rumania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the treaties concluded or to be concluded by the allied and associated powers with Austria or Hungary, to choose whether or not they will acquire Rumanian nationality.

ARTICLE 6—All persons born in Rumanian territory who are not born nationals of

another State shall ipso facto become Rumanian nationals.

ARTICLE 7—Rumania undertakes to recognize as Rumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Rumanian territory, who do not possess another nationality.

ARTICLE 8—All Rumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Rumanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Rumanian national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Rumanian Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Rumanian nationals of non-Rumanian speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

ARTICLE 9—Rumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Rumanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 10—Rumania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals of other than Rumanian speech are resident adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Rumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Rumanian Government from making the teaching of the Rumanian language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Rumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal, or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

ARTICLE 11—Rumania agrees to accord to the communities of the Saxons and Czechs in Transylvania local autonomy in regard to scholastic and religious matters, subject to the control of the Rumanian State.

ARTICLE 12—Rumania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall

be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the council of the League of Nations. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the council of the League of Nations.

Rumania agrees that any member of the council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Rumania further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these articles between the Rumanian Government and any one of the principal allied and associated powers or any other power, a member of the council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the covenant of the League of Nations. Rumania hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the permanent court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the covenant.

CHAPTER II.

ARTICLE 13—Rumania undertakes to make no treaty, convention or arrangement and to take no other action which will prevent her from joining in any general convention for the equitable treatment of the commerce of other States that may be concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations within five years from the coming into force of the present treaty.

Rumania also undertakes to extend to all the allied and associated powers any favors or privileges in customs matters which she may grant during the same period of five years to any State with which since August, 1914, the allied and associated powers have been at war, or to any State which in virtue of Article 222 of the treaty with Austria has special customs arrangements with such States.

ARTICLE 14—Pending the conclusion of the general convention referred to above, Rumania undertakes to treat on the same footing as national vessels or vessels of the most-favored nation the vessels of all the allied and associated powers which accord similar treatment to Rumanian vessels. As an exception from this provision, the right of Rumania or of any other allied or associated power to confine her maritime coasting trade to national vessels is expressly reserved.

ARTICLE 15—Pending the conclusion under the auspices of the League of Nations of a general convention to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit,

Rumania undertakes to accord freedom of transit to persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails in transit to or from any allied or associated State over Rumanian territory, including territorial waters, and to treat them at least as favorably as the persons, goods, vessels, carriages, wagons and mails respectively of Rumanian or of any other more-favored nationality, origin, importation or ownership, as regards facilities, charges, restrictions, and all other matters.

All charges imposed in Rumania on such traffic in transit shall be reasonable having regard to the conditions of the traffic. Goods in transit shall be exempt from all customs or other duties.

Tariffs for transit across Rumania and tariffs between Rumania and any allied or associated power involving through tickets or waybills shall be established at the request of the allied or associated power concerned.

Freedom of transit will extend to postal, telegraphic, and telephonic services.

Provided that no allied or associated power can claim the benefit of these provisions on behalf of any part of its territory in which reciprocal treatment is not accorded in respect of the same subject matter.

If within a period of five years from the coming into force of this treaty no general convention as aforesaid shall have been concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, Rumania shall be at liberty at any time thereafter to give twelve months' notice to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to terminate the obligations of the present article.

ARTICLE 16—Pending the conclusion of a general convention on the international régime of waterways, Rumania undertakes to apply to such portions of the river system of the Pruth as may lie within, or form the boundary of, her territory, the régime set out in the first paragraph of Article 332 and in Articles 333 to 338 of the treaty of peace with Germany.

ARTICLE 17—All rights and privileges accorded by the foregoing articles to the allied and associated powers shall be accorded equally to all States members of the League of Nations.

The present treaty, in French, in English and in Italian, of which in case of divergence the French text shall prevail, shall be ratified. It shall come into force at the same time as the treaty of peace with Austria.

The deposit of ratifications shall be made at Paris.

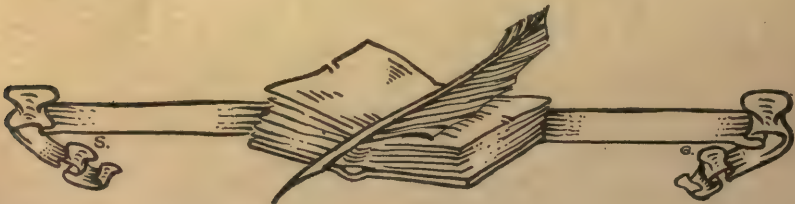
Powers of which the seat of the Government is outside Europe will be entitled merely to inform the Government of the French Republic through their diplomatic representative at Paris that their ratification has been given; in that case they must transmit the instrument of ratification as soon as possible.

A procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications will be drawn up. The French Government will transmit to all signatory powers a certified copy of the procès-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

Done at Paris, the ninth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, in a single copy which will remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the signatory powers. Plenipotentiaries who in consequence of their temporary absence from Paris have not signed the present treaty may do so up to Dec. 20, 1919.

In faith whereof the hereinafter-named plenipotentiaries, whose powers have been found in good and due form, have signed the present treaty.

(Signed) FRANK L. POLK,
HENRY WHITE,
TASKER H. BLISS,
EYRE A. CROWE,
GEORGE H. PERLEY,
ANDREW FISHER,
THOMAS MACKENZIE,
R. A. BLANKENBERG,
EYRE A. CROWE,
G. CLEMENCEAU,
S. PICHON,
L. L. KLOTZ,
ANDRE TARDIEU,
JULES CAMBON,
G. DE MARTINO,
K. MATSUI,
GEN. C. COANDA.



INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS ON CURRENT EVENTS

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

The New Spirit of the Times



—From *Nebelspalter*, Zurich

The Communist wraith is abroad

[American Cartoon]

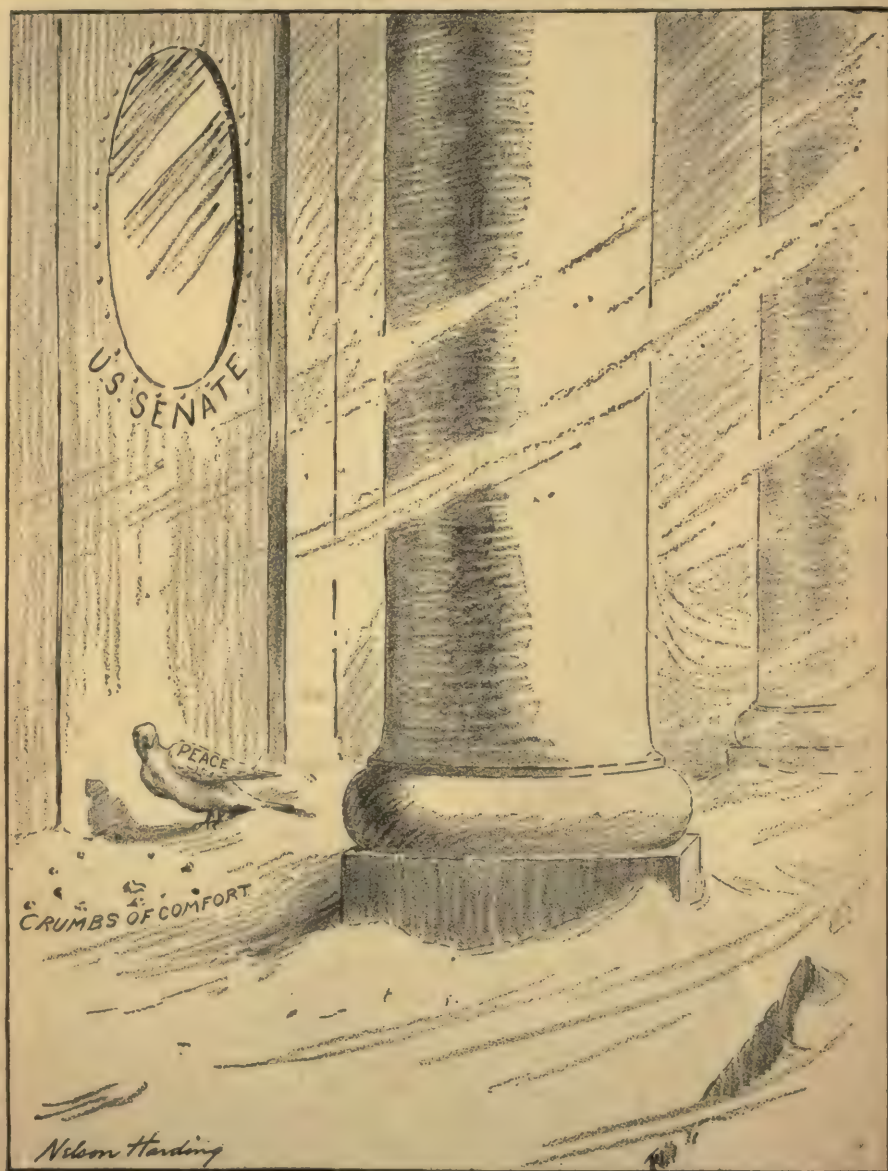
The One Animal That Wouldn't Go Into the Ark



—From The New York Tribune

[American Cartoon]

Did I Hear My Name?



—From The Brooklyn Eagle

[American Cartoon]

Get the Fat One, Too, Sam!



—From The Dayton News

[American Cartoon]

Your Uncle's Troubles



—From The San Francisco Chronicle

[American Cartoon]

Safe!



—From The New York World

[American Cartoon]

The Dutch Blockade



—From Central Press Association

[American Cartoon]

“Yoohoo, Sam! C'mon Out!”



—From The Sioux City Tribune

[American Cartoon]

That Last Year's Bonnet



—From The Detroit News

[American Cartoon]

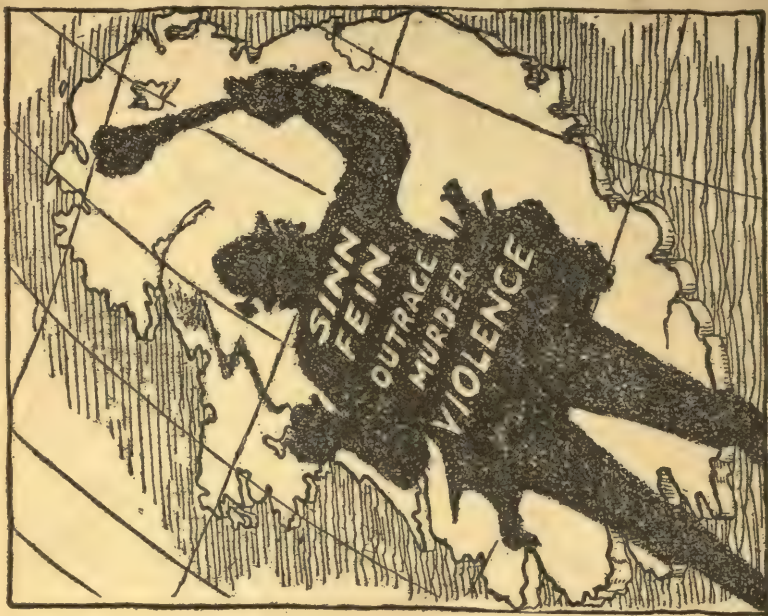
Whose Country Is This, Anyhow?



—From The New York World

[English Cartoon]

The Shadow

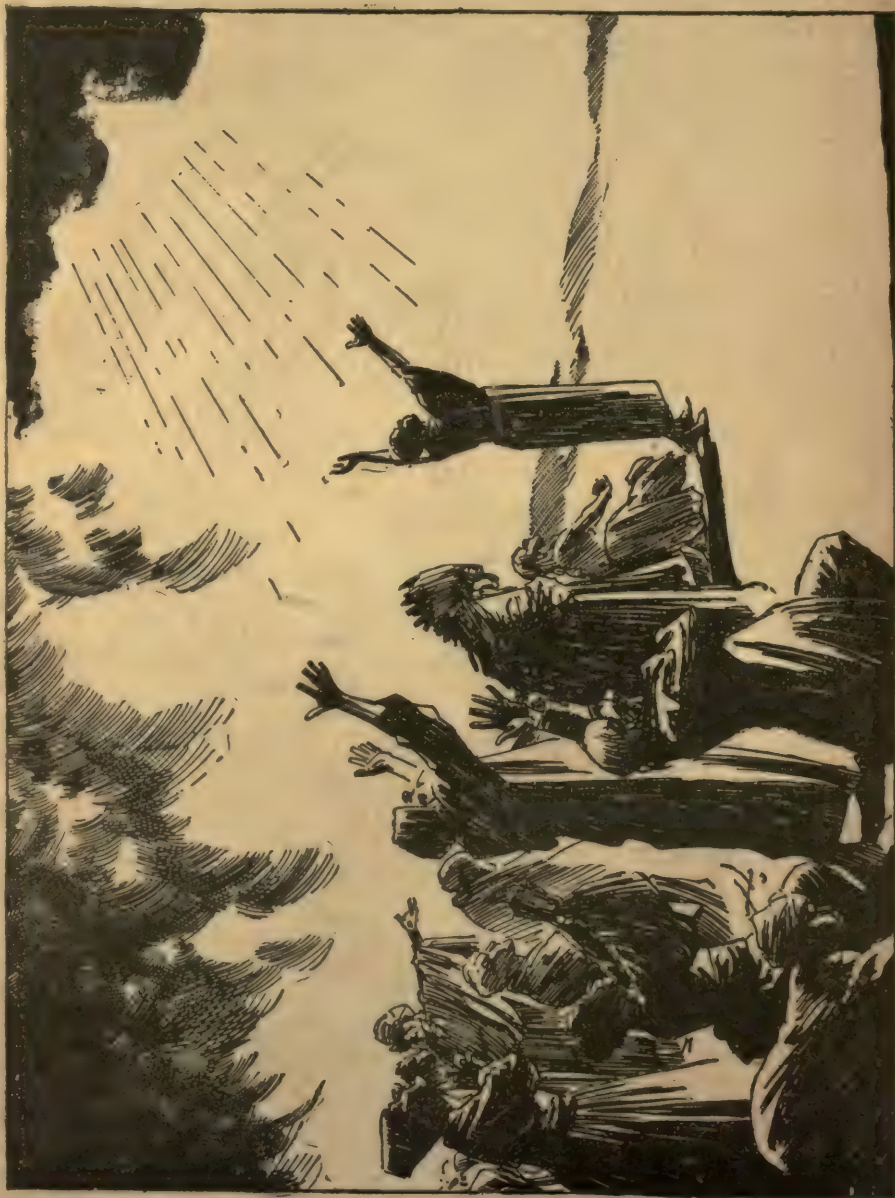


—From The Daily Express, London

[Dutch Cartoon]

Birth of the League of Nations

[JAN. 16, 1920]



“Through that grim gloom
which us enshrouds

A light of lights bursts
from the clouds

And on all peoples shines
alike” * * *

—“Kersitied,” by Nicolaas
Beets

—From *De Amsterdammer*,
Amsterdam

[American Cartoon]

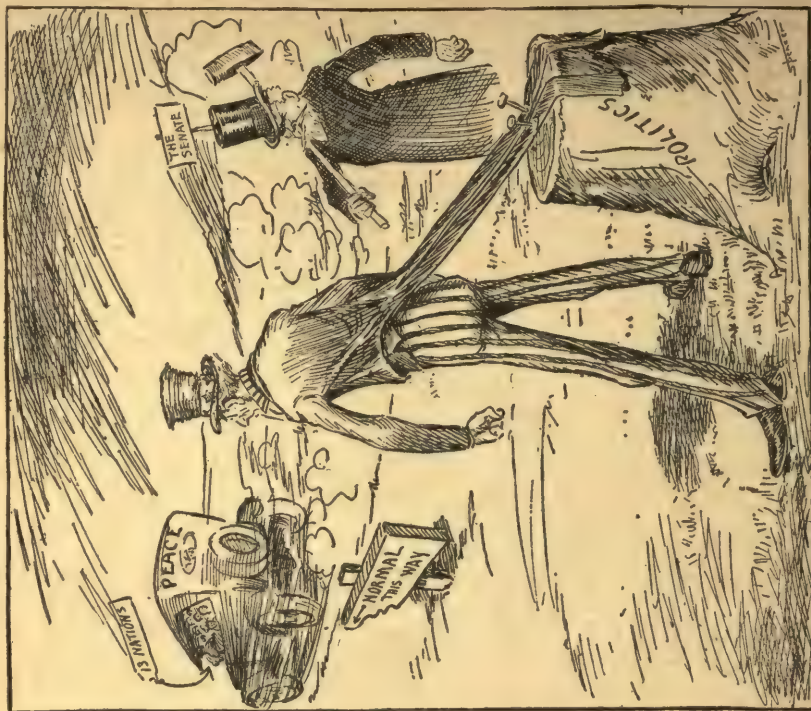
The Outsiders



—From The New York World

[American Cartoon]

He Had Expected to Drive the Car



—From The Omaha World-Herald

[American Cartoon]

“Maybe I Change My Plans; He Looks Dangerous!”



—From The Dayton News

[American Cartoon]

They All Have a Hand in Dumping Him—
But Who Will Be Master of the Prize?



—Central Press Association

[Russian Painting]
Russia Crucified

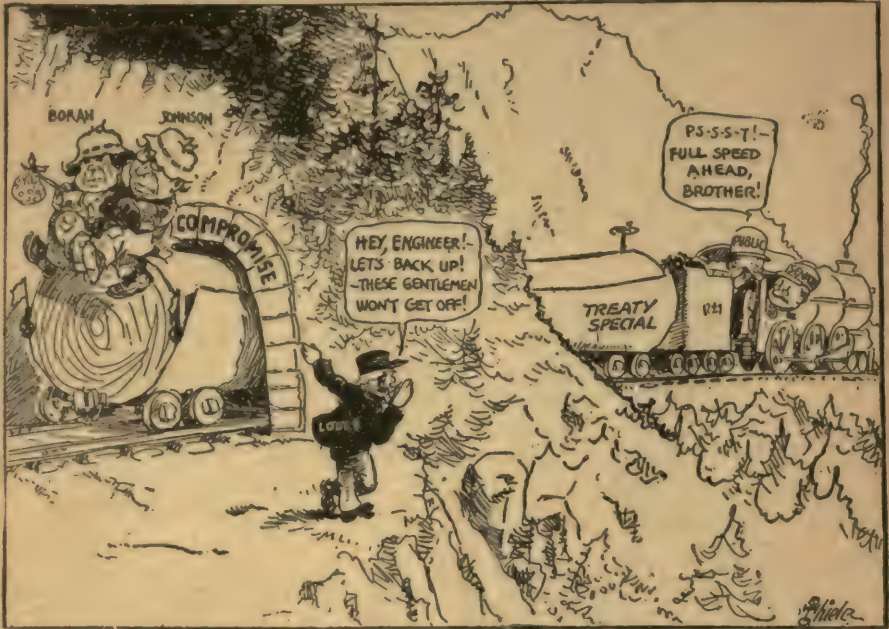


—© American Red Cross

This representation of Russia's plight under the Bolsheviks is from a remarkable painting made by one of General Denikin's soldiers. It represents Russia as a peasant woman bound to a cross while scarlet devils dance about her. In the lower left-hand corner Trotsky is represented as leering at her

[American Cartoon]

Getting Through the "Needle's Eye"



—From The Sioux City Tribune

[English Cartoon]

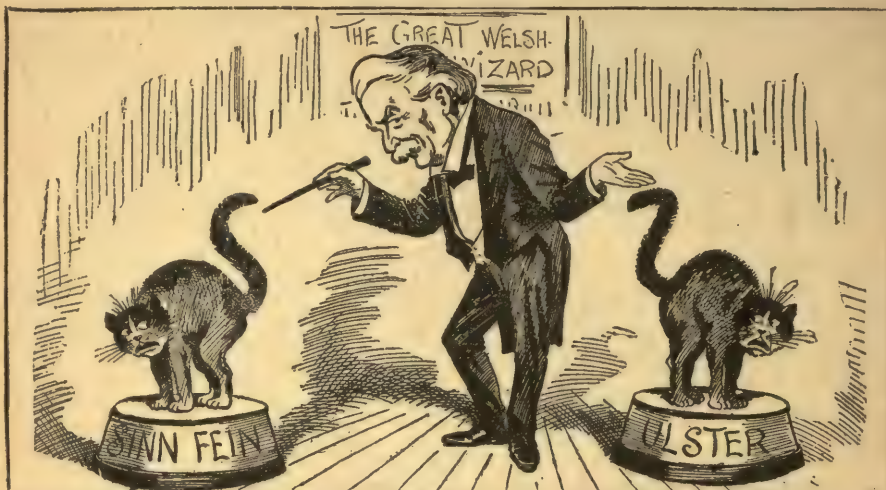
The Gap in the Bridge



—From Punch, London

[English Cartoons]
Some Wizard!

[The Government's home-rule scheme provides for two Irish Houses of Parliament and a Joint Council]



—From John Bull, London

PROFESSOR LLOYD GEORGE (the Welsh Wizard): "Ladies and Gentlemen, we have here the historic Kilkenny cats. I shall now attempt the difficult feat of dispelling their natural enmity toward each other by tying their tails together!"

Erin's Harp to Date



—From Reynolds's Newspaper, London

LLOYD GEORGE and BONAR LAW (designers of the new Irish harp): "Well, we don't know whether they'll accept it, but we think they could play some nice harmonious duets on it if they'd only try"

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Austria



"Poor people! Actually dying of starvation! How can God permit such things? Let us buy whatever they have left that's worth buying. Out of pure sympathy. Then they can at least have a nice funeral"



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich

"Oh, God, now they are dead! How can the good Lord let such things happen! But isn't this a fine cross I have bought them with my profits? And I still have 5,000,000 kronen left. Isn't it terrible!"

[French Cartoon]

Peace, Convalescent



—From *Le Pêle-Mêle*, Paris

"Do you think I shall be sound and well after I have taken all these medicines?"
[The bottles are marked "German Treaty," "Austrian Treaty," "League of Nations," &c.]

[Austrian Cartoon]

The Lost Paradise



—From *Figaro*, Vienna

[The cartoonist represents Austria as saying, "Your dream of victory is past; in every Eden grows a devil-tree," the intimation being that President Wilson's Fourteen Points betrayed the Austrian people]

[American Cartoon]

One National Strike He Didn't Plan



—From The New York Times

[Italian Cartoon]

Fighting the High Cost of Living



—From Il 420, Florence

When the claws are cut in one place—

They grow in another

[American Cartoon]

Direct to the Consumer



—From *The Chicago Daily News*

[English Cartoon]

The Press Gang of the Near Future



—From *The Passing Show*, London

THE KIDNAPPER: "Don't struggle! You won't come to any harm. We'll give you \$250 a year more than you're getting now. There are only three in family, and you can have every evening off!"

[English Poster]

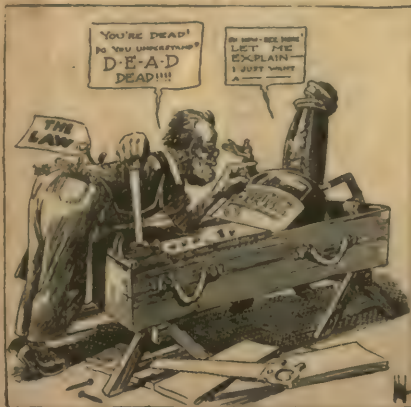
“Pussyfoot” Nosey From Across the Sea—Shall He
Pro-Boss-Us?



An anti-prohibition poster widely used in England to combat the campaign of American dry forces led by “Pussyfoot” Johnson

[American Cartoons]

The Argufyingest Corpse We
Ever Saw!



—Columbus Dispatch

The Pace Is Getting Hot!



—New York Herald

Senator Hitchcock's long journey

[American Cartoons]

Birds of a Feather



—Central Press Association

Can't Serve Two Masters



—Milwaukee Sentinel

“Darn It, I’m Beginning to Believe It’s So!”



—Philadelphia Public Ledger

“Kitty, Kitty—Nice Kitty”



—Brooklyn Eagle



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